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THE  
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ART. I. — 1. *Hippolytus and his Age; or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus: and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN, D.C.L. In 4 vols. 12mo. London: 1852.

THESE volumes cannot fail to attract much attention from the public. The importance, interest, and variety of the subjects which their title-pages indicate, and the high character, reputation, and position of the author, will conspire to invite alike the inspection of those who amuse themselves with looking into the current literature of the day, and the attentive perusal of the careful inquirer into the history and antiquities of the Christian Church. Some will be desirous of knowing what a statesman and a diplomatist of more than thirty years' standing can have to say on the 'Comparison of 'Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity;' others will be curious to see how a foreigner, the distinguished representative of the Sovereign of a great German kingdom, shall have acquitted himself in the difficult task of writing a work of such extent in the English language. Both those who hold to the High Church party and those who belong to the Low Church party will be inquisitive to learn what so zealous and influential a member of the Evangelical Church of Germany, who for nearly twenty years was the King of Prussia's minister and plenipotentiary at Rome, and has subsequently held the same responsible office for more than twelve in London, has to

say on the subject of the 'Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus;' while the serious and earnest inquirer after the truth will be anxious to learn what new light one who has already gained so much reputation by his historical and critical works can throw upon our hitherto obscure information respecting so early a writer as Hippolytus, and what additional knowledge he can give us touching so important a period of the history of the Church as the age in which he lived. It does not fall within the scope which we have proposed to ourselves, nor would it be suited to the limited space of our pages, to attempt to offer an opinion upon all these questions. We must refer each of our readers to the volumes themselves to satisfy his own curiosity as to that peculiar view of the subject which may best accord with his own taste or feelings. We will content ourselves with pointing out some of the leading facts and opinions in the book which have struck us as being chiefly deserving of attention, and as much as possible we will allow the author to speak in his own words, which will afford the least chance of misapprehension.

In the earlier part of the last year there appeared a work published under the auspices of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, at Oxford, bearing the title 'Origenis Philosophumena sive Omnium Hæresium Refutatio. E Codice Parisino nunc primum edidit Emmanuel Miller.' The manuscript from which the editor transcribed and prepared this work for the press, was one of those which had been acquired for the French nation, in 1842, by Mynoides Mynas, who had been sent out at the expense of the government by M. Villemain, at that time Minister of Public Instruction, with the laudable object of searching among the monasteries of Greece for such inedited classical, or other interesting works as he could obtain; for the purpose of depositing them in the National Library, where they would be secure from the danger of being destroyed, and likewise be made accessible to the critic and scholar. This mission was attended with considerable success\*: among other works which he acquired was a transcript of the long lost fables of the elegant writer Babrius†; a manuscript of

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\* See 'Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique par M. Mynoïde Minas, chargé d'une mission en Orient,' in the 'Revue de Bibliographie Analytique.' An. 1844, vol. v. p. 80.

† The MS. of Babrius was found with several others in the convent of St. Laura, at Mount Athos, under a board covered with dung. The monks refused to sell it, or at least asked so high a price that Mynas made a transcript of it, from which M. Boissonade pub-

the *Dialectica* of Galen, and the *Gymnastica* of Philostratus. The well known reputation of these classical writers very naturally directed to them at once the full attention of some inquiring scholars: they were immediately examined, and the result forthwith made known to the public. Among the rest of the manuscripts thus obtained, was one unpretending volume, of which Mr. E. Miller, in 1844, gave only the following brief account: — ‘Manuscrit en papier de coton, du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, contenant une réfutation de toutes les hérésies. Cet ouvrage d’un auteur anonyme est divisé en dix livres; mais les trois premiers manquent ainsi que la fin.’\* Subsequently he was led to bestow more attention upon this volume; and finding it to be an authentic work of much interest and importance by a Christian writer of not later date than the first quarter of the third century; having also ascertained that it undoubtedly comprised the latter books of the same treatise as that of which the first book had been already published, with the title of *Φιλοσοφούμενα*, or *Κατὰ πασῶν αἵρεσεων ἑλεγχος*, in the editions of Origen, he came to the conclusion that he had then in his hands a considerable part of a very important work by that most learned and philosophical among all the early writers of the Christian Church. It was natural that he should feel the desire of communicating to the public his discovery of a work of such interest and value for the early history of Christianity. His proposal to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to undertake the charge of the publication was met by that liberality on their part which they have been so often ready to show upon similar occasions.

We are fully convinced with Mr. Bunsen, and with the author of an article in the ‘*Ecclesiastic*,’ that the work is not the production of Origen; but we cannot think with this latter writer that the Delegates, in supplying the means of publishing it under that title, are either individually or collectively at all pledged to the editor’s opinion, or in any way responsible for the arguments which he has advanced in his preface on that head. Mr. Miller’s talents and capacity in the Greek language and literature were well known to that board, and had been favourably mentioned by Dr. Gaisford, in one of his valuable publications which, within the last few years, have issued from the Clarendon Press. They could therefore rest assured that a

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lished an edition at Paris, 1844. Several editions have appeared subsequently on the Continent, and one in England by Mr. Cornewall Lewis.

\* See ‘*Revue de Bibl. Analyt.*’



Greek work would be creditably edited by him, and consequently they were ready to assist him in making public so large a portion of a hitherto almost unknown Christian treatise, whoever its author may be. Mr. Bunsen has the following remarks on this subject:—

‘I cannot but agree with him that it would have been better that the University of Oxford should not have had the appearance of sanctioning such a mistake as the attributing this work to Origen. But I do not see how the University can fairly be made responsible for this false title. As to the Directors of the Clarendon Press, I entertain a hope, and beg to express it with sincere respect, that even if the venerable Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Gaisford, to whom ecclesiastical as well as classical philology already owes so much, should not feel himself moved to present us with a new edition, that noble institution will not hold itself pledged to the opinion of the learned editor if he should persevere in that opinion. I trust they will be glad to become instrumental in placing a new critical edition soon before the public, not only of this misnamed book, but of all the works of Hippolytus, among which I trust will be included the “Little Labyrinth” and the “Treatise on the Substance of the Universe.” Thus the University and the literary world, and St. Hippolytus himself, will receive the best satisfaction for the printing of his most instructive work at the Oxford University Press under a false title.’ (Vol. i. p. 332.)

The book, as we have stated above, was published in that year which will ever be famous in the annals of the world from the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations. This circumstance has called forth the following observation:—

‘Am I not right, therefore, in saying that the publication of this work is congenial to the character of 1851: by showing the good results of international communication and friendly co-operation? The book was discovered by a Greek sent from Paris, and has been most creditably edited by a French scholar, and very liberally printed by an English university press. The publication has been accomplished by a combination of different nations, and could scarcely at this time have been brought about otherwise.’ (Vol. i. p. 8.)

Mr. Bunsen's attention was first directed to this book by Mr. Tregelles. From him he learned that the venerable Dr. Routh had already perused it with much interest, and was convinced that it was undoubtedly a genuine work, and of very great importance for the history of the Church at the period when it was written. Such information was sufficient to induce Mr. Bunsen to procure a copy of the book without delay, and to study it carefully at his earliest opportunities.

The four volumes now before us are the result of that study. The first, containing ‘the Critical Enquiry,’ consists of Five

Letters addressed to Archdeacon Hare. In the first of these he states the conclusions at which he had already arrived:—

‘*First*, that the work before us is genuine, but not by Origen.

‘*Secondly*, that it is the work of Hippolytus, a person much celebrated, but very little known.

‘*Thirdly*, that this celebrated Father and Martyr, Hippolytus, was a presbyter of the Church of Rome, and bishop of the harbour of Rome, *Portus*, but neither an Arab, nor an Arabian bishop, as a Frenchman imagined he might, and Cave said he must have been.

‘*Fourthly*, that this book is full of valuable authentic extracts from lost writers.’ (P. 10.)

To establish these conclusions is the object of the letters to Archdeacon Hare. The three remaining volumes contain the result of much diligent inquiry respecting ‘the life and consciousness’ of the Christian Church during that early period of her existence, anterior to and contemporary with the age of Hippolytus, partly suggested by the perusal of this work against all heresies, and partly the fruit of previous research. With these are very naturally connected the writer’s own views and opinions upon several important subjects of Christian faith and practice, the convictions of long study, careful thought, and earnest reflection, in a mind deeply sensible of all the personal responsibility attached to those who enjoy the great and inestimable privilege of the Christian light and Christian liberty of that Gospel which has made us free. Even those who may entertain sentiments very widely differing from his, can hardly fail, if they be honest, to acknowledge the earnest and deep ‘religious consciousness,’ to use Mr. Bunsen’s own expression, which pervades the whole work, although at the same time it appears to us very probable that many who come with the prejudices of their party to the perusal, may take umbrage at the strength of his expressions upon occasions when his views are at variance with their own. Whenever it appears to him that the whole truth is disguised, or suppressed, or perverted, either from design, or from blameable ignorance, he spares neither friend nor foe, protestant nor papist, fellow-countryman nor foreigner. While, on the other hand, he is equally ready to acknowledge and approve all that appears to him to be true and right, even in those with whom he is generally widest at issue. As a specimen of this, we may quote the following passage, in which he is referring to some of the opinions of the Tübingen School, respecting the late origin of the Gospel of St. John, the infidel and highly mischievous opinions of which school he upon all occasions most earnestly combats, as tending to destroy the whole of the foundations upon which our highest hopes are

based, by reducing Christ to a mere mythical person, and the records of his life and death to forgeries of a later date.

‘That this reasoning is sound the progress of our researches will easily prove. For even in the second stage of Gnosticism—the Gentile one—we find the very words of St. John evidently alluded to, long before the last quarter or third of the second century, when, according to the most unhappy of all philological conjectures, and the most untrue of all historical views, the system of Strauss and Baur, that Gospel made its appearance as the fag end of Gnosticism.

‘In declaring myself so strongly against Baur’s historical hypothesis, I think it is only fair to add that no one has done more for the speculative comprehension of the Gnostic systems than this eminent writer, of whose researches concerning that part of the history of philosophy those only can speak without respect who have never read them or who are incapable of understanding them. The facts now before us show that many of his acute illustrations of the very difficult and abstruse concluding chapters of Irenæus’ first book, and especially his treatise on the Ophites, are wonderfully confirmed by the work before us.’ (Vol. i. p. 42.)

We ought perhaps to mention here, for the information of some of our readers, that one of the last publications of Baur has been an attack upon Mr. Bunsen’s edition of Ignatius, and his Letters on Ignatius.\* He does not, however, for an instant attempt to disprove the arguments, which go to show that four out of the Seven epistles mentioned by Eusebius are forged, and that the Three only found in the Syriac are genuine. But rather to make it apparent that the same reasons which prove the four out of the seven to be spurious, will equally apply to the other three, and that all are false. It was essential for Baur to endeavour to establish this, because if the Three found in the Syriac were allowed to be genuine and authentic, the whole of his arguments touching the later origin of such parts of the New Testament as are evidently cited or alluded to by Ignatius must at once fall to the ground. We will quote here a passage from the preface to Mr. Cureton’s Ignatius, which appears to us to be quite conclusive on this head. Archdeacon Churton has however chosen to ignore this in his preface to a new edition of Pearson’s *Vindiciæ*, and been willing rather to call in the aid of the infidel Baur to support a tottering cause, which must necessarily be injurious to that Church which he seeks to uphold, in at least as great a degree as it recedes from the truth, which unprejudiced and candid research can alone support. Mr. Cureton’s

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\* Die Ignatianischen Briefe und ihr neuester Kritiker. Eine Streitschrift gegen Herrn Bunsen. 8vo. Tübingen, 1848.

words are as follows:—‘ There is another and, in my opinion, a still more important aspect in which this subject may be viewed. In late years several attacks have been made upon the very charters of our holy faith, even upon the inspired books of the Apostles themselves, which the evidence afforded by Ignatius was in a great measure sufficient to refute, but which could not be successfully urged so long as the great admixture of spurious matter rendered the whole authority of the epistles attributed to him doubtful. I mean the citations and evident allusions to certain books of the New Testament which are still found in the genuine epistles; and which, therefore, indubitably prove those books to have been written before Ignatius suffered, and not many years later, as the theories of a certain class of German critics have endeavoured to establish. This is not the place for me to make further mention of this matter; nor should I have deemed it requisite now to allude to it at all, had not Baur, being aware that if the three Epistles of the Syriac Recension were received as genuine, the grounds of his hypothesis must fail, felt it therefore to be necessary for him to endeavour to prove that they also are spurious in an answer to the Chevalier Bunsen, who had applied the evidence afforded by Ignatius to refute some of the dangerous theories of the Tübingen school of theology. Baur’s main argument is based upon the assertion that these three epistles, even in their present form, are so like the rest, that they must all have come from the same hand. There cannot be a more complete refutation of this imagined, than that which I had already supplied in my Introduction, before I had any knowledge whatever of Baur’s assertion. I have there shown that a marked difference, as to matter and manner, between the Three epistles in their present form, and the rest, was seen and pointed out by the ablest critics on the Ignatian question nearly two centuries before the Syrian Version was discovered, and proved the depth of their discernment, and the justice and propriety of their observation.’ (See Preface to *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. xvi. and Introduction, p. liii.)

As the inquiry respecting the Ignatian forgeries bears very closely upon several matters discussed in these volumes before us, and is upon more than one or two occasions referred to, it may perhaps be convenient, before we proceed, to introduce here what Mr. Bunsen has to say in reply to Archdeacon Churton’s strictures, who, as Mr. Bunsen quaintly observes, is one of those ‘ who have set their hearts upon proving, by Pearson’s arguments, that a text with which that prelate was unacquainted, and which was not brought to light till nearly two centuries after his death, is not genuine.’

‘I shall conclude this preface by saying a few words respecting the uncalled for aggressive spirit in which the editor of a reprint of Pearson’s “*Vindiciæ*,” Archdeacon Churton, has attempted to handle this question. Mr. Churton displays in his Introduction a classical Latin style, which in other times perhaps would have stood in the place of critical argument; and he employs a facetious manner well suiting a retreat from a lost cause. As a specimen I shall only allude to the advantage which he takes of a manifest misprint in order to throw ridicule on an argument which he does not even attempt to refute. Pearson had not disdained to supply the want of any solid testimony for the Greek text of Ignatius before Eusebius by some conjectures which, as he says, pleased him very much. One of these is, that Theophilus, who was a successor of Ignatius, towards the end of the second century, had alluded to the celebrated passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians (c. xix.). The testimony would be very important if it had any existence (and indeed would apply with far greater force to the Syriac than the Greek text); but it rests upon the incredible assumption of the genuineness of a commentary upon St. Matthew, bearing the name of Theophilus, under whose name there existed indeed, according to Jerome, a commentary on the Gospel. Now I had said that no honest critic could doubt (nor is there any one who maintains a contrary opinion) that the commentary preserved to us is a later imposture not even worthy of the younger Theophilus of the end of the fourth century. Bishop Fell and the Hamburg editor of Theophilus (1724) have, indeed, made it quite impossible to entertain such an opinion: but the point was already established in Pearson’s time. How then could Pearson indulge in such a conjecture? This (and nothing else) I had said in a note (p. 239.), with the remark that I merely mentioned the circumstance in order to justify my not having named that Father among the testimonies of the second century. By an oversight the page (printed on the other side of the German Ocean) exhibits, instead of “Theophilus the Elder,” the words “Hippolytus the Elder.” Now what does Mr. Churton do? He calls upon me emphatically to show him where Pearson quotes Hippolytus as an evidence. He might have known (and doubtless did know) that Theophilus was meant. My referring to Jerome’s words allowed no doubt that I alluded to Pearson’s argument respecting Theophilus. But he thought it good ~~fun~~ to amuse his readers by so cheap a joke. I do not blame him for that; it is a matter of taste: but I do wonder how the author of an edition of the “*Vindiciæ*,” with a preface and notes, which are to be “ad modernum controversiæ statum accommodata,” could have omitted commenting upon Pearson’s conjecture, and in particular upon the note which proves that he knew very well that the whole conjecture had no foundation whatever. In that note Pearson mentions the doubts of Tillemont and other learned critics respecting the commentary which impudently bears the name of Theophilus; and he adds: “Non tamen negandum est, scriptorem, quisquis fuerit, longe Theophilo et Hieronymo juniorem, scripta priorum patrum excerptisse, et Theophili fortasse inter alios.” Thus Pearson himself,

whose quotation is to make Theophilus an evidence, admitted that the author of a commentary quoted by him as evidence of the second century, was not Theophilus, and was later even than Jerome. As such reasoning seems incredible, I will give the very words of Jerome. He says: "Martyr Ignatius etiam quartam addidit causam, cur a "desponsata conceptus sit (Jesus), ut partus, inquires, ejus celaretur "diabolo, dum eum putat non de virgine, sed de uxore generatum." These words prove nothing more than that Jerome knew that celebrated passage of Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians which the Syriac text acknowledges, and which Origen quotes. Jerome, I am afraid, had himself never read the epistles of Ignatius; indeed Cureton has made this more than probable in his "Corpus Ignatianum" (p. lxvii.). It is, therefore, a felicitous assumption that he had transcribed this observation from an earlier commentator: but this probably was Origen, whose commentaries on the Gospel Jerome had translated. At least this commentary we know, and it contains the passage; whereas of Theophilus' commentary we know nothing. Cotelierius' opinion, therefore, that Jerome copied that remark out of Origen, is the only reasonable one; to refer it to Theophilus the Elder, because the remark is found in the commentary of an author whom Pearson himself allows to have been later than even Jerome, merely because that late writer might have read Theophilus, and Theophilus might have said such a thing, is unworthy of a serious critic. If Mr. Churton thinks differently, I am ready to give him the whole benefit of the argument; only, if he attacks my remark upon Pearson's proceeding, he must not elude the discussion by availing himself of a misprint.' (Vol. iv. *Preface*, p. xx.)

Those who take an interest in the Ignatian question will do well to read Mr. Bunsen's observations touching the Armenian version in the earlier part of the same preface. They are too long for us to insert here. But we cannot omit quoting his words respecting the opinion in Germany as to this question, which Mr. Churton, we would hope not further designedly than from the bias of prejudice, has very grossly misstated.

'Nor can I allow the learned editor to misrepresent to English readers the state of critical opinion in Germany respecting the relation which the Syriac text bears to the Greek. Mr. Churton is welcome to the obtuse argument of a reviewer who triumphantly observes, that Baur has not been convinced by my arguments, but thinks the Syriac text as little authentic as the Greek. It is, indeed, very natural that he should; for he believes the Gospel of St. John, alluded to evidently in our Epistles, to have been written about seventy years after the death of Ignatius. But when Mr. Churton says that Neander, in the latter part of his life, gave up the Syriac text, it is first necessary to state that this great historian (whom Mr. Churton calls "vir "in antiquitate ecclesiastica satis spectatus") never admitted the Pearsonian text, and doubted in particular, all that relates in the Seven Letters to the history of Ignatius' death and journey, on which

the whole structure of these letters is built. Now his last published words on the subject are in a note to his new edition of the History of the Christian Church (vol. i. p. 1140.) of the year 1843, and therefore anterior to Cureton's discovery. But it appears from his own and other correspondence, which lies before me, that Neander could not quite make up his mind as to the genuineness of the Syriac epistles, although he did not think them by any means so objectionable as the Greek text. Mr. Churton has, therefore, no right to quote him on the question at issue, which is this: Whether the Syriac manuscript be an extract from a genuine text, or an earlier one? As to the other German critics, not one believes the Pearsonian text to be authentic, with the exception of some Romanist writers (of whom only the Rev. Dr. Hefele merits even a mention), and perhaps of Prof. Petermann, the Armenian scholar and meritorious editor of the text and all its various readings. But the difference in the opinions of the German critics who have treated that subject, from Baur to Thiersch, is simply, that some believe with me that the Syriac text has preserved the genuine writings of Ignatius; whereas others think that even in this briefer form we have not the writings of Ignatius, but a work of fiction. It must not be forgotten, however, that the philological proofs of the authenticity of the Syriac text, most imperfectly known to those who entertained doubts on this subject, have been very much strengthened subsequently by the manuscripts recently discovered, all exhibiting the same text, and proving it to have been, at all events, not the product of an obscure extracting monk, but the acknowledged text of the early Syrian Church. Now this Church, which is that of Antioch and of Ignatius, has in other cases preserved the purer text, in opposition to Byzantine and Armenian corruptions and interpolations. When, therefore, the editor of Pearson asserts that the present state of critical opinion in Germany is best represented by what Mone, a Romanist writer on mediæval antiquities, whom Mr. Churton quotes as the author of "a distinguished Treatise on Liturgies," has asserted, I beg first to refer the reader to the fourth chapter of the "*Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*," which treats on the Gallican Liturgy, that he may judge himself of the authority of this ultramontane antiquarian. As to the assertion that the result of modern criticism has been an entire confirmation of the authority of the Seven Epistles, it is difficult to decide which is more astonishing, that Mr. Mone should pronounce a statement so notoriously contradicted by the facts, or that the English editor of the "*Vindiciæ*" should bring before the public this insignificant, and in every respect unwarranted, ridiculous assertion, as representing the opinion of the critics of Germany.' (P. xxv.)

We will quote two more passages on the Ignatian question, and then return from this digression. In the second volume Mr. Bunsen has endeavoured, by the mere application of critical analysis from such resources as were within his reach, to separate the later additions from the Apostolic Constitutions, and to restore them to their more ancient and genuine form. That he

has been successful in his attempt has been proved by the discovery of a Syriac MS., which confirms the conclusions at which he had arrived; showing that in this case, as in the Epistles of Ignatius, the more ancient and genuine form of the Apostolic Constitutions had been adopted in the Syrian churches before they were amplified by interpolations in the Greek, and that they have been providentially preserved and brought to light in our day. He is giving an account of Bickell's 'Geschichte des Kirchenrechts:—

'But the greatest treasure is (pp. 148—159.) the account of the Syrian MS. in the national library at Paris. This collection, examined by Dr. Zenker, bears the title *Διδασκαλία τῶν ἀποστόλων*, and exhibits in twenty-six chapters the original text of those first six books of the Apostolical Constitutions. Bickell considers them as extracts; but how then can one explain that on the whole they leave out exactly what I have in the second volume (printed last year) shown to be interpolations?' (Vol. iii. p. 176.)

And again:—

'I have shown the prevalence of an early systematic corruption of the ancient texts in the East by the Byzantines; exactly as such a fraud was practised later by the Romanists in the West. I have in particular shown that the text of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions exhibits corruptions and interpolations perfectly similar to those which, even in Eusebius' time, had made a sad twaddler out of that most energetic and original Martyr and Father, Ignatius, and a legend out of his true history. Curiously enough, the most striking instance is here also found in a Syriac text. That separation of the original contents of the first six books of the Constitutions from the later interpolations, which I had endeavoured to establish by the mere application of sound critical principles, is confirmed by a Syriac manuscript at Paris.' (Vol. iv. *Preface*, p. iv.)

But to return from this digression on the Ignatian question, which, indeed, is closely connected in many points with the subjects before us, and to which, perhaps, we are bound to allude, because both Mr. Churton's assertions and those of a writer in the 'Quarterly Review' go to impugn our own arguments which we have previously advanced on this matter.\* Mr. Bunsen, as we have already observed, neglects no suitable occasion throughout his work of exposing the unhistorical, unphilosophical, and unchristian views of those among the German critics who belong to the Tübingen school. Neither does he attempt to conceal the love of the ideal rather than the real, and of the speculative rather than the practical, which is a cha-

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\* No. clxxxi. p. 155.



racteristic defect in the writings of many of his own countrymen. Thus, on one occasion, we find him not hesitating to declare 'That reality has no charm for the Germans.' (Vol. ii. p. 228.) And again:—

'As to the research of the Protestant critical school in Germany, the criticism upon these Constitutions is undoubtedly its weakest part, and very naturally so. What they know how to handle best is thought, the ideal part of history: what is farthest from their grasp is reality. What the Apostolical Constitutions contain of valuable is only reality: the speculative or ideal part of them is entirely insignificant. Thus alone can it be explained, that Neander has scarcely made any use of the treasures contained in the Constitutions: and that whereas the tedious novel of the Clementine fictions has been made the subject of very deep (although, I am afraid, equally premature) researches (by Schliemann, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, and others), the Constitutions have neither been reprinted nor commented upon.' (Vol. ii. p. 239.)

While, however, the author of the volumes before us neither glosses over the defects nor conceals the failings of his countrymen; he is also ready to stand up as a champion in their defence against those who are too forward to condemn all for the faults of some, and to deny, and attempt to ignore, the abundance that is good, because there is sometimes mixed up with it a little that is evil. We can ourselves speak, from our own experience, to the fact, that German criticism and German research upon all subjects connected with theology are generally most censured and most reviled by those who are the least acquainted with them. We believe that the indiscriminate condemnation of almost all works of theological research in Germany by some professors and tutors in our universities, and perhaps, indeed, by some of the Bishops of our Church, who are unable to read a line of the original writings, and condemn only from hearsay or second-hand information, is not only highly unjust, but, in this country, has been, and is, injurious to the cause of impartial research, by which alone truth can be elucidated and upheld. The earnest cautions given by these, no doubt with the best intentions, but too often in ignorance, have deterred the young student from making use of those aids which long and diligent inquiry had already prepared to his hand. He has been thus compelled to search for himself, with the danger of being mistaken or misled, when the discovery had been already made, and been compelled to wade or swim through the river with all the risks of quicksands or currents, when there was a bridge already constructed, over which he might have easily and quickly passed. It has thus often happened that the love of inquiry

and research has been speedily quenched in an ardent and active mind; the thoughts and aspirations after knowledge and holiness have been turned in another direction; and to this we are sure we are right in attributing the cause why several of the intellectual and once promising young men in our universities, instead of being now a light and an ornament in our own Church, have deserted it, and are sunk in the bigotry of Romish superstition, whose interest it is to extinguish the torch of critical and historical research, because its errors and its vices would necessarily be exposed by it. But we will let Mr. Bunsen speak for himself on this head; and, although the extract be long, we are convinced that it merits the candid and attentive perusal of all our readers.

‘ If I have not entirely failed in my efforts to elicit truth out of the records of thought and out of the annals of history, which are now opened to us for the first time, I owe it to the resources of thought and learning which I have found in the standard works of modern German divinity and philology, and which I have endeavoured to apply to this subject. Deeply impressed as I am with my unworthiness to represent either, I still trust to have, by this process, and by the very important contents of the newly discovered book, sufficiently shown the real nature and the superiority of the German method of inquiry, and the satisfactory results already obtained. Now, if this be the case, I believe also that I have enabled every thinking reader to judge for himself, whether there be much wisdom in ignoring, and whether there be not great injustice and presumption in calumniating the Evangelical Churches of Germany, and in vilifying Germany and German divinity. I frankly own, that I have considered it my duty to avail myself of a subject entirely new and fresh, and belonging to the neutral domain of ancient ecclesiastical history, and of a problem which is placed at the same time before all Christian nations, in order to test the real result and worth of what each of them has hitherto done in that field of thought and research. The proofs which I have given of what has been achieved already, in this respect, by the critical and historical school of Germany, will, I trust, at all events rescue, in the eyes of intelligent and fair judges, from unqualified and unworthy insinuations and suspicions, a nation and a Church from which not only the fathers of the English Church received the Reformation, but which in the last hundred years have shown a self-sacrificing zeal for Christian truth and doctrine, and fought (alas! only too long single-handed) the good fight for intellectual and spiritual Christianity, against the overwhelming indifference of this sceptical and materialistic age. Thus much every one may easily know, and ought to have learned, if he pronounce upon German theology; that so arduous a task has not been undertaken by the noblest and purest minds of a great, although religiously divided and politically torn nation, out of levity, or for the purpose of showing ingenuity and learning, much less out of hatred against

Christianity, and that it has not been supported, and in its principle accepted, by the people at large, out of infidelity and irreligion. The revilers of German divinity might also know, and ought to appreciate, the fact, that the defects and dangers of German Church-life are chiefly attributable to the political misfortunes and sufferings of Germany, not to the individual or national want of religious spirit. The history of nearly a century proves that this attempt to place Christianity upon a more solid and really tenable basis has been undertaken out of the courageous love of truth, and that it has been carried out with sacrifices greater than any class of individuals or any nation ever made to that holy belief, that there must be truth in history as well as in reason and conscience, and that this truth exists in Christ and in Christianity. And this faith is so general, and has ever been so powerful in my Fatherland, that I boldly appeal to the impartial judgment of the world and to the infallible verdict of history, in speaking out my conviction, that there exists at present in no country so much inward, true, sincere, religious feeling and faith in Christ and Christianity, and so much hope for a better future as to religion, as in Germany, and in Protestant Germany in particular. Liberty is inseparable from abuse, and therefore from scandal: the political history of the politically freest nation in the world is the best proof of that. But men and Christians ought not to be frightened, by such abuse and such scandal, into a betrayal of the sacred cause of liberty or of truth.

‘I have spoken, and I speak freely on this subject. First of all, I do so as a Christian, who feels, and has long time felt the critical state of Christianity, in this distracted and yet nobly struggling age. I have further done so as a son of my Fatherland, who feels bound to vindicate the honour of his country among a nation he respects. I, lastly, have done so as a grateful guest of England. I have wished to vindicate before Germany and the continent the character of the great body of English Protestants, as not being a party to those absurd and malicious calumnies. I know, from an experience which is deeply engraved in my inmost heart, the spirit of fairness and justice which distinguishes the nation among whom I have now lived almost twelve years. The slanderers and revilers of German religion and divinity do not speak the voice of the Protestant clergy, much less of the Christian people of England. The attacks upon Germany issue from two parties. One of them is an extreme fraction of the evangelical class in the Church of England and in some dissenting bodies: a fraction which, unconscious of its origin, has become first indifferent, then hostile, to every free thought and to all critical learning. This, however, is owing to accidental, and I hope transitory, circumstances; and especially to that unfortunate isolation from the religious life of the rest of the world, and of Germany in particular, in which English Protestants have lived these last two hundred years, with the single exception of John Wesley. But, principally and systematically these attacks upon Germany come from a party which either has joined or ought, if consistent, to join the Church of Rome; a party in which, whatever the individual earnestness and personal piety of many of its

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members may be, all Christian ideas are absorbed by sacerdotal formalism unsupported by corresponding doctrine, and by catholic hierarchical pretensions unfounded in themselves, and placed in flagrant contradiction with the records of the Church of England, as well as with the feelings of the people. Those who once were their leaders now preach that historical Christianity must be given up as a fable, if an infallible authority be not acknowledged declaring it to be true. All these are necessarily the bitter enemies and detractors of German divinity, which makes inward religion, and not the form of Church government, the principal object, and which establishes its history upon a rational basis, according to the general rules of evidence. The leading men of that school know full well why they revile German Protestantism and German philosophy and doctrine. They know instinctively that their efforts to restore exclusive sacerdotal authority upon a system of superstition, delusion, and ignorance will be vain, as long as there exists a nation, bent above all things, upon conscientious investigation of Christian truth, both by free thought and by unshackled research; a nation which of all tyrannies hates none more than that of priestcraft, and of all liberties loves none so well and so uncompromisingly as that of the intellect. But the Christian public in England is not represented by that party. That great body is neither unwilling to extend the hand of brotherhood to the Evangelic Churches of the continent, nor ashamed of the name of Protestants. Nor do I think that history will acknowledge as legitimate the authority of these men to lay down the law in divinity and in religion. I at least do not see how such an authority can be founded upon any thing which they have achieved in Christian research or thought, or in the learned interpretation of Scripture, or in the field of missionary labour, or in other great national works, or, finally, in the free domain of science and literature. I do not believe, therefore, that by their achievements they have acquired such titles as are valid and available in the common conscience of mankind, to brand, by indiscriminate condemnation, as infidel rationalism the whole theology of Germany, and to vilify the most learned and profound Church of Christendom in the present day; unless they mean to claim as their titles the irrationality of their own system, and that absence of charity in which they glory when speaking of the Protestant divines of Germany and of the Protestant Churches of the continent. (Vol. i. Pref. p. xvi.)

But to come to the question of the authorship of the 'Treatise against all Heresies.' There is no evidence afforded by quotations from any ecclesiastical writer that Origen ever wrote a work with the title *Katà pasōn aîréseōn êλεγchos*. That the first of the ten books of this work, which was originally edited by Gronovius, in the 'Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum,' tom. x. p. 257., was falsely ascribed to Origen, is plainly proved, as Huet\*, and after him Delarue†, have shown,

\* Origeniana, lib. iii. appendix xi. \*

† Origenis Opera, edit. Benedict. tom. i. p. 872.

Originals deposited in Public Library

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by the fact that the author, almost at the commencement, speaks of himself in such terms as to leave no doubt of his having held the office of a Bishop in the Church, which was a dignity, as it is very well known, that Origen never attained to. This treatise, therefore, although printed in the Benedictine edition of Origen's works, has been very properly included among the 'Opera Supposita.' There are, however, several passages in the later books of this work now published for the first time by Mr. Miller, which could, under no circumstances, apply to Origen. It is, indeed, true that Origen visited Rome during the period that Zephyrinus was Bishop of that city; but Eusebius, who gives us this account, informs us that he only remained there a short time, and then returned to Alexandria: *ἔνθα οὐ πολὺ διατρίψας ἐπάνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν*.\* But the author of this Treatise speaks of himself as having often withstood and contended against both Zephyrinus and Callistus, who favoured the heresy of Noetus, and having forced them, although unwillingly, to acknowledge the truth.† He declares that Sabellius, when admonished by himself and others, did not show any obdurateness, but that when he was alone with Callistus (who had then succeeded Zephyrinus as Bishop of Rome) he was stirred up by him.‡ He mentions the circumstance of Callistus having a personal fear of him.§ And he also speaks of himself being officially concerned in expelling some persons from the Roman Church.¶ On this last fact Mr. Bunsen observes: 'Now only the decree of the Presbytery of the Roman Church could expel from its communion, and none but a member of the Roman Church could speak thus.'¶ There can be no doubt, therefore, that the author of the 'Refutation of all Heresies,' who speaks in such terms of himself, could not be Origen, who only visited Rome for a short time when Zephyrinus was bishop,

\* Eccl. Hist. book vi. c. 15.

† B. ix. 7. p. 279.

§ ix. 12. p. 289.

† ix. 11. p. 285.

¶ P. 289.

¶ In the treatise against the heresy of Noetus, Hippolytus states that the presbyters (*οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι*) summoned Noetus before their Church and questioned him as to his tenets, and ultimately expelled him from the Church. See Dr. Routh's *Opuscula*, vol. i. p. 46. On this passage the venerable President has given the following note: 'Fortasse hi fuerunt episcopi cum presbyteris juncti; etenim ostendi apertans ad locum, presbyterorum nomine interdum appellatos fuisse episcopos ab auctoribus sæculo existente secundo, qui ipsi inter episcopos ac presbyteros alibi aperte distinguere solent.' (*Ibid.* p. 78.)

and before the elevation of Callistus, and who had no official connexion whatever with the Roman Church.

Again, the style of this work shows that it cannot be by Origen, which, we think, will be quite evident to every one who will be at the trouble to make the comparison. But lest our readers should think that we may be prejudiced in advancing this statement, we will adduce evidence to this effect, of at least fourteen hundred years standing, from one of the most learned writers of his time. Now it is plain from the statement of Photius (xlvi.) that the author of the treatise called *Λαβύρινθος*, is also the author of the work *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας*, which work the writer of the 'Treatise against all Heresies' refers to as his own. (P. 334.) It is evident, therefore, that all the three are by the same hand. Now Theodoretus having had occasion to mention that the 'Labyrinth' was attributed by some to Origen, declares that the difference of the style is of itself sufficient to refute that assertion: *κατὰ τῆς τούτων αἰρέσεως ὁ μικρὸς συνεγράφη Λαβύρινθος, ὃν τινες Ὀριγένους ὑπολαμβάνουσι ποίημα, ἀλλ' ὁ χαράκτηρ' ἐλέγχει τοὺς λέγοντας.* (*Hæret. Fab. lib. ii. c. v.*)

The same facts which prove that Origen could not have written this work also prove that the author of it must have been a bishop, and at the same time intimately connected with the affairs of the Church of Rome, and well acquainted, and frequently and officially brought into contact, with Zephyrinus and his successor Callistus. If, therefore, we can find in the history of the Church at that period a person to whom this description will apply, and to whom also such a work as that now before us has been attributed by competent testimony, we shall doubtless have arrived at the solution of the question, Who is the author of the work now under our consideration?

Mr. Bunsen writes thus:—

'Even they who know no more of the primitive ecclesiastical polity than what they may have learned from Bingham or Mosheim must be aware, that the six bishops of the towns and districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, formed, even in the second century, part of what was then called the Church of Rome. They were integral portions of her presbytery, and took part in the election of her bishop, and in the important functions of ecclesiastical discipline and administration. One of those suburban bishops was the bishop of Portus, the new harbour of the Tiber, opposite to Ostia, formed by Trajan. Hippolytus, in almost all the ancient accounts respecting him, bears the title of *Episcopus Portuensis*; and we shall see later that there never was any other tradition about him. I will only say here, that his celebrated statue in the Vatican library, found in the year 1551; in the very ancient cemetery near Rome, described (about the year

400) by Prudentius as the place of the burial of Hippolytus, the bishop of Portus, near Ostia, is sufficient to prove him to have been that bishop; for he is represented sitting on the episcopal chair or cathedra, and the Paschal cycle, inscribed on the chair is a western Roman one. (P. 12.)

Eusebius, speaking of Hippolytus, the celebrated author of the "Chronological Annals," which go down to the first year of Alexander Severus (222), and of the "Paschal Cycle," which begins from the first year of that reign, mentions amongst his works that "Against all the Heresies." Jerome does the same, which must be considered in this case as an independent testimony; for he gives the titles of some works not mentioned by Eusebius. Epiphanius (Hær. xi. c. 33.) cites the name of Hippolytus with those of Clemens of Alexandria and of Irenæus, as the principal authors who had refuted the Valentinian heresies, the treatise on which occupies so prominent a part in the book before us.

Finally, the Letter of Peter bishop of Alexandria (who suffered martyrdom in 311), on the Paschal time,—a letter the authenticity of which, doubted even by Routh (Rel. Sac. iv.), is now proved by Mai's discoveries,—quotes a passage from the work of Hippolytus, the witness of the truth, the bishop of Portus near Rome, "Against all the Heresies," about the heresy of the Quartodecimani; and I shall prove that this passage must have existed in our work, but that our present text gives us only an extract in this as in several other places.' (P. 15.)

These facts put together meet the condition which we have stated above, and appear to us to carry with themselves convincing proof that Hippolytus, who was Bishop of Portus, a member of the Roman Synod, a contemporary with Zephyrinus and Callistus, to whom such a book has been attributed by several competent witnesses, can alone be the author of the work before us.

But there are other facts to prove this still more strongly. Photius has the following passage in his 'Bibliotheca' (c. cxxi.):—'A little book of Hippolytus was read. Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus. It is a treatise on *Thirty-two Heresies*, beginning with the Dositheans and going down to Noetus and the Noetians. He says that Irenæus entered into a refutation of them in his lectures, and that he (Hippolytus) made a synopsis of these, and thus composed his book.' Mr. Bunsen has shown that the work under our consideration confutes *thirty-two heresies*, and that there are several passages in it taken from Irenæus; and, further, that the author of the work mentions the use which he has made of the Bishop of Lyons' writings. There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, entertained but that this work, which we now have, is the one mentioned by Photius, and that in his day it was ascribed to Hippolytus.

Again, Theodoretus\* says that Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, was one of those writers who held that Nicolaus, one of the seven deacons mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (c. vi. 5.), was the originator of the heresy of the Nicolaitans. And Schulze, in a note upon this passage, expresses his opinion that this statement of Hippolytus would be found in the Treatise against thirty-two heresies mentioned by Photius.† Now the author of this work before us states this very thing. Πολλῆς δὲ αὐτῶν συστάσεως κακῶν αἰτίος γεγέννηται Νικόλαος, εἰς τῶν ἑπτὰ εἰς διακονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς, ὃς ἀποστὰς τῆς κατ' εὐθείαν διδασκαλίας, ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου τε καὶ γνώσεως, οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνυβρίζοντας τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης ἤλεγχε πορνεύοντας καὶ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίοντας. (P. 258.) A comparison also of several passages in Theodoretus, with others touching the same matters in the 'Refutation of all Heresies,' shows that he must have made use of this in compiling his own work on Heresies: the conclusion, therefore, is obvious, that he knew this book to have been written by Hippolytus. Gobarus‡ also mentions this statement of Hippolytus relative to Nicolaus the Deacon.

We have already seen that Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, in a quotation from him, preserved in the Introduction to the 'Chronicon Paschale,' speaks of a 'Treatise against all Heresies' by Hippolytus, and cites a passage from that book. This passage, although not in the precise words, is also found in the work under our consideration. (See *Bunsen*, vol. i. p. 107.)

Moreover, the author of this 'Treatise against all Heresies,' mentions, as we have remarked above, another work of his own, called Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας. (P. 334.) There exists a portion of a Homily, first published by Hæschelius as a work falsely attributed to Josephus§, and afterwards printed by Le Moyné||, and subsequently by Fabricius, in his edition of Hippolytus (vol. i. p. 220—222.), with this inscription: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰππολύτου ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἕλληνας λόγου τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πλάτωνα περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας. This is evidently the same treatise as that on the statue of Hippolytus, entitled Πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα, ἥ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός.\* If there could be any doubt as to the identity of this work, the following passage from Photius (c. 48.) is surely sufficient to

\* Hæret. Fab. lib. iii. c. 1.

† 'Libellus iste videtur partem Operis contra Hæreses 32 constituisse, cui ex Iræneo quædam admixta fuisse testatur. Photius, Cod. 121.'

‡ See Photius, Cod. ccxxii.

§ In the notes to Photius, edit. 1563, p. 9.

|| In *Varia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 53.



remove it:—*Περὶ τοῦ παντός, ὃ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνέγων ἐπιγραφόμενον, Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός αἰτίας, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ, Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός οὐσίας.* It is true that Photius attributes this book to Caius, because it was plain, from the author's own words, that he was the same person as had written the 'Labyrinth' (which, indeed, is also by Hippolytus), although, as he states, in consequence of its having been left incomplete, some had ascribed it to Josephus, some to Justyn Martyr, and others to Irenæus. He did not know who its author was. We may, however, safely take his account as to the identity of the book, and that of the inscription on the statue for its authorship.

It would not be difficult to adduce many other arguments, all tending to the same end. Mr. Bunsen has compared and shown the similarity of various passages from the well-known works of Hippolytus with others from this treatise, and we ourselves have compared several others, which all lead to the same conclusion. We believe, however, that enough has been advanced to satisfy any candid inquirer that the book before us could have been written by no other person than Hippolytus, bishop of Portus and martyr. Professor Jacobi, in the 'Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft und Christliches Leben,' expresses his opinion that Hippolytus is the author of the 'Treatise against all Heresies;' and Dr. Duncker, in the 'Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen,' pronounces that the author is Hippolytus, and promises to prove his assertion in a new edition of this work on Heresies, which he is now engaged in preparing. Both these learned men have come to their conclusion without having any knowledge of Mr. Bunsen's researches, which, however, had been printed some time before, although not published. Dr. Lomnatzch, the editor of Origen's works, in a private letter to Mr. Bunsen, has stated his conviction that the work cannot have been written by Origen, and his belief that it is from the pen of Hippolytus. Thiersch also has arrived at the same conclusion.

The first and second letters to Archdeacon Hare are chiefly employed in proving that the work is the production of Hippolytus, and in giving an analysis of its contents. We will not weary our readers by entering into any detail respecting the melancholy aberrations of the human intellect and the sad perversion of the simplicity of Christian truth which these heresies display. Much curious and interesting information, however, may be derived from them relating to the influence of Christianity upon different systems of speculative philosophy when it was first brought into contact with them, and began to act upon them. We will pass on to the third letter, in which Mr. Bunsen gives some account of the government and condition of

the Church of Rome under Zephyrinus and Callistus, A.D. 199—222. As we are here furnished with some very curious facts respecting the personal character and history of these two early Popes of Rome, of which we had no knowledge previously, we shall quote a considerable passage from this letter:—

‘We know that in the latter years of the reign of the unworthy son of the philosophical and virtuous but inefficient emperor Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, his mistress Marcia played a conspicuous part in the history of the palace. She married, as a matter of course it would appear, the captain of the guards, and was believed to exercise a great influence on the emperor. When his brutal temper became unbearable, she was privy to the conspiracy which put him to death by poison and suffocation. Of this Marcia we knew already, from Dion, that she was very kind to the Christians: ‘We learn now from Hippolytus, that she was Godloving (*φιλόθεος*), that is to say, that she had been converted to the Christian faith. The part she acts in the life of Callistus is peculiarly interesting. There was under Commodus, when Victor was bishop of Rome, a good Christian soul called Carpophorus, who had a Christian slave of the name of Callistus. To help him on, he gave him the administration of a bank, which he kept in that celebrated quarter of Rome called the *Piscina publica*. Many brethren and widows trusted their money to this bank, having great faith in the Christian character of Carpophorus. But Callistus turned out a rogue; he made away with the sums intrusted to him, and when the depositors wanted their money, it was gone. Their complaints came before Carpophorus: he asked for the accounts; and when the fraud could be no longer concealed, Callistus made his escape. He ran down to the harbour, Portus, some twenty miles from Rome, found a ship ready to start, and embarked. Carpophorus was not slow in following him, and found the ship moored in the middle of the harbour. He took a boat to claim the criminal. Callistus seeing no escape, threw himself into the sea, and was with difficulty saved, and delivered up to his master, who, taking the matter into his own hands, gave him the domestic treadmill of the Roman slave-owners, the *pistrinum*. Some time passed, and as it is wont to happen (says Hippolytus), some brethren came to Carpophorus, and said he ought to give poor Callistus a fair chance of regaining his character, or at least his money. He pretended that he had money outstanding, and that if he could only go about, he should recover it. “Well,” said good Carpophorus, “let him go and try what he can recover: I do not care much for my own money, but I mind that of the poor widows.” So Callistus went out on a Sabbath (Saturday), pretending he had to recover some money from the Jews, but in fact having resolved to do something desperate, which might put an end to his life, or give a turn to his case. He went into a synagogue and raised a great riot there, saying he was a Christian, and interrupting their service. The Jews were of course enraged at this insult, fell upon him, beat him, and then carried him before Fusianus the prefect of Rome. While this judge, a very severe man, was

hearing the case, somebody recognised Callistus, and ran to tell Carpophorus what was going on. Carpophorus went immediately to the Court, and said, "This fellow is no Christian, but wants to get rid of his life, having robbed me of much money, as I will prove." The Jews, thinking this was a Christian stratagem to save Callistus, insisted upon having him punished for disturbing them in the lawful exercise of their worship. Fuscianus therefore sentenced him to be scourged, and then transported to the unwholesome parts of Sardinia, so fatal to life in summer.

'Some time after, says Hippolytus, Marcia, wishing to do a good work, sent for bishop Victor and asked what Christians had been transported to Sardinia, adding, that she would beg the Emperor to release them. The bishop made out a list of them; but being a judicious and righteous man, he omitted the name of Callistus, knowing the offence that he had committed. Marcia obtained the letter of pardon; and Hyacinthus, a eunuch (of the service of the palace undoubtedly), and a presbyter (of the Church), was despatched to the governor of the island to claim and bring back the martyrs. Hyacinthus delivered his list, and Callistus finding that his name was not upon it, began to lament and entreat, and at last moved Hyacinthus to demand his liberation also. Here the text is somewhat obscure; but thus much is clear, that his liberation was obtained by bringing the name of Marcia into play.

'When Callistus made his appearance, Victor was much vexed; the scandal had not been forgotten, and Carpophorus (his lawful master) was still alive. So he sent him off to Antium (Porto d'Anzo), and gave him a certain sum a month. Whether it was here Callistus fell in with Zephyrinus or at Rome itself, no sooner was Carpophorus dead than Zephyrinus, now become bishop of Rome, made him his coadjutor to keep the clergy in order, and gave himself up to him so entirely, that Callistus did with him what he liked. Unfortunately, says Hippolytus, Zephyrinus was not only very stupid and ignorant, but loving money very much, took bribes. Things went on in this way until Zephyrinus died, when Callistus was elected to the eminent post he had coveted all the time. He became bishop of Rome, and the theological disputes in that Church began to be envenomed.' (P. 126—131.)

We cannot be surprised that under the superintendence of a bishop of such a character as Callistus, heresy should be rife, more particularly when he was ready to adopt any opinion, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, which seemed most likely to tend to the support of his own personal power. He established a school, in which the doctrine of Noetus was taught; and for the satisfaction of many who had been excommunicated, and now flocked to that school, he set up the doctrine 'that he forgave the sins of all.' And in order to screen himself, he further laid down a principle: 'If a bishop commits sin, be it even a sin unto death, he must not be deposed for all

‘that.’ How much of the Romish system then must have taken its origin from this very Callistus? No wonder therefore that this account of Hippolytus, which is now for the first time, after the lapse of many ages, brought to light, should have entirely disappeared, and have been nowhere to be found in any of those countries over which that system once tyrannised. Callistus, one of the so-called successors of St. Peter, has, of course, been canonised as a saint; and his festival is celebrated on the 14th of October.

The fourth letter contains ‘Hippolytus’ own Confession;’ but to ourselves it is far more interesting, as exhibiting Mr. Bunsen’s own bold and full confession on many important subjects, which in these days most of our own countrymen would recoil from grappling with, either from timidity or ignorance. He speaks openly his own convictions on the province of reason, and the reliance to be placed upon authority in matters of faith; and he evidently is inclined to the conclusion that there is far less danger to be apprehended against the real interests of Christianity from the rationalism which is in the one extreme than from the materialism of the other.\* In the following sentiment we most fully concur:—

‘There is no strength to be compared with that of a faith which identifies moral and intellectual conviction with religious belief, with that of an authority instituted by such a faith, and of a Christian life based upon it, and striving to Christianize this world of ours, for which Christianity was proclaimed. Let those who are sincere but timid, look into their conscience and ask themselves whether their timidity proceeds from faith, or whether it betray not rather a want of faith.’ (Vol. i. p. 173.)

We will quote one more passage from this letter:—

‘No Protestant in particular will ever arrive at that satisfactory result which the history of the Church and of the world presents to me, and feel his mind settled both as a philosopher and a Christian, who takes his stand on the confused and idealess formalism of that age of despair and hypocrisy, the second part of the seventeenth, and the first part of the eighteenth century. If he can read the old fathers critically, and will be consistent, he will arrive at open unbelief. Let no one search unless he be prepared to take the high ground of Christian life and liberty, and to apply historical criticism to the facts, and independent speculation to the ideas of Christianity. But above all, let him be honest and true. Whoever makes a bargain with his reason and conscience, will bruise and twist them, and lose all power of conviction and of faith. This is true, not only individually, but also nationally.

‘As to those who love servitude, and fancy they can avert scepticism by authority, and to those who show their Christian charity by

priestly anathemas, their learning by ignoring facts, and their wisdom by superseding Christian wisdom with arbitrary decisions and dictates, let me say to them with Christian frankness, what Hippolytus says to the Quartodecimans. If they will take the formularies of the Councils and of the Church as a law binding upon them, let them show reason why they do not take them all—not only all the formularies, past, present, and future, but also the other ordinances which the same councils, with the same authority, have laid upon mankind. Hippolytus' argument holds good against them: if they were bound by any part of the law, as such, they are bound by the whole. As to ourselves, my dearest friend, let us thank God that we are not thus bound; and let us live, and if necessary, die for the precious liberty of the children of God.' (P. 180.)

The fifth letter, which completes the first volume, treats of Hippolytus' life and writings, and the theological and ecclesiastical character of his age. It would carry us far beyond our limits to enter into any detail respecting the various works written by or attributed to Hippolytus. We will quote one passage relating to his exposition on the Psalms:—

'The most remarkable passage is the following; because it shows how far the fathers were from that superstition which seems to have crept into the minds even of some learned and eminent men in this country, who write on the Psalms as if it were part and parcel of orthodoxy to believe that all of them are by David, and that they were composed by him, or at the utmost by him and his friends, for the use of the congregation as an official hymn-book; whereas such an opinion is nothing but a proof of ignorance, and, in divines, of a contempt for truth and learning.'

'The words are these: after having said that the Jews called the Psalter *Sephira Thelim* (*Sepher Tehillim*, the book of Songs) without any name of an author, Hippolytus adds, "the reason thereof is this, that the compositions were not written by one; but Esdras collected those of several authors, as the traditions inform us, in the time after the Captivity when he united the Psalms of different writers, or rather songs in general (*λόγους*); for they are not all Psalms. In consequence some of them have the name of David prefixed to them, some that of Solomon, others that of Asaph. There are also some by Jeduthun (*Ἰδθούμ*), and besides some by the sons of Korah, also by Moses. Now the compositions of all these men collected together will not be called the Psalms of David alone by any one who understands the matter." (P. 284.)

Mr. Bunsen might have added that this ignorance as to the Psalms, which leads many in the present day to look upon all these holy songs as the composition of the King of Israel, was equally shared by one of the most eminent fathers of the fourth century—*even* no less a person than the golden-mouthed Patriarch of Constantinople. For Chrysostom, in his thirty-

third homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, has these words: — ‘Especially not all things spoken by David in the Psalms are spoken in the person of David. For it is he himself who saith, “I have dwelt in the tents of Kedar, and by the waters of Babylon there we sat and wept.” But he never saw Babylon nor the tents of Kedar.’ There may not be sufficient grounds to determine accurately who was the author of either of these two psalms cited by Chrysostom, but there can be no doubt in the mind of any reflecting person, even although he be not skilled in the criticism of the Book of Psalms, that the 137th cannot be anterior to the captivity of Babylon. •

After having endeavoured to draw the character of Hippolytus from such records as have been handed down respecting him, and from the materials supplied by his own works, Mr. Bunsen subjoins the following remarks: —

‘I am fully aware that some persons will think that I have not treated Hippolytus with the respect due to a sainted father of the Latin Church. For to certain persons every such father speaks with a share of the collective infallibility of a synodical clergy; and these patristic idolaters are strongly inclined to impose such an authority upon us in matters of fact, no less than in metaphysical formularies. We are to submit to those fathers, if they assert something as a historical fact, which we have very good reasons for not giving credit to, or which we know to be untrue; and as to metaphysical theories, we are to receive their opinions with the greater respect, the more they are contrary to the reasoning power to which they appeal. When these theologians, unworthy of the name of Protestants, of thinkers, and of historians, speak of the paramount weight of their concordant interpretations, they ignore, or do not know, that on all questions of scriptural and primitive Christianity which are now doubtful to us, the ancient writers were in as much uncertainty as we are. The writers of the fourth century generally contradict those of the second, who are in part witnesses, or reported credible evidence and plausible traditions; whereas those later fathers were only critics, and most of them very indifferent and biassed ones. For they often proceed from systems, historical and doctrinal, which strongly impair their qualifications for being judges, and still more show their unfitness for being set up as infallible models of criticism. If then to criticise the fathers is to show them disrespect, these later fathers have themselves shown it to their predecessors. The much trumpeted saying, “Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,” is a silly truism in the sense of those idolaters of the letter, and if taken in the sense in which it is true, destroys their system and their authority.’ (Vol. i. p. 320.)

We are now brought to the end of the first volume, which indeed seems to embrace the whole of the writer’s original intention to show that the newly-discovered ‘Refutation of all

Heresies' is not the work of Origen, but of Hippolytus, to give some account of this remarkable book, and of its author, and also to enter into a fuller enumeration than had hitherto been made of the rest of his writings. The three succeeding volumes have grown out of the connexion of the subjects on which they treat, with a variety of matters relating to the Christian Church and Christianity suggested by this book of Hippolytus. As we have already devoted so great a portion of our space to the first volume, and given such copious extracts from it, and indeed from some of the others, we must necessarily be brief in what follows.

The second volume has reference to the philosophical history of the Church: on the title-page it is denominated 'The Philosophical Research.' The matter, as he himself states, Mr. Bunsen has condensed into 'Aphorisms and Fragments,' which he trusts include the most essential points. It commences with the Aphorisms. We will quote only a very few of them:—

'There never was brought forward a more crude and unphilosophical notion than that of the English and French deists of the last century respecting natural religion: Its most absolute formula is that of Diderot: "All positive religions are the heresies of natural religion." There no more exists a natural religion, than there exists a natural or abstract language in opposition to a positive or concrete language. What was called natural religion is, on the contrary, but the dross of religion, the *caput mortuum* which remains in the crucible of a godless reason after the evaporation of all life.' (Vol. ii. p. 59.)

'Prophets were wanted in the former period to pronounce the will of the divinity whose oracle was asked, and these prophets again required and had their interpreters or hypophets, who clad the obscure words of the unconscious clear-sighted seer in intelligible words. Now new prophets are needed, and this time conscious ones interpreters of their own sights. At the same time two opposite schools will arise among the prophets and among the people. Some will stick to the letter, others cling to the spirit. Both have much to say for themselves. What is the letter without the spirit in a subject essentially spiritual? and what is the spirit without the letter in a record substantially historical? But, besides, who is to decide what the letter is and means? Some say the living priestly authority—some the tradition of the learned of old—some the present consciousness of men enlightened by study, thought, and earnest life.' (Vol. ii. p. 79.)

'Is more religion or less required in such a state of things? Certainly faith is required, and faith will be manifested more than ever before. But with what dangers is the way beset which goes from the paradise lost to the paradise regained!—from the blooming land of childhood to the fruitful land of promise, through the desert of doubt and the abyss of infidelity! Scepticism, armed with all the powers of civilisation, comes to the market-place, and asks, Is not

inspiration frenzy? faith superstition? are not rites mummeries? histories nursery tales? Is not the much praised divine medal after all an ordinary coin or counterfeit? the tradition about it a fiction and a forgery? the artist who coined it, and perhaps the god or hero impressed upon it, an impostor or a dupe? So the philosopher asks: the learned critic is silent or nods assent; and the busy crowd round the market of life either burns the inquirer as an atheist and a disturber of public order and peace, or revenges itself upon its own credulity and submission by scorn and rebellion. A wide sea opens before poor humanity where a safe harbour had appeared as a refuge from the raging waves. The reaction is strongest where the moral or political constraint has been greatest. The most superstitious nations always end in being the most sceptical and irreligious; and thus often again, in melancholy turn, become superstitious when frightened by their own infidelity and unworthiness, and infidels when the iron rod of superstition becomes intolerable. Slaves who have broken their chains, without carrying self-government with them, are doomed by divine judgment to be crushed by despotic sway. This is the agony of religion. But where remains religion itself? (P. 82.)

‘The nations of the present age want not less religion, but more. They do not wish for less community with the apostolic times, but for more: but above all, they want their wounds healed by a Christianity showing a life-renewing vitality allied to reason and conscience, and ready and able to reform the social relations of life, beginning with the domestic and culminating with the political. They want no negations, but positive reconstruction; no conventionality, but an honest *bonâ fide* foundation; deep as the human mind, and a structure free and organic as nature. In the meantime let no national form be urged as identical with divine truth; let no dogmatic formula oppress conscience and reason; and let no corporation of priests, and no set of dogmatists sow discord and hatred in the sacred communities of domestic and national life. This aim cannot be attained without national efforts, Christian education, free institutions, and social reforms. Then no zeal will be called Christian which is not hallowed by charity—no faith Christian which is not sanctioned by reason.’ (P. 115.)

The Aphorisms are followed by ‘Historical Fragments on the Life and Consciousness of the Ancient Church and of the Age of Hippolytus in particular.’ In these Mr. Bunsen endeavours to show what were, or indeed, rather what were *not* Hippolytus’ views touching a variety of tenets maintained by different sections and denominations of Christians. We cannot enter into these at any length: we will, however, mention a few facts which are deserving of attention. So far from Hippolytus considering the Church of Rome at that time to be the Universal Church, which had the right to dictate and issue her decrees to all the world, it is shown that he puts the Church of Rome in distinct opposition to the Catholic Church. It is also



plain that in his day the services of the Church were performed even at the port of Rome, where he resided, in Greek; and that his sermons were also delivered in the same language; not because Greek was held to be a sacred tongue, even although all the books of the New Testament, with one or two exceptions, were originally written in it, but because, in the harbour of Rome, among the merchants, bankers, secretaries, and agents of all nations, which resorted thither, Greek was the language most generally used and best understood. It is plain, therefore, that at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century the Latin was not esteemed to be a sacred language even in Italy, or to be used any where in preference to the vernacular tongue in the services of the Church. The clergy, too, were certainly then not looked upon in the light of sacrificial and mediatorial priests in the sense of the later Roman pretensions after the perversion of the sacrifice of the Mass, nor were they bound to a vow of celibacy. The canon of Scripture received by Hippolytus was essentially the same as our own. Although he did not acknowledge the Epistle to the Hebrews to be St. Paul's, he quotes it as having apostolic authority; and indeed, as Mr. Bunsen observes, 'the churches which did not receive this epistle as St. Paul's, acknowledge both its catholicity and its Pauline character, and ascribed it — some to Clemens Romanus, who has many passages from it, but evidently gives them not as his own — some to St. Luke, for which there is no tradition either, no more than for St. Barnabas, to whom Tertullian thinks it might belong; in short, to friends and disciples of the great Apostle.' (P. 137.) It will be interesting to see what Hippolytus himself says, on the authority of the Holy Scriptures: —

'There is one God, my brethren, and Him we know only by the Holy Scriptures. For in like manner as he who wishes to learn the wisdom of this world cannot accomplish it without studying the doctrine of the philosophers; thus all those who wish to practise divine wisdom will not learn it from any other source than from the Word of God. Let us, therefore, see what the Holy Scriptures pronounce; let us understand what they teach, and let us believe as the Father wishes to be believed, and praise the Son as he wishes to be praised, and accept the Holy Spirit as he wishes to be given. Not according to our own will, nor according to our own reason, nor forcing what God has given; but let us see all this as He has willed to show it by the Holy Scriptures.'

This passage is taken from the tract against Noetus, and the version is Mr. Bunsen's, (P. 144.) The following passage, from the same section, is well deserving of attention: —

‘ Here one cannot help remarking a one-sidedness of the Protestant divines of the sixteenth and particularly of the seventeenth centuries, which has been, and continues to be, the cause of endless confusion and lamentable untruth and ignorance. What relates the history of the Word of God in his humanity and in this world, and what records its teachings and warnings, and promises, was mistaken for the Word of God itself in its proper sense. By this mistake, the faith in the real Word of God, which is the only immutable and eternal standard of truth, and has its response in the Spirit within, was obscured, and is obscured to this day; and its only recipients, Reason and Conscience, have been and are violated, to the sad confusion of Christ’s Church.’ (P. 149.)

‘ The Theses on the Eucharist, which can be proved historically,’ and ‘ the Epochs of the history of the Christian Sacrifice and the Eucharist,’ are pieces which were originally written in German nearly thirty years ago; and the extract from a letter to Dr. Nott, ‘ on the Nature of the Christian Sacrifice,’ dates as far back as Christmas Day, 1829. They relate to very interesting and important matters which have deeply occupied the writer’s thoughts for a long time, and which he has now at length given to the public. It is evident that the conclusions at which he has arrived have stood the test of the long experience of many years in his own mind, and that every renewed research and additional gleam of light have strengthened his convictions. We have read them with great attention, and we believe that we may sum up the result at which he has arrived as to the nature of the Christian sacrifice in the beautiful words of the prayer of our own communion service: — ‘ And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee.’

The fact that the name of Hippolytus had been so much connected with the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, and that the following title, *Περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*, is found on his statue, seems first to have suggested to Mr. Bunsen the idea of entering into a full investigation respecting the Apostolic Constitutions, which, from the frequent references made to them by the earliest Christian writers, appear to have had, in some form or other, much influence upon the practice and customs of the Church before the time of Constantine. The history of this highly interesting, although, in its present state, greatly amplified and interpolated collection, is involved in the obscurity of age; and great has been the diversity of opinion respecting it, varying from the view of Whiston, who maintained that these Christian laws and constitutions were delivered at Jerusalem and on Mount Sion by our

Lord to the eleven apostles there assembled in the interval between his resurrection and ascension\*, to that of Archbishop Ussher, who pronounced them to be supposititious, and referred them, in their present form at least, to as late a date as the sixth century.† It seems, however, to be self-evident that in the Apostolic Churches, and in those of the ages immediately following them, there must have been laws and regulations as to a variety of matters connected with their government, discipline, customs, practice, and religious service, beyond the rule of faith, of which the only deposit is in the Holy Scriptures. Probably at first these were not committed to writing, and were included in the 'Apostolic Tradition,' to which reference is frequently made by the earlier Fathers: and it seems almost certain that they were not positively the same as to form, although concurring in spirit, in the various Churches placed under different external circumstances and separated from each other by distance, and using another language. The collection of Apostolic Constitutions, which we have now in our hands, is attributed to Clement of Rome; and we think that Mr. Bunsen has very happily illustrated and explained the cause of this:—

'The name of Clement of Rome was used as that of the author of those regulations, he having been the apostolic man who had first recorded ordinances or injunctions of the Apostles not found in Scripture, or at least had first claimed universal authority for them. His name and the names of the Apostles are used as a mythical form to express an undoubted fact, namely, the apostolicity of such injunctions as to the substance. The sense of the whole fiction is, that whatever in those ordinances is not directly the work of the Apostles must be considered as apostolic, as coming from their disciples, who, with their followers in the next generation, had continued their work in the same spirit, Clement of Rome being the first and most prominent among them. The consciousness of apostolicity in the second and third centuries justifies, or at least excuses and explains, such a fiction, which moreover could deceive nobody who reflected on the subject. St. Jerome has, in the letter to Lucian already quoted, the following very remarkable words:—"I think it right briefly to admonish thee, that apostolic traditions (particularly those which do not affect faith) ought to be observed as they have been delivered, and that the customs of some should not be destroyed by those of others. . . . Let the people of every province stand by their own, and consider the precepts of their forefathers as apostolic laws." This advice, if well understood, is very sensible; and, at all events, highly instructive as to the view of the ancient Church.' (Vol. ii. p. 226.)

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\* See Primitive Christianity, vol. iii. p. 20.

† 'Diss. de Apostolicis Constitutionibus et Canonibus Clementi Romano tributis,' prefixed to his edition of the Letters of Polycarp and Ignatius, p. xli.

Other similar collections, such as the *Didascalia* of Ignatius, the *Didascalia* of Hippolytus, and the *Didache* of Polycarp, of which mention is made by ecclesiastical writers, seem to owe their appellations to the same cause. The opinion of Bishop Pearson\*, that the Greek Apostolic Constitutions as we now possess them, have been composed of all or of several of these different codes patched up together, seems to us to be very probable. The author of this piece of patchwork can hardly be any other than the same as put forth the Ignatian Epistles in their longer and second interpolated form, as Archbishop Ussher has shown.† However this may be, it will be quite evident to any one who carefully peruses the Apostolic Constitutions, that there are passages in them which relate to the days of the early persecutions of the Christians and of Pagan emperors, and others which refer to the later times of a Christian empire. The more ancient portions of them will therefore belong to the second and third centuries, and consequently have been closely connected with, and have had much influence upon, the customs and discipline of believers in the age of Hippolytus, and are calculated to afford us much information as to the life of the Ancient Church. We thus see how the consideration of the Apostolic Constitutions falls within the compass of the design which Mr. Bunsen had proposed to himself.

We do not think he has overstated the case respecting the influence which the more ancient portions of those Apostolic Constitutions exercised over the Church before the time of Constantine in the following passage:—

‘There was a book in the ante-Nicene Church, in that age which as a whole we may call the Apostolic, and of which Hippolytus, Origen, and Cyprian, represent the latter part,—there was among the Christians of those two hundred years a book called apostolic in an eminent sense, as the work of all the Apostles. It was a book more read than any one of the writings of the Fathers, and in Church matters of greater weight than any other; the book before the authority of which the bishops themselves bowed, and to which the Churches looked up for advice in doubtful cases. And this book was not the Bible. It was not even a canonical book; but as to its form a work of fiction, and pretending to have emanated from the Apostles, was excluded by most of the Fathers, as spurious, from the books of the New Testament. This book was called sometimes the “Doctrine,” more generally and properly, the “Ordinances,” or the “Constitutions,” “of the Apostles.”’ (P. 220.)

\* *Vind. Ignat.* part i. p. 4.

† See Dissertation above mentioned, cap. x. p. lxiii.

By a careful analysis of the contents of the eight books, and by a comparison of the Greek text with the Abyssinian collections, as supplied by Vansleb and Ludolf, and with the Coptic, as furnished by the work of Archdeacon Tattam, and also by reference to the Arabic and Syriac, so far as the means were open to him, Mr. Bunsen has endeavoured to separate the most ancient portions from subsequent interpolations, and to exhibit them as nearly as he could in their Ante-Nicene form. We have already remarked, when speaking above of the analogous case of the Ignatian Epistles, that the results of this critical process have been greatly confirmed by an ancient Syriac manuscript in the National Library at Paris, with the contents of which Mr. Bunsen has subsequently become acquainted. Not only in the Greek, but also in the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, we find the name of Hippolytus connected with these Constitutions, although in the two last it appears only under the corrupted form peculiar to their mode of pronunciation of *Abulides*. It was the opinion of Gale\* that the Apostolic Constitutions were brought from the East to Rome by Hippolytus, and he refers to a passage of Eusebius as intimating that they were sent thither by Dionysius of Alexandria, and that Hippolytus was the bearer of them — καὶ ἑτέρα τις ἐπιστολὴ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται διακονικὴ διὰ Ἰππολύτου. (Book vi. c. 46.)

We do not think that the words of the ecclesiastical historian imply quite so much, but it is extremely probable that the Constitutions in use in the Alexandrian Church might have been introduced at Rome by Hippolytus, and by him have been incorporated or subjoined to others already in existence. From the result of his comparisons and investigations, Mr. Bunsen has arrived at the following conclusions, which are very interesting:—

*First.* The Greek text contains three distinct collections: the first six books, the seventh, and the eighth.

*Second.* The first of these collections (Books I.—VI.) is entirely rewritten, and then interpolated.

*Third.* The interpolations, here and in the other collections, betray themselves in most cases, not only by their contents, but also by the fact that, when they are expunged, a natural order appears in the arrangement of the ordinances, instead of the present entire want of all logical order.

*Fourth.* The second Greek collection, or the seventh book, is, in its ordinances, entirely original, and is not reproduced in the other, not Greek, collections.

*Fifth.* The vulgar text of the eighth book of the Greek Consti-

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\* Cited by Cave, Hist. Lit. par. ii. p. 27.

tutions is a corrupt and interpolated recension of the text exhibited in the Vienna and Oxford manuscripts: exactly as Grabe had maintained.

'*Sixth.* This compilation is connected with Hippolytus, both by the Introduction with which it opens, and which may be considered as substantially representing part of the lost book of Hippolytus, the "Apostolic Tradition respecting the Gifts of the Holy Spirit," and by the wording of the chapters on the Offices of the Church, and perhaps by that of others (Books III.—VI.).

'*Seventh.* The principal materials of this compilation are contained in the latter portion of the collection of Apostolical Ordinances used in Egypt (Books III.—VI.), and preserved to us in the Coptic text.

'*Eighth.* The first portion of these Ordinances (Books I. II.) of the Church of Alexandria represents the groundwork of something very like that which the first six books of the Greek Constitutions, a decidedly fraudulent imposture, the forerunner of the Pseudo-Isidorian imposture of the later canon law of the Church of Rome, exhibit in a thoroughly corrupted and comparatively worthless text.

'*Ninth.* The other collection of the Church of Alexandria, now only preserved in the Abyssinian text and its Arabic translation, bears the same primitive character in its original elements, and represents in the chapter on the admission of Catechumens parts of the eighth book of our Greek Constitutions.

'*Tenth.* The Syrian collection, or the collection of ordinances as used in the Church of Antioch and its allied Churches of the Syrian tongue, bears a similar relation to other parts of the eighth book of our Greek Constitutions; but does not coincide with either of the Alexandrian collections.' (Vol. ii. p. 252.)

The inquiry respecting the Apostolic Constitutions closes the second volume. In the third, Mr. Bunsen has endeavoured, by a reconstructive process, to show what was 'the life of the 'Ancient Church, on education, baptism, and worship in 'government and social relations.' It is divided into two parts: the first is called the 'Church and House-book and Law-book 'of the Ante-Nicene Church.' This is compiled from such parts of the Apostolic Constitutions as belong to their more ancient form, and also from materials derived from other ancient sources; as, for instance, the account of the prayers of the Church of Antioch for Catechumens as supplied by Chrysostom in his second homily on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and the order of baptism in the Church of Jerusalem as recorded by Cyril in his sermons to the newly-baptized. These are arranged and classified under several heads, and a reference given to the source from which they have been taken. On this part, Mr. Bunsen has made the following observations in his introduction to the third volume. We especially recommend this introduction as containing some truly noble thoughts and

sentiments embodied in powerful and energetic language, which, although uttered by a foreigner, mounts even to eloquence in English style. We have not space to quote more from it than this passage immediately relating to our present subject:—

‘The Church and House-Book of the ancient Church, more especially, is a book recording that Christian wisdom and piety inspired by the Holy Ghost. It is a book composed by believing souls whose names are known to God, and sealed with the blood of the confessors of the faith. It exhibits a testimony of faith in the moral government of the world, practically tried; a testimony to the freedom of mind and to the indestructibility of the dignity of man, against the tyranny of a Nero and the administration of justice of a Trajan; a light in the midst of the darkness of despairing infidelity, and of a comfortless philosophy among the educated classes. There is nothing which makes this document more venerable than its divine simplicity and childlikeness. Let no one open its leaves who does not know how to value this simplicity. To him who will not read them, as the Bible must be read, with pure and respectful feelings, they will only give offence and be injurious; he will only wrong, without in the least understanding them.’ (P. viii.)

The second part of this volume contains the interpretation and application of the first. We must rest satisfied here with merely this short indication of its contents; but we think many will be gratified to know in what terms Mr. Bunsen, when speaking of the merits or defects of the Liturgies of the reformed Churches, in general, has pronounced respecting our own:—

‘The Liturgy, as a whole, is dignified throughout, although it cannot be pronounced to be organic in itself, nor adapted for general use in Christendom, still less for domestic use. We must, however, from our point of view, consider the fact, that a Book of Common Prayer has become a national institution, as more important than all defects, and even all excellences, of detail. It is of all Church ordinances, since the Reformation, the most important. It was a great and a blessed thought, this placing in the hands of a Christian nation a book impressing evangelical truths, not by abstract theological formulas, but by an act of worship and edification, and in language intelligible to the congregation. Such a book alone was capable of becoming a Church and House-Book, and such it has become. It is in itself as valuable as the Text-Book of the ancient Church, the fragments of which we have endeavoured to restore, and in many respects infinitely superior to it; although, alas! less free, and breathing less of faith in that Christian Spirit which inspires the praying or teaching speaker. No Church in Christendom has yet carried out those liturgical ideas with the same dignity and completeness. The German Churches have, to this day, produced only clerical liturgies and regulations, and even the liturgical reform of Frederic William the Third has not gone beyond that. The Order

of Prayers (Agenda) is a book for the clergy, and placed only in their hands. The Hymn-books, as well as almost everything that is good since the time of Luther, the German congregations have been obliged to work out for themselves, amid bloody struggles, with all the disadvantages of isolation, and mostly under despotic forms of government.' (P. 293.)

'It must not be forgotten that the English Church and House-Book became and has remained at once the most widely circulated, and the most practically blessed book of devotion in the Christian world, and the only national one. With the exception of the Quakers, all Dissenters who speak the English language (even the Unitarians) retain a large portion, the Methodists almost the whole, without any alteration, of the contents of that Church-Book. The lamentable notion, that the service is essentially the sermon, has, by that means, been carefully guarded against by the English Church, as well as the spirit of theological quibbling which darkens the ancient, and the arbitrary license of the individual minister which disfigures the modern, German development.' (P. 327.)

'Among modern ordinances, the English Funeral Service is a model of dignity and solemnity, and beautiful in its choice of the psalms. The German Lutheran Service has, however, its own noble elements of spiritual poetry, in common with the most ancient Church. In the Marriage Ceremony both are exemplary; but here, again, by the side of the truly grand national work of the English Liturgy, the Liturgies of distracted Germany show only classical elements clumsily put together: the natural consequence of provincial dismemberment.' (P. 345.)

The mention of liturgies carries us on to the second part of the fourth and last volume of Mr. Bunsen's work, in which he has given 'The genuine Liturgies of the Ancient Church.' The whole question relating to liturgies—what was their origin—what their ancient form—what parts are common to all—what peculiar to each—how they developed themselves in various Churches—how they came to be amplified and dilated, is one of exceeding interest, but of far too great extent and magnitude for us to attempt to offer any remarks upon it in this place. We believe that Mr. Bunsen's labours have opened the way by a new and critical process, and also made considerable advances towards solving much of the doubt and difficulty involved in this inquiry. We can venture to recommend this part of his work especially to the study of all those who are able to bring sufficient knowledge and learning to bear with advantage upon this subject. It must be deeply interesting to every lover of Christian antiquity, and, indeed, to every Christian; for who can feel otherwise than interested to know how those who followed immediately in the footsteps of the Apostles, worshipped in celebrating that Holy Communion which Christ



himself instituted, and by which, as St. Paul says, we show the Lord's death till He come — and to ascertain how nearly those who came after them in each successive age down to our own time, adhered to their path, or how widely they diverged from it. This is neutral ground on which all, to whatever party or set of opinions they belong, may venture, without meeting with a stumbling-block to overthrow their charity, unless, indeed, they seek it designedly.

We quote the following passage from the general introduction to the liturgies of the Ancient Church, as showing Mr. Bunsen's own sentiments on this head: —

'It is impossible to enter into the sanctuary of Christian devotion; and undertake a historical review of the sublime thought of worship through eighteen centuries, without feeling overawed by the magnitude and holiness of the subject. I approach this sacred task not without a long preparation, nor without a deep feeling of responsibility, but without fear. For I am conscious of entering into the precincts of that sanctuary with unfeigned reverence, and with no other object than that of pointing out the world-historical importance of that idea of Christian worship—the picture of which I have attempted to draw in the preceding volume. I do so, moreover, with sincere charity towards all Christian creeds. From that point of view, all party animosities appear as senseless as they are culpable. It is as untrue and as unmeaning, as it is unworthy and odious, to attempt to explain by outward circumstances, or to attribute to base personal motives, great spiritual movements and liturgical forms, which have exercised and are exercising a supreme power over millions and millions of civilised people, and which are objects of awe and respect to nations, and spiritual guides to noble and holy minds.'

(Vol. iv. p. 135.)

The reader will find here printed, for the first time, some important liturgical fragments, copied from a palimpsest of great antiquity, in the Monastery of St. Gall, by Niebuhr, and by him communicated to Mr. Bunsen for publication thirty years ago; but which various causes have retarded. We are glad to see them at length brought to light. It is not without regret that we feel ourselves compelled to leave this — perhaps the most important subject of Mr. Bunsen's task — and to return to the first part of the third volume, and thus bring to a close our observations upon a work which embraces so great a variety of subjects as to constrain us to be brief upon each that we touch upon, and to pass over many points altogether without notice.

We feel it, however, to be our duty in this place to correct an error into which Mr. Bunsen has fallen, when he states (vol. iv. p. 238.), that the first edition of the Liturgy of St.

Mark, printed at Paris in 1583\*, does not exist in the British Museum. Having had, ourselves, occasion to make use of this volume, we know that it does exist there, and is to be found in the Catalogue under the head of 'Liturgies.' Probably his not being well acquainted with the various plans upon which the old catalogues were made, may have been the reason why Mr. Bunsen did not find there some other works, the absence of which he regrets. A library of comparatively modern foundation, like that of the British Museum, must necessarily remain for a long period imperfect and deficient in many even important works of which almost all the copies have been long since absorbed in public libraries, and it is but rarely that any occur for sale. With the zeal and energy of the present librarian, Mr. Panizzi, we are sure that if the Treasury and the Directors of the Museum will find funds, and above all SPACE, all these deficiencies will be supplied at the earliest opportunities. What is wanted NOW, we emphatically repeat, is SPACE. We have ourselves, upon more than one occasion, pointed out to Mr. Panizzi the absence of some work requisite for our researches; and we are bound in justice to state, that he has spared no pains to endeavour to procure it. Booksellers' catalogues have been searched, and their shops ransacked, to try to obtain the volume needed; if it could be found it was purchased; if not, a note was taken to look for it at a future occasion. We believe that in this respect no especial favour has been shown to ourselves, but that this is Mr. Panizzi's general practice. We think, therefore, that it is the duty of all who use the national library, not less for the advantage of that institution than on the librarian's account, who has shown himself so anxious to make it as complete as possible, not only to communicate any deficiency first to him, that he may have an opportunity of endeavouring to supply it, but to agitate vigorously for better reading-rooms and for increased accommodation for books. We see, in a return made to an order of the House of Commons, dated June 22. 1852, that during the last fifteen years, and since Mr. Panizzi has been at the head of the Library, that the number of volumes has

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\* Cardinal Sirletus, in his letter to I. à S. Andrea, prefixed to this edition, states that in the same St. Mary *De lo patire*, where this Liturgy of St. Mark was found, there also existed a work of Dionysius of Alexandria against the Noetians, and the Treatise of Hippolytus against Noetus and also against Paul of Samosata. This latter heretic was indeed contemporary with Hippolytus, but his heresy does not seem to have been generally known till some years later than Hippolytus.

been more than doubled, and the average rate of increase has been 28,000 volumes yearly during the last quinquennium.

The first part of the fourth volume contains 'The Apology of Hippolytus addressed to the People of England.' The scope and design of this apology, which is written with much spirit, and embodies in a more popular form much of the matter discussed in the critical, historical, and philosophical parts of the work will, perhaps, be best explained in Mr. Bunsen's own words : —

'The Apology of Hippolytus rests upon the fiction, that he was come to England in order to complain of the authorship of the lately discovered book having been taken from him, and that he claims to be recognised as what he really was, bishop of the Harbour of Rome, and member of the governing presbytery of the metropolis; and, above all, as a thinking Christian and an orthodox divine, in an age which had still uncorrupted traditions, and whose heroes and innumerable martyrs lived and died for Christianity. I suppose Hippolytus to make this defence of himself before a distinguished English assembly, after some months of interviews and theological discussions with learned divines. In carrying out this fiction, I have endeavoured to follow, as closely as possible, the form of the Platonic Apology of Socrates, and humbly to imitate that mixture of irony and ethical earnestness which is inseparable from the name of Socrates.' (Pref. vol. i. p. xiii.)

Many doubtless will be interested to read what are Mr. Bunsen's own sentiments and opinions touching our Government and Institutions, which he has put into the mouth of Hippolytus. We therefore quote the following passages from this Apology : —

'What I admire most among you, is what I consider to be your great and lasting monument in the history of the world. You have created a commonwealth, where two things are united which that great pagan, Tacitus, thought irreconcilable, liberty and government. And if I search into the nature, origin, and growth of this your commonwealth, I find it to be the fruit of true Christian principles, of Christian self-government and mercy. All that striking order and energy which reign in this country, all the wisdom and zeal of your senators and areopagitic judges, the general respect for the law among the people, as well as all those great and mighty external works which people admire so much, seem to me to originate in your truly public, and, let me say, Christian spirit. For Christianity is intended to establish law and self-government, first in every individual, next in domestic life, and in public society. Christianity is to convince people of the eternal love of God, and to make them love their fellow-creatures as brethren, in order to enable them, through such love, to erect a godlike, rational, and just, and consequently a free commonwealth. Wherever, therefore, I find the forms of public

liberty, I inquire first, whether the people have the law in themselves; whether there be in them, individually, liberty, which is self-government, and charity, which is mutual faith: and where I find that to be the case, I know from history and my own experience that it is the work of Christianity. Now with you this is so, evidently. . .

Here I see that you have indeed erected most wonderful factories and cotton-mills; but you do not make the poor people, men and women and children, work in them on Sundays, as the Gauls do in their country. You have, like them, labourers and mechanics, aspiring to better their condition; but yours prefer working, and quietly associating together, to the making of revolutions, and plunging others and themselves into misery. You have ragged children: but you clothe and educate them for useful work, instead of enlisting them as soldiers to kill their fellow-citizens; and they like learning to read and to work, rather than making an attempt to convulse society by their votes, and to subvert order by arms. Your metropolis is not a monumental town, like a part of theirs: but your monument is your commonwealth. I must apply to you as a nation, what you say in your great basilica on the tomb of the great architect who raised it: "*Si monumentum requiris circumspecte.*" You have raised, in those three hundred years, that well-balanced commonwealth to which I have already alluded, and you have established and maintained such a sanctuary of liberty as even our fathers did not possess in the great and glorious times of the Republic. You have known how to unite freedom with order, popular rights with a national aristocracy and hereditary monarchy, which union, our great heathen prophet Cicero\* said, would, if ever it could be brought to pass, form the most perfect of governments. This great monument, which you have erected, I admire more than all those outer works of civilisation of which other people think you are so proud, not only as men of your race, but as Christians, and, I am bound to add, as Protestants. You have just shown to the world the practical effect of the principle on which your social arrangements are based. People on the Continent believed (or tried to make others believe) that the gathering of so many hundreds of thousands of your working and labouring men round the spectacle of the Great Exhibition would be the signal, if not of famine and pestilence, certainly of revolution and bloodshed. But I have seen them surround their queen with respectful affection: and, far from any disturbance taking place, good-will and good-humour and plenty never have reigned more paramount any where than during these months among you. Now when I ask myself, since what time you have possessed this liberty and enjoyed this peace and tranquillity, I cannot help remarking that you owe it all to that godly reform you began to make of Christianity about three hundred years ago.' (P. 14—18.)

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\* Mr. Bunsen has added in a note the passages from Cicero's '*De Re Publica*,' to which he refers, viz. lib. i. c. xxix. xxxv. xlv.

With these extracts we must close our notice of this highly interesting and remarkable book. We feel that we have failed to do full justice to it on many important points. To aver, however, that we entirely coincide in opinion and sentiment upon all the subjects and various questions which are brought before us in these pages, would be going too far. There are many matters upon which a member of the Evangelical Church of Germany must necessarily hold different views from ourselves; but upon all points of Christian charity, all truly Christian men can and ought to agree. We have sensibly felt the truth of Mr. Bunsen's remarks in the following passage; and having been aware of the treatment and misrepresentations which he has already received in certain quarters—in making these our observations upon his very learned and important work now before us, we have endeavoured, at least, to avoid their application to ourselves.

'On all these points I am prepared for misconstructions, contradictions, and attacks, from opposite quarters. Any author who in our times treats theological and ecclesiastical subjects frankly, and therefore with reference to the problems of the age, must expect to be ignored, and, if that cannot be done, abused and reviled. I shall, however, only notice such opponents as will discuss a sacred subject with an impartial love of truth, and who show themselves men of independent thought and of critical research. I shall quietly leave the others to their privileges, and by silence reply to such as enter into a philosophical discussion with the old cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" It is impossible, in our times, to have an independent opinion on those subjects, without critical study and calm deliberate consideration; and yet everybody thinks himself entitled to pronounce judgment upon them. But the time will come when they will be again made the objects of universal interest and popular research. All tends to that, in Germany from the philosophical, in England from the practical, point of view; and, in both, from a feeling of great inward and outward necessity. Then it will be seen whether or not the way that I have indicated is the right one. Personally, it is perfectly indifferent to me whether I live to see this or not. I have neither written for my own personal gratification, nor for any party, either here or in Germany, nor for any fashion of the day.' I have meditated and inquired from an earnest desire to discover truth, and to meet the wants of a confused and eventful age, which yearns after light and information; and I have said nothing which I have not thoroughly examined and tested for at least twenty-five years. Thus, while I shall not be scared by any dictatorial assertions, neither will any correction come unwelcome to me. Of the truth of the fundamental views which I have expressed, both here and throughout the work, and of the soundness of their philosophical and historical groundwork, I have as little doubt as I have, of my own existence.' (Vol. iii. *Introd.* p. xxv.)

ART. II.—1. *History of the Island of Corfu, and of the Republic of the Ionian Islands*. By HENRY JERVIS WHITE JERVIS, Esq., Royal Artillery. London: 1852.

2. *The Ionian Islands under British Protection*. London: 1851.

THE sources of information relative to the Ionian Islands are so redundant that they perplex a writer seeking to convey an accurate notion of the affairs of that small but interesting State. Within the last three years, various political essays on this subject have appeared, adding to the knowledge we might have previously derived from Theotoky, Vaudoncourt, Mustoxidi, Goodisson, Davy, and a host of English and French travellers and yacht voyagers.

Few of these writers, we think, have treated their argument more successfully than the author of the succinct and connected narrative now before us. Mr. Jervis, free from any political or party bias, although sometimes misled by the authorities he quotes, appears to have availed himself of every opportunity for collecting the best materials for his history that a residence on duty in the Ionian Islands could afford him. He has evidently consulted all requisite and authentic documents within his reach, and studied the characters, habits, and institutions of the Ionian population; and seems to have particularly directed his attention to the Constitution launched under our auspices in 1817.

This anomalous provisional Constitution, or the character of its administration by the Lord High Commissioner of the day, has been frequently under discussion in Parliament, and sometimes roughly and incautiously dealt with, and exposed to the unwarrantable attacks of debaters, who probably had never taken the trouble of tracing it back to the extraordinary times and circumstances which gave it birth. We hope to be able, on this occasion, to assist our readers in forming a correct opinion, not merely on the progress of improvement in the United Ionian States, after their having been partially connected with Great Britain for a period of forty-three years, and under our absolute control for thirty-four, but also on the further point, whether the period had not arrived for loosening the tightbearing rein first applied in 1817, as the least of the evils between which the Government had then to choose under the plausible but inconsistent clauses of the Treaty of Paris, and in the actual condition of the Seven Islands.

But this is a more arduous undertaking than it would at first

seem; mystified as the question has been by the advocates of political parties, averse to any modification of the constitutional charter to which we refer, or by those who, ignorant of the true state of the case, are persuaded that neither the Ionians nor their 'neighbours, the Greeks, are fit to be trusted with a representative Government.

To disentangle the character of a State or of an individual from the hands of calumniators and injudicious admirers, is a task of great difficulty. While we desire to give a fair summary of the proceedings, complaints, intrigues, and factions of our quasi-colonial subjects, we must not forget to do them the justice of remembering how much they have suffered from a quick succession of temporary masters, and from the effects of misfortunes by which they were overwhelmed in 1797, and which they continued to feel intensely till 1809.

The partition of the Venetian territories, and the union of the Seven Islands with the French Republic, threw them into utter confusion. The innovations of French printing presses, public libraries, and primary schools, disturbed nobles, priests, and peasantry. The combined hostilities of the Turks and Russians led to the expulsion of the French, and to the re-establishment of the former councils of the Signori. A few months later, in the year 1800, the Islands were constituted a Federal Republic, vassal and tributary to the Porte, under the immediate sway of the notables of the country. These were selected through the powerful influence of the Albanian chief, Ali Pacha, who, having his own schemes in view, favoured the ancient families. The Notabili having been re-established in ancient despotism, with no other security for its exercise than the nominal Suzerainty of the Porte, the bloodshed and disorder which followed could scarcely have been prevented.

To this tempestuous season we have been constantly referred whenever a debate on the affairs of the Ionian Isles has taken place in the House of Commons, to prove, we suppose, the unintermitted vileness of the United Ionian States since 1809, and their unfitness for a representative government half a century later. Such unwarrantable inferences are calculated to irritate and dishearten a generation educated under British superintendence. They might be supposed to have been framed for the use of the popular parties, drawn up in opposition to the Government. It is true that the Lisgaras, Domenichinis, and Zervos\*, impracticable, weak, and vindictive, may have found

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\* Lisgaras, the head of the annexionist party of Zante; Domenichinis, of Zante, a landed proprietor; Zervos, residing at Argostoli, in Cephalonia.

access to municipal offices, and to the Parliament of 1850; but it is absurd and mischievous on this account to encourage in England the belief that Zante or any of the other islands resemble in character or conduct the lawless people of 1801, who occasioned the diplomatic mission of Neranzi to St. Petersburg on the part of the terrified Senate. The anarchy described by Neranzi was the result of the sudden transfer of the Ionian Isles from the government and crafty policy of the Venetians to the management of three different powers in the course of three successive years. The senate, unable to govern, and protected only by the Ottoman Porte, despatched their envoy to the Emperor of Russia, to implore his interference. On this, Count Mocenigo, a native of Zante, in the Russian service, immediately appeared as High Commissioner and Plenipotentiary: his mission being, to organise a new Government, to extinguish the old institutions, and extricate the Islands from the frightful confusion into which they had been plunged by the treaties of the Allied Sovereigns.

The addresses and proclamations of Count Mocenigo and the report of Neranzi are still preserved in the archives of Corfu. These are the documents which have been used unsparingly by political writers, who have thought to find there evidence that the race described in them must be incapable of constitutional institutions. Neranzi's description of Zante in 1801 having again lately been cited in the debates of the House of Commons, we may appositely refer to the following extract of a letter written by a Greek gentleman, P. Soutzo, a subject of King Otho, inserted in Mr. Jervis's history, and copied from the *Ελπίς*, an Athenian gazette, to show the condition of Zante in 1850. This forms a striking and remarkable contrast to the report of Neranzi, and the assassinations of 1801 in that island:—‘I write to you from Zante, which I reached a week ago: my object is to give you an account of an election to the Municipal Council of Zante, which, as you are aware, administers the local affairs of this island conjointly with the Regent.’

He then notices the feelings of the citizens as regards a union with Greece, and the views of the extreme party:—

‘Three citizens forming part of this latter class, T. Liagarà, George Crenderopulos, and Demetrius Macri, lately presented themselves as candidates at the municipal election, and obtained the majority of votes. The British Government violated the law neither directly nor indirectly: it had recourse to no kind of compulsion whatsoever. If in the independent kingdom of Greece, a candidate for the House of Assembly had declared



‘himself opposed not only to the House of Bavaria, but simply against the meanest of the ministry, what effusion of blood would have ensued! — what fabrications of bulletins! — what frauds! — and yet it is said we have a constitutional government; and we are proclaimed as unworthy of a representative government. Yesterday I made a long excursion into the country. What a delightful sight! Every where vineyards, orchards, golden harvest, cattle grazing, magnificent roads, villages full of prosperity; what security! what inviolable respect to property, both from those governing and those governed. Here you can proceed loaded with gold from one end of the island to the other, without the least fear; at home we cannot without the greatest danger go even from Athens to Kiphissie.’

This favourable description of Zante may be considered as applicable, in most respects, to the other islands also; but before adverting more particularly to the five or six tranquil years immediately preceding the revision of their constitutional charter, we must explain the circumstances which led to the peculiar and complicated form of government introduced here by Sir Thomas Maitland.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to dwell on the disastrous scenes which occurred after the treaty of Campoformio. The intrusion of the French Republicans, and the reaction caused by the opposition between the popular party and the old aristocratic classes — the formation of the Ionian Islands into three departments — the expulsion of the French by the combined Russian and Turkish forces, and the return of the Ionians to a Republic — the Ottoman Emperor being declared Suzerain, assisted by the protection of Russia — unsettled everything and settled nothing. So that the year 1798 found the Ionians a Federal Republic tributary to the Turks, with a government, in fact, selected by their powerful Albanian neighbour, Ali Pacha.

It was impossible such a Government could long exist; the disorders and sanguinary scenes described by Neranzi ensued; and the inhabitants naturally looked for assistance to Russia, whither many Ionians had fled. Count Mocenigo, on his arrival at Corfu, set to work so vigorously that by 1803 he had completed a new constitution; but it proved so defective that it was suspended in 1806, and just as another had been prepared, assigning the Government in perpetuity to a fixed number of families, the Treaty of Tilsit abandoned the Islands to their old masters, the French. Napoleon immediately assembled, in secrecy, 4000 soldiers on the opposite coast, at Otranto: whence,

embarked on board felluccas, they passed within a short distance of our unsuspecting cruisers, and arrived safely at Corfu. By the decree of Fontainebleau the Islands were placed under the charge of a Governor-General and an Imperial Commissioner, who carried on the government with the assistance of a nominal Senate chosen at their recommendation. Three years from this time, in 1809, most of the Southern Islands were liberated from French rule by a British fleet and army, Lord Collingwood having, at the earnest request of influential Ionians, sent ships from Malta. A British officer then took charge of the local government of each island; and with this military authority, the people appeared to have been satisfied, after all they had previously suffered; the commander-in-chief of the Southern Islands assuring them 'that he was charged to offer them the means to recover that political existence which had been snatched from them by the French, under the sceptre of Napoleon.' It was not, however, until February, 1814, that British troops took possession of Paxo, nor until the May of the same year that Corfu (which had been garrisoned by 14,000 men) was surrendered by the order of Louis XVIII.

At the Congress of Vienna, 1814, it was in contemplation to nominate Austria Protector of the Seven Islands; but whatever may have been the instructions of the Austrian Minister in respect to the disposal of them, no definite arrangement was proposed till the Treaty of Paris the succeeding year. An opportunity might now be supposed to have offered itself to the Emperor of Russia to compensate the Ionians for his abandonment of them at the Peace of Tilsit: Capodistria, a native of Corfu, the Russian Representative at Vienna, and a personal favourite with Alexander, laboured zealously in the cause of his compatriots. But, on its being found equally impossible to secure their national independence, or obtain the consent of Austria, France, or England to placing them in the hands of Russia, — no expedient was considered less embarrassing to the high contracting Powers, or more likely to promote the welfare and interests of the Ionians, than to declare them under the sole protection of England, whose assistance they had urgently solicited during the war. We believe, however, that at that time the British Government would rather have declined the offer, could Russia have been prevented, by any other arrangement, from bringing forward her claims. Capodistria had the merit, if it be one, of giving his support and approbation to the several clauses of the treaty, in which the terms, *free and independent* republic, appear to have been brought conspicuously on the foreground to attract the attention of the Ionian States. Sh

Thomas Maitland, appointed to carry this treaty into effect, soon became aware of the difficulties with which he would have to contend. He saw that it could not, with advantage to the parties most concerned, be executed according to its express and formal terms.

As the trust, however, had been accepted, he had only to consider the best way of extricating the protecting Government from the position in which it had been placed by Austria and Russia. The Seven Islands were declared a Republic — a single, free, and independent State: — and yet they were to be placed under the complete control of the Sovereign of Great Britain. The Ionian people, suffering from a long war, bowed down by internal commotions, and a series of complicated misfortunes affecting every department of their Government, were incapable at that time either of framing or accepting a free constitutional charter, in compliance with the treaty. No one acquainted thoroughly with their affairs could doubt this, or that the protecting Sovereign would find it necessary to assume the duties of an absolute Governor, in order to secure to the protected the due administration of justice; for unless the administrative and executive powers could be lodged with the representative of the protecting Sovereign, no other form of government appeared to be practicable.

We have understood that Sir Thomas Maitland was at first of opinion that a government might be constructed placing the Executive power directly in the hands of the protecting Sovereign, with the responsibilities usually attached to the governor of a colony. This, however, he found, on reflection, could not be accomplished; it would not have been in conformity to the Treaty of Paris; while the Senate acting by virtue of the Constitution of 1803, and necessarily consulted by him, would have protested against such a departure from the agreement; since under the circumstances they went the length of maintaining that it contemplated the reinstatement of that Constitution, and that the protecting Government had no right to interfere in executive measures. These considerations left no doubt on his mind that a direct influence could not be established, but that the tranquillity and order which he was desirous of upholding, and the influence which he was bent on obtaining and preserving, must be indirectly sustained by the hand of the Lord High Commissioner. If he had not acted on this opinion, Russia and the other Courts might have constantly required explanations, and embarrassed and obstructed his proceedings. When we look back to this crisis, and become acquainted with the careless administration of the finances which had prevailed in the Islands,

and learn their local intrigues, we cannot be surprised that the people at large submitted quietly to the new form of Government. But there were many inhabitants of weight who spoke openly against it. In framing the Constitution of 1803, the employment of a large number of the influential Venetian families, and their connexions, in public situations, was considered expedient. A similar policy appears to have been followed by the framers of the new Constitution. The number of offices created was excessive, and in order to provide for as many persons as possible, in their turn, the term of holding office was limited to five years.

The Lord High Commissioner was probably by no means averse to this policy, for it promised the power and influence required to work the Constitution he was contemplating. The system, however, had its inconvenience; for many persons who had held office, and who were not included in the list for the ensuing period, considered themselves aggrieved, and as might have been expected, could not be convinced that their former patrons had sufficiently rewarded them for past services. This happened constantly. But the direct connexion of the Islands with a vigilant Government, working with regularity, and in strong contrast with the mismanagement of former times, conduced to the satisfaction which now prevailed, and gave it the appearance of continuance. Commerce was active, and almost, it might be said, concentrated within the Islands, owing partly to the revolutionary struggle in which the Greeks were then engaged; favourable seasons, abundant crops of the staple products, oil and currants, and also high prices; a numerous garrison, and more than 20,000 refugees, consuming the produce of each isle, introduced a large capital, causing a temporary prosperity, and setting at rest all political questions.

The basis of the new Constitution, which had been declared to be only generally laid down in the Constitutional Charter, was signed on the 1st of May, 1817, and announced as the law of the land from that day. Judicious people will understand that this provisional agreement might be well suited to the actual wants of a disorganised population; and yet how very objectionable the proposed system might become at a future stage as society advanced, and as the Islands, from their experience and instruction, might be qualified to exercise a greater influence over their own affairs. This, we think, will distinctly appear by an examination of the following summary of the Constitution. Sir Thomas Maitland, it is supposed, in assembling a Primary Legislative Council to assist in constructing and arranging the clauses of the Constitutional Charter, adopted in

his first steps the course pursued by Count Mocenigo, when he superintended the formation of the Constitution in 1803.

The essential provisions of the Charter are — That the Legislative Assembly shall consist of forty members, eleven to be integral, and the other twenty-nine to be elected by the electors legally allowed by the Constitution of 1803, termed the *Synclitæ*.

These integral members are to be called the Primary Council, and to be composed, at the dissolution of the first Parliament, of the president and members of the Old Senate and five of the late Legislative Assembly to be selected by the Lord High Commissioner. But in usual cases, where the Parliament runs its full term of five years, five Regents instead of the five Legislators are to be selected from the Primary Council.

The Legislative Assembly elect from their body their own president, and the five Senators, the Lord High Commissioner having a veto, which he can exercise twice, and then, in case of nonagreement, he can appoint.

The Sessions of Parliament are biennial, and continue for three months.

The Lord High Commissioner convokes, adjourns, prorogues the Assembly, and dissolves it, with the consent of the Protecting Sovereign and Privy Council, regulates the internal laws of the Assembly, and approves or disapproves of new laws, and must be specially informed of any measure to be introduced; and all proceedings must daily be laid before him. If he refuses his sanction to a Bill, it cannot be brought forward again during the session.

The President of the Senate is appointed by the Protecting Sovereign for the first half of the quinquennium, on the recommendation of the Lord High Commissioner, who confirms him for the remainder of it or appoints a new one. All proceedings and acts of the Senate are laid before him. He appoints a resident to each island to represent him and control the proceedings of the Regents and the Municipalities. Neither Regents nor Municipalities can be appointed without his sanction. No Judge can be appointed or dismissed without his approbation. He is a member extraordinary of the Supreme Council of Justice, and has the casting vote in case of a parity of votes.

He appoints the Treasurer General, and approves of every new officer of that department, and determines the expenditure classed under the head of Extraordinaries. The Government General Printing Office is to be placed at the seat of Government, and no other is to be allowed. The power of High Police

is lodged with him; no vessel can depart from any port without his authority.

The election of members of the Legislative Assembly is made by the Synclitæ\*, from a double list transmitted by the Primary Council. The vacancies in the Assembly, caused by the completion of the Senate, are filled up by the process of the double list, as before mentioned. The Regent of each island, or Head of the Municipality, is appointed by the Senate; and the five municipal officers are elected by the Synclitæ, subject in both cases to the veto of the Lord High Commissioner.

These provisions show that every Member of the Legislative Assembly is intended to be elected indirectly by the Lord High Commissioner. They also explain the extent of power lodged with him by means of his veto; yet this veto, which modifies the democratic and republican forms of the Constitution, is required to be exercised with caution, in order that no risk might be incurred of bringing the Lord High Commissioner into collision with his Senate or Primary Council.

The principles Sir Thomas Maitland had established were adhered to closely from 1817 to 1824, and with very little variation till the year 1832. The Senate and Legislative Assembly were compliant, and the Regents of the several Islands and their municipal officers were efficiently directed by the British residents. In Cephalonia, the Resident, Colonel Charles Napier, whose name is still remembered with gratitude, early effected many improvements, by his energy, skill, and perseverance.

Sir Thomas Maitland having throughout his administration of the Government acted with great energy, and the people, feeling advantages from his fiscal regulations and other important changes introduced by his judgment and decision, no opposition to his wishes, or none which impeded the working of the Constitution, was encountered.

Requisitions for military purposes were authorised by the Convention of 1817: these Sir Thomas Maitland did not enforce, but he informed the Legislature, in an early address, that the surplus revenue should be lodged in the Treasury and applied to useful works, and including the repair and maintenance of the fortresses. No military contribution, however, was paid under his administration; for he knew that it would be difficult

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\* The Synclitæ are the constituency of the Islands authorised by law to vote either in virtue of certain privileges, or a fixed amount of income, lately reduced to 18*l.* per annum in the larger islands, and a proportionable sum in the smaller.

to explain to the public the necessity of such grants, and that probably they would afford a pretext to foreigners for spreading discontent. It would have, perhaps, been more advantageous to the general interests of England, and the dependency, had the military aids or grants been still longer delayed, considering the state of the population, until the Islands had been forced forward in improvement, and until they had been supplied with those institutions which every civilised country requires.

After the decease of Sir Thomas Maitland, the payments of the military contribution were made by instalments, at intervals, and always on the supposition that the demands would be reduced when the fortifications should be completed. These separate grants were voted by the Legislative Assembly, and confirmed by the Senate; with the latter, however, the power of suspending them remained in case of unproductive seasons. The military contributions, fifteen years afterwards, became an annual charge; and, when added to the amount voted for the salaries of the British functionaries, frequently absorbed one-third of the revenue. For many years a large British force occupied the fortresses, though, by the treaty, it was only necessary to have had 3000 men. The cost to the Imperial Treasury of keeping this number of troops on the military establishment may be estimated at 120,000*l.* per annum.

The ordinary expenses of the inhabitants in the Islands were much increased by their connexion with a nation whose forms of society, and customs, were so different from their own; and this inconvenience was more particularly felt by the appointment of British functionaries to the most lucrative situations, and the occupation of the fortresses by a British garrison. At the same time, their sources of industry, from the sale of their staple products—oil and currants, were yearly diminishing, through the competition of Apulia on one side, and the Morea on the other. In the early days of the Constitution it was found an easy process to form a Parliament; for then in each island, there existed certain influential families, whose advice could be depended upon, and who were frequently consulted and held responsible for their recommendations; but this advantage was only temporary; for several causes had tended to decrease the influence of the large proprietors, and the Lord High Commissioners subsequently were deprived of such assistance. The Constitution having been framed to meet the actual circumstances of the times, would not bear strict examination except with reference to those circumstances. The concentrated power which it gave to the first Lord High Commissioner, supported by provisional arrangements at variance with

the literal construction of the clauses of the Charter, continued to be efficiently and beneficially exercised by his successor, Sir Frederic Adam. After the termination of his government in 1832, some innovations in the electoral system unauthorised by the Charter were sanctioned. This led to the abrupt dissolution of the fourth Ionian Parliament formed under the Lord High Commissioner's own immediate direction, and to the immediate election of the fifth. Lord Nugent soon afterwards resigned his appointment; and his successor, after he had been some time in office, considered it necessary to obtain authority to dissolve this Parliament also, before its second session. A sixth was then elected and convened; but either, from the intrigues of disappointed ex-senators, or from opposition of some other kind, it did not work satisfactorily, and was also dissolved. The seventh having been more carefully selected, the business of the island was at last carried on with benefit to the country. Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, who assumed the administration of the Government as Lord High Commissioner in 1842, was, however, opposed by his Senate, and the President was discontinued at the close of the half period of the quinquennium, and another appointed by him; an unusual proceeding, which having been disapproved of at home, the former President was reinstated.

We have now traced the Constitution from its novitiate, through five different proconsulships, and noticed the abrupt dissolutions of the fourth, fifth, and sixth parliaments, before the expiration of their legal terms; and the discontinuance of the President of the Senate by the Lord High Commissioner, and his reinstatement by the order of the Colonial Minister during the seventh, in consequence of collisions, either between the Legislative Assembly and Senate, or with the latter and the Lord High Commissioner. We may be permitted, therefore, to assume that the constitutional provisions which were considered as excellent in early days of British protection, and skilfully adapted to meet the circumstances of the Septinsular Republic and the articles of the Treaty of Paris, had become obstructive and embarrassing at a later period—in fact, that the Constitution had the great merit of having rendered the United Ionian States totally unfit to continue under a mode of government declared to be only provisional when it was first proposed and sanctioned. For we see that the services and duties it had performed brought on its own inaptitude for further progressive work, and demonstrated that the system required to be carefully modified and revised; meantime it had certainly redressed grievances, repealed laws of pernicious tendency, introduced an improved code, forced into order financial



departments, arranged fiscal and municipal difficulties, and promoted the welfare of the country. That the course which had been hitherto followed, in the distribution of patronage, and in selecting members for the Legislative Assembly, could not long be continued with any prospect of the results of former times, was the opinion held by persons who had invariably given their support in aid of the Constitution; and it was in some degree confirmed by the collisions to which we have alluded; but they were fully aware that the contröol which had always been exercised by the Lord High Commissioner could not be fairly opposed as unconstitutional under existing provisions; nor the Legislative Assembly opened to the numerous claimants qualified to be admitted by their intelligence and property; nor the Primary Council allowed to act independently, and cease to be the channel of conveyance of the wishes of the Lord High Commissioner and his double lists to the Synclitæ, without deranging the whole system, until the constitutional charter should be competently modified.

The constant necessarily indirect interference of the Lord High Commissioner in the management of senate, primary council, legislative assembly, and parliamentary elections, as well as municipal, gave to many of the provisions of the Constitution, if not to the whole system, that deceptive character which has been considered so objectionable and inconvenient, originally intended, apparently, to exempt the Lord High Commissioner from the highest responsibility, while really the whole of it rested with him. This scheme of government had seldom, we understand, been openly approved of in the Legislative Assembly, or altogether vindicated even by the party most in favour of the British connexion; but when the instances of opposition to the will of the Lord High Commissioner became more common, the tendencies of the system were censured with more method, both in the Ionian Isles and in Greece, and every opportunity of exposing them was seized by the annexionists.

We imagine that, in 1843, at the time the Lord High Commissioner, Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, was about to resign his appointment, the feeling in regard to the Ionian Constitution, which we have endeavoured generally to describe, prevailed among the intelligent and influential inhabitants. Indeed they had been almost invited to express unreservedly their political opinions and wishes for the enlargement of their electoral system by the publication of Lord John Russell's despatch of June 1840, in which the views and intentions of the British Ministry were plainly declared. The following is an extract of that document:—

‘ I shall not attempt to anticipate your conclusions, or to pre-judge the questions on which I thus solicit your free opinion and your aid. Yet I cannot omit to observe, that I should yield with much regret to the conviction, that the time is still unripe for conceding to the Ionian people, to at least some extent, the advantages of greater freedom of the press, and a more complete system of representation. It would not be to the honour of this country to have occupied the Ionian States for so many years, without having advanced the inhabitants towards some qualification for institutions more liberal than those which were granted to them, avowedly as a mere preparation for such a change. It would be painful to acquiesce in the belief, that in a country placed under the immediate protection of Her Majesty the Queen, the Government are unable to confide with safety to the people at large, the privilege of more freely, discussing their own social interests, than they are at present enabled to do. Neither could it be otherwise than painful to consider that Great Britain is compelled to withhold a full participation of her own political freedom from a people to whom she looks for a large pecuniary contribution towards the maintenance of one of the most important of her foreign garrisons.’ (*Downing Street, June, 1840.*)

The claims of the community to greater political freedom having thus been formally acknowledged and encouraged, the important question that remained for decision, and the only one, related to the additional process the Islands were to undergo, or what probation was required before the precise period could properly be determined on for the extension of the institutions they had been given to understand would be sanctioned, when perfectly qualified for the specified concessions. Lord John Russell, in his further correspondence, afterwards coincided with the Lord High Commissioner in thinking that the time for granting the privileges solicited had not arrived. But such recorded opinions of the Minister in 1839, 1840, when inculcated, created great expectations, although they were not immediately to be realised.

Some years after their publication, the proceedings in Greece excited an intense interest in the Ionian Islands; and it was foreseen, eventually, must have an influence on the position, policy, and prospects of the protecting power, as far as they could be affected by a successful effort, by the Greek nation, to lay the foundation of a representative government; a people of the same origin and language, and on whose territory the number of naturalised subjects from the Seven Islands had so much increased, that they preferred a claim, on the opening of the

Greek Legislature, to send their own representatives to the Assembly as a separate electoral body. A new Constitution was granted in Greece without opposition, and apparently by the unanimous voice of the nation, for not a life was lost or wound received in obtaining it. The King having ratified the change, the British Government promptly signified its approval of the introduction of the representative system; and most of the foreign ministers, on the part of their respective sovereigns, with some hesitation, concurred in the expediency of the new organisation.

We may here remark that the gazettes of Athens, and all foreign journals, had been freely admitted into the Ionian Islands, without examination, for several years before this alteration in the Greek Constitution had taken place, and that their periodical circulation had been greatly augmented in consequence of the additional opportunities afforded by the establishment of lines of steam-packets between the Ionian Islands and the ports of Greece, the Adriatic, Malta, and Naples. The elaborate and able editorial articles promulgated at Athens, and exaggerated and sarcastic statements not very complimentary, we believe, to British protection, were to be seen in the reading-room of every town in the island; therefore, to have persevered in disallowing private presses in the Ionian Islands, or to have continued the restrictions which had existed for thirty years under totally different circumstances, would, we imagine, have been as useless and nugatory as to have prohibited in England provincial newspapers, while the metropolitan journals were permitted to circulate freely. We cannot exactly comprehend why rigid and impolitic restrictions such as those we have mentioned, especially considering that they were opposed to the opinion of the loyal and well-educated, were not sooner removed.

There may have been reasons, at one period, connected with our foreign policy for the delay; but be this as it may, we find, on referring to public documents, that an act of the Ionian Government was passed in 1845, for authorising private presses, with specific details of censorship; and that in 1847, or sooner, and also early in 1848, a total discontinuance of the press regulations then in force had been submitted for further consideration, with other modifications of the Constitution, which were subsequently authorised. These other modifications altogether referred, it appears, to the marked changes taking place in society; especially to the implicit reliance in the intentions of Government, encouraged by persons worthy of confidence; and to the satisfactory sessions of the Legislature that had imme-

diately preceded the proposals for altering the articles of the Constitution. The revision accepted by the Ionian Legislature in 1849 had been conditionally sanctioned by the Protecting Government, at the earnest recommendation of the Lord High Commissioner, who incurred, we see, the whole of the great responsibility of having projected and brought forward the measure.

As the alterations had been suggested and announced at a time when the Islands were free from any questions or legislative discussion which could interrupt public business; and had reference entirely to Ionian claims and regulations, Greek progress and interests; and had been sanctioned as acts of justice, there could be no sufficient reason offered for postponing them on account of French, Italian, and German disturbances in 1848. The unfitness of the Ionian United States to be entrusted with an extension of the electoral system and a free press, was the reason commonly assigned by the advocates of the actual state of things, for continuing a Constitution which it was said by them had conferred on the Islands many benefits; but this, we suppose, may have been less the real ground of objection than the apprehension that nationality and patriotism would turn these privileges against the very Government that should confer them. We, however, look on the question from a wider point of view, and with greater confidence, being thoroughly convinced that the concessions had become by this time acts of justice; and that by anticipating the wishes of a small community, protected by a powerful State, and altogether under our absolute control, we are offering an indisputable example of the desire of the British Government to establish its own free institutions in its dependencies as soon as it is satisfied that they can be advantageously received.

A Bill repealing the articles of the Constitution relative to the press having been passed and ratified, newspapers from private presses were first issued in Corfu, Cephalonia, and Zante, in 1849. After this Act, the extension of the electoral system, and the conferring on the Legislature the right of additional control over the public expenditure, were measures which appeared indispensable. It was desirable too in this case that they should be adopted by the Ionian Legislature before the termination of the last Session of the Parliament which had approved and commenced the change in the Charter. The destruction of unpopular abuses may be reasonably expected to facilitate good government, especially by removing the most prominent grounds of discontent, and uniting in the cause of order that influential portion of the Ionian States most willing,

if treated with consideration, to give their open support to the Protecting Power, and most able to counteract or check the intrigues of the Annexionist party.

Factions will always find their way into a Colonial Parliament, and also into an Ionian Legislative Assembly, freely elected, and may occasionally be able to impede the legislative business. But, with a Constitution which will bear examination, parties coming forward with inadmissible pretensions and absurd proposals will be more easily managed and kept under, as soon as the newly organised Legislative Assembly, in addition to the weight belonging to the principles upon which it is founded, has acquired the influence which a little experience will confer.

In dissecting minutely the constitutional charter completed under the superintendence of Sir Thomas Maitland, it will be perceived that it was no easy matter to revise a Constitution which had been necessarily reconstructed on the principles of that framed in 1803 by Count Mocenigo. As a consequence, it retained its democratic form and outline, while, at the same time, it had been so moulded that the essential power of the Government was carefully and absolutely, however circuitously, placed in the hands of the Lord High Commissioner. The whole administration has been decidedly in opposition to the Treaty of Paris, but the affairs of the Ionian Islands in 1817 could not otherwise have been prudently conducted. The revisions proposed and sanctioned in 1849 were important and few, but in carrying them into effect and dispensing with the complicated functions of the Primary Council, it will be obvious that clauses in almost every chapter of the Charter required to be cautiously inspected and repealed.

Although the modifications of the Constitutional Charter were introduced in 1849, they were not ratified till 1850.

The additional articles substituted, instead of the repealed clauses, were these :—

1. The extraordinary as well as the ordinary expenditure of the United States was placed under the control of the Legislative Assembly, conjointly with the other branches of the Legislature.

2. The members of the Legislative Assembly were to be freely elected by the Synclitæ, but the five senators, who had been by the old Constitution nominated by the president and members of the Legislative Assembly, were to be chosen and appointed by the Lord High Commissioner directly.

The last article, however, was subsequently modified, by conceding to the Lord High Commissioner the power of nominating

and appointing three of the senators from the electoral body, whether they were members of the Assembly or not.

3. The five officers composing the Municipal Administrations, under the Regents, were also to be freely elected, without the intervention of the Lord High Commissioner or his residents.

We should have mentioned, that by the Constitution of 1803 and 1817, the qualifications required to entitle a person to be registered on the list of the *Synclitæ*, or placed on the electoral roll, were as follows: —

1. To be born a subject (*originario*) of the Seven Islands.

2. To have a revenue from real property. In Corfu, of 450 dollars a year; in Cephalonia, 163; Zante, 337; Santa Maura, 135; Cerigo, 56; Ithaca, 78; Paxo, 135.

These sums were lessened on the revision of the Constitutional Charter: viz. for an elector of Corfu, the electoral qualification was a property yielding 100 or 80 dollars per annum. This arrangement, it was supposed, would give the right of voting to 1000 or 1200 proprietors in that island. The electoral qualifications were fixed in the other islands in proportion to the value of property.

We can discover no further extension of the electoral franchise with the exception of some professional rights; very far indeed, from universal suffrage, which it was industriously reported had been conceded.

These were the whole of the reforms proposed and sanctioned. They have been censured and commended as it has suited the purposes of partisans. The ballot at elections was required in a small community, to protect its voters from the interference of opulent proprietors, merchants, and contractors; whose influence on their dependants could not otherwise be controlled or prevented. A Bill was therefore passed to introduce the ballot (*voto segreto*); a petition, unanimously voted on the part of the Legislative Assembly was forwarded to the protecting sovereign, praying that it might be confirmed; but the measure was not to be included as an article of the revised Constitutional Charter.

A ground of complaint of late years had been brought forward; and it had been assigned as a cogent reason for the extension of the electoral system, that it would be impracticable to dispense with the high duties levied on the staple produce of the Islands, until the expensive system of Government, adopted in 1817, could be readjusted; and that this could only be accomplished by the Islands being effectually represented in their Parliament. That the United States required some relief in respect to their finances and an equalisation of official salaries, is

fully borne out by the despatch of the Lord High Commissioner, dated Corfu, June 20. 1838, published with the colonial papers of that year.

The following is an extract from it:—

‘ But I do not confine this appeal to a contingent remission or abatement of the contribution, I take the higher ground, at once, of most earnestly representing the vast expediency, for reasons above all pecuniary value, of declining to receive anything like a tribute exacted out of a revenue so limited, and raised chiefly by excessive duties on production and industry; which, on the contrary, should be reduced first, and repealed altogether so soon as the other sources of revenue may become available. In my despatch of the 2nd March last, I represented that the only way of enabling these States to continue the payment of the contribution, and other charges on account of military protection, and at the same time to have a disposable revenue for internal improvement, would be to increase taxation; but this, I am now advisably and fully convinced, is impracticable, and, if attempted, would occasion serious disorders, aggravate, excite, and accelerate the tendencies which I have represented as the resultants of the present arrangements. Either then the contribution must be remitted or diminished, or this country must remain unimproved. The case in pecuniary terms is before every member of the House of Commons, by the contribution of 35,000*l.* (being a part of 766,423*l.* credited in the army estimates 1838-9) paid out of a limited and inadequate revenue as “ appropriation in aid ” of the Parliamentary estimate of 7,524,185*l.* for the military expenditure of the British empire. The payment of a fixed tribute, exacted for the “ military occupation ” of an independent State, the people of which are admitted to no participation in the honours or emoluments of the service to which they are bound to contribute, places that State in the condition of a conquered and subjected country, not in the friendly relations of a protected people, taken under the generous, liberal, and paternal king of a great nation.

‘ The average amount of duties levied on the exports of oil, currants, and wine, during the last four years, are—Oil, 31,900*l.*; currants, 45,800*l.*; wine, 3,291*l.*; amounting together to 79,991*l.*, which is about forty-eight per cent., or about half the revenue. No one who reads this statement but must admit the uncommon liberality of the Ionian Government and Parliament, in contributing so largely towards the military expenditure and British management of these States; and it cannot but be admitted that taxation is pushed to an inordi-

‘nate extent to enable them to do so. These burthens are very unequally distributed, according to the existing finance system. The islands of Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, so far from contributing anything to the State, require to be assisted by it for the payment of their establishment. First, Santa Maura, to the average extent of 4462*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*; Ithaca, 2671*l.* 0*s.* 10½*d.*; Cerigo, 2966*l.* 10*s.* 11½*d.*; Paxo, 2838*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.* a-year; so that the larger islands are taxed to an enormous amount, not only for the expense of their own municipal establishments and the general government, but for the civil establishments of the minor islands, and the payment of the contribution to the protecting State.’

The introduction of the articles of the Constitution above described has now enabled the Islands to make their own financial arrangements in respect to most of these establishments; and be it observed that the Lord High Commissioner retains the control, influence, and patronage necessary to enable him to support his own authority, and to act efficaciously with the Senate. Any Lord High Commissioner appointed to carry out these modified articles of the Constitution, which his immediate predecessor had proposed and introduced, would certainly have had to encounter the many difficulties that, at first, are always inseparable in transitions from close and arbitrary electoral systems to free representative institutions. Every one who has observed the working of our Colonial Legislatures knows that opening a Parliament with a *bonâ fide* legislative assembly, having a control over the public purse, accounts, and expenditure, called on to watch the interests of the States, to decide on important measures, and destined to bear the comments of a press without a censorship, must indeed be a very different affair, when compared with the authority of the head of the Government sending forth his proposals and measures at his own convenience, or with the case of a president and legislative assembly, chosen under such circumspection and discretion as are calculated to ensure a smooth and quiet Quinquennium.

There are assuredly many difficulties incident to the reforms we have described; but they are not without their reward. The reforms will impose constant labour, we allow, on the Lord High Commissioner entrusted with the interesting duty of carrying them out. If the representatives are met with tact and decision, the successful administration of government in future will be essentially promoted by the discussions which have already taken place; the results of a change raising the Legislative Assembly into consideration and importance. We have heard it argued, on one side, that Greek *excitability* and *vivacity*



inherited by the people of the Seven Islands disqualify them for the electoral system which has been granted, or for the management of a free press;—heir-looms which, if acknowledged as impediments in the way of their enfranchisement and progress, would have deferred indefinitely the admission of their claims. At another time it is asserted that their race is tainted with Italian cunning, vice, and corruption; and that their inexperience and backward condition warrant a continuance of the control which had been exercised in the United Ionian States since 1817. Unfavourable impressions such as these may not have arisen without some foundation; but have not their follies, vices, and defects been grossly exaggerated by that class of itinerant, contemptuous censors to be found sometimes abroad among our compatriots, who collect eagerly partial facts and local rumours,—are loud in reproof of bad habits, but slow to afford assistance in correcting them by their own example; always ready to condemn the institutions of British dependencies, but unwilling to see them improved?

The cursory debates in the House of Commons, as well as the historical statements of Neranzi and Mocenigo, relating to a former generation, may have rather tended to perpetuate a false estimate of the character and qualities of the Ionians. The comparative progress of the Islands, under British protection, during the last ten years, can only be thoroughly ascertained by consulting the unprejudiced testimony of British residents officially employed, and merchants, who have been in the Islands since 1815, and whose integrity and social acquaintance with the inhabitants of all the Islands, lead us to believe them impartial and competent judges of their good qualities, and also their demerits. From these authorities we learn, that their character has been much underrated and misunderstood, that they are a most tractable, well-disposed people, and that if the advance of the rural population has not been proportionate to the improved and comfortable condition of society in the cities and towns, the fault must be partly attributed to the revenue of the Islands having been almost entirely appropriated to the maintenance of a large civil establishment, and to the difficulty of reducing it. The tenures of land by which property is held in Corfu are vexatious and perplexing to both proprietor and tenant. A landowner often possesses an estate, on which a fourth of the produce of the olive trees belongs to the tenant who has acquired rights of perpetual occupation. The constant litigation caused by the claims in such cases of both the parties is the grievance of the Island; but notwithstanding these tenures, — an evil which is increased in some districts by the

whole of the inhabitants depending on one kind of produce for their subsistence,—the population are remarkably quiet and well-disposed.

Many of the young men residing in the cities and towns, the advocates and medical practitioners, have been educated at Universities in France, Germany, and Italy, and are as capable of writing with force and energy on political subjects as any of our own accomplished and experienced editors. Among the ecclesiastics, some are persons of erudition, highly esteemed, and influential in their ministry, from their piety and learning, but the parochial clergy generally are illiterate. The ecclesiastics, however, sent out from the Greek Seminary at Corfu, since its renovation by Sir Howard Douglas, are gradually replacing inefficient pastors. The large towns and villages are provided with primary and secondary schools, and tolerable masters; and the peasantry of the whole of the Islands are a fine race. Meantime the numerous vessels constructed at Cephallonia and Ithaca are employed in carrying on a lucrative commerce with the ports of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, and the Black Sea.

One instance only of disorder, we believe, has ever occurred in Corfu since the occupation of that island by the British. It was caused by an American missionary attempting to distribute religious tracts. Santa Maura, Cephallonia, and Zante have occasionally been disturbed, from an early period of our connexion with them, by the disorderly conduct of certain villages. This apparent disposition to turbulence could not, however, be imputed to disaffection or dislike to the protecting Government, but to accidental causes, such as the system of land tenure existing in these islands; to consequent alleged oppression, and disputed rights—a subject which we have already mentioned; to clanship jealousies, or the failure of crops, which, among districts depending for subsistence on one kind of cultivation, is so liable to produce sudden distress, without any means of providing for the emergency.

At the commencement of the Greek Revolution, notwithstanding the laws were efficient and well executed, a riotous assembly of the peasants of Santa Maura occurred in May, 1821, in consequence of the imposition of a tax for the improvement of the harbour and passage to the lake, the object and necessity of which had not been properly explained. The mob fired on the soldiers, and burnt a house containing stores. They were soon dispersed, but not without measures of severity; the leader of the mob, a priest, was hanged. The same year in Zante, an inhabitant of that island, by the name of Martinengo, a man of influence, was tried and banished, having been found guilty of

exciting the people against the Government during the year of the Greek Revolution. At this period combats frequently took place between Greek and Turkish vessels in Ionian waters: the enforcement of neutrality among kindred people having been a matter of difficulty, detachments from British garrisons were often employed to restore order. In Cephalonia riotous assemblages of the peasantry have been more frequent than in any of the other islands: they occurred in the time of Sir Thomas Maitland, Lord Nugent, and of several other Lord High Commissioners. It is remarkable that the same villages have been implicated in all the disturbances which have taken place. The peasantry engaged in the riots of 1848 and 1849 were induced to assemble, it is said, and drawn together in arms with the hope of plunder, and of having an opportunity of destroying books and accounts. The instigators of these disorders were persons of desperate character and ruined circumstances residing in Argostoli, and connected with Greek agents employed to get up or encourage in the island a demonstration of discontent.

We have now referred to the serious cases of public disturbance on record since 1817. Scarcely any of them could be called political; they were always confined to four or five villages, were generally produced by local disputes, and neither encouraged nor supported by a respectable inhabitant. From undoubted authority, we learn that the annexionists in Greece, and their patrons everywhere, expressed great regret at the prospect held out in 1847 and 1848 to the Ionians, of their Constitution being revised, and at the official announcement of the alterations of 1849; and that their intriguing friends in the Islands were equally disappointed that the protecting Government had consented to the modifications carried into effect in 1850. While those who had been dissatisfied with the former scheme of Government in the Islands, but not with the British connexion, became valuable allies in carrying out the change.

The Islands having been gradually initiated in the mysteries of a partial electoral system, and in regulating the disbursements from the public purse by controlled legislators, we are of opinion that no further trial was desirable in order to render them more fit to exercise the privileges which were not intended long to be withheld from them. By the revision of the Constitution, giving a free press, a moderate extension of the elective-franchise, and a control over their expenses, the deceptive character of the Government became at once totally removed, and a great step has been made by these concessions towards detaching the classes we have enumerated, from an agitating faction. A Governor and Executive Council, without a Legislative Assembly, would

have been preferred by many to a continuance of the old Constitution ; but the democratic Constitution, originally granted to a republic styled single and independent, would not have admitted of such an alteration, and a new Constitution could not have been prepared without endless embarrassment. The concessions appear to have been complete, and not to have left a pretext for further complaint.

In regard to the wishes of a party avowedly desirous of a union with Greece, we see that they have been brought into notice speedily by the extension of political freedom, and have hitherto obtained some success at elections ; but this faction is now encountered by a compact and influential body of converted political opponents, resolute in earnestly counteracting their designs, and resisting their pretensions. It was apprehended by many of our friends in the Islands, that the immediate effects of the alterations introduced on the revision of the Constitution, would endanger the special interest of the protecting Power. On the contrary, however, they have served to range on the right side a most intelligent class of inhabitants, and have relieved the Government from the burden of growing discontent, open and concealed. We can imagine that any change would produce a phalanx of opposers doubtful of results. This, as in similar innovations, may have added to the perplexities to be expected from sanctioning by one act an electoral system entirely free from Government interference, and giving the control of the expenditure and financial matters to the representatives themselves. The opinions or prejudices of old and faithful servants of the Government could not be disregarded ; they must have had, and still have, an influence on the whole arrangement. Individuals, who had had for thirty years an almost hereditary claim to be selected as members for the Legislature, and those who from habit or principle approved of a form of government under which the Seven Islands had prospered ; and others long officially employed, whose zeal and steady support in carrying on the public business had been accepted and acknowledged by the Ionian Government for a series of years,—all disliked the changes *in toto*, or would have wished them postponed *sine die*, or, at any rate, to a more propitious period.

Reductions of salaries, and a more uncertain tenure of employment, must be the consequences of the control over the public expenditure being transferred to a Legislative Assembly, or of concessions approaching towards responsible government, and a departure from centralised authority. In watching the same process in our colonies and dependencies, it may have been observed, that instances have unfortunately occurred of

disregard to the interest of public servants, or of persons in high situations, which may be so far considered as harsh and even unjust, that colonists, who had devoted through life their energies and professional abilities to the service and cause of the Imperial Government, have been abruptly turned adrift and discarded, with ruin to their prospects, after having been encouraged and urged on by successive authorities to stand in the foremost ranks in maintaining a line of policy declared right and patriotic. Political sacrifices of this kind have probably, in some degree, been found necessary, but in such cases the combatants who have been eulogised for a quarter of a century as patterns of loyalty and usefulness, consulted and caressed, cannot be put in the wrong by the concessions of the parent State, or their claims be thrown overboard by any administration without disgrace to the Government.

In carrying into effect the revision of the Ionian Constitution, we believe, that in this republic of very small dimensions, but encumbered with a very large civil establishment, no hard or cruel cases have been the result of concession; salaries have been diminished, but no meritorious public officer, with claims of the description to which we have alluded, has been unceremoniously dismissed. *Employés* who preferred to relinquish their appointments rather than accept a reduced salary, have been enabled to retire on liberal pensions. We must advert here to the letter of Count Salamos, transmitted home for the information of the public, and the comments on it, to elucidate a part of this subject. The Count, an amiable man we have understood, and thoroughly attached to the protecting Government, approved in particular, together with some of his friends, of the scheme of administration of 1817, so far as to continue of opinion that it would still perfectly answer.

He discharged the duties of President of the Senate admirably for half the Quinquennium, relinquished his post suddenly, loving his own Zacynthus better than irritating work; and perplexed at the aspect of the future, sent in his farewell address, which was forwarded to the Colonial Department and read in the House of Commons, as a proof that the vessel is unmanageable even by a skilful pilot: but listen to the *finale*. This useful politician and opulent and industrious proprietor of vineyards, on his return to his isle, throws the whole weight of his influence into the scale against the Government to prevent Count Roma, one of a rival family, from succeeding to the honours from which he himself had voluntarily fled; and actually causes, by his own exertions, the election of a candidate for the Legislative Assembly from the faction ranks; an affair of some importance at this particular crisis.

Occurrences of the kind are not unfrequent in small communities,—the Guelfs and Ghibellines will create embarrassment and confusion in their rivalry; but fortunately, in this case of jealousy and desertion of public interests, the effect has not been disastrous. A well composed majority in the Legislative Assembly, and an influential Senate chosen from that body, appear to have transacted the business of the island satisfactorily; and it is to be presumed that the good sense of the United Ionian States will support them, and not again permit their own concerns to be neglected, and the measures of the Legislative and Executive Government to be delayed, as they were in 1850, by the absurd pertinacity and obstinacy of the *têtes exaltées* who figured in the session of that year.

The Act for revising the Constitution was ratified in 1850, after it had undergone some judicious amendments; but the first experiment of elections to the Legislative Assembly was tried in that year under the unfavourable circumstances of the Greek blockade: the entrance of Greek detained vessels into Ionian harbours, and other accidental occasions of excitement, furnished means to the annexation party and others to circulate reports which might assist their candidates, and lead to the rejection of others better qualified for the Legislative Assembly. The consequence was, that although the elections were conducted with great regularity and order, many members were returned whose factious proceedings put it out of the power of the Lord High Commissioner to act with them. A passage in Mr. Jervis's history describes so truly this first election, that we shall insert it here:—

‘Owing to the tranquillity and the improved sense of justice which prevailed throughout the Islands under the auspices of British protection, the people so far improved in the social scale, that Lord Seaton, in the year 1849, thought he was justified in carrying out Sir Thomas Maitland's intention, by proposing certain changes in the Constitution of 1817, by which a more popular form would be given to the Ionian Legislature, and which would vest the control over the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the country in the Legislative Assembly. Although the first Parliament which assembled, after these reforms (May 1850), made itself ridiculous by the unparliamentary language of its members, and notwithstanding that, entirely forgetting their position, as members of a protected State assembled to arrange internal affairs, they, with an absurd arrogance, demanded an account of the then existing negotiations between Great Britain and Greece; yet, in these irregularities at starting there is not consistent ground for discouragement, since it was not to be expected that the first time the reins of government were loosened, a people naturally vain would not go further than they should; but it

is to be hoped that in course of time, they will acquire the discretion and sense of decorum due to themselves as members of a deliberative assembly.

The provisions of the Treaty of Paris engrafted on the previous democratic form of the Government of the Seven Islands, did not admit of the appointment of the five senators being transferred to the protecting Sovereign. Such a departure from the Constitution of 1803, desirable as it might have been, could not have been properly sanctioned; for we must bear in mind that the United States had always exercised the undoubted right of electing legislators, and that these legislators acquired by their election the privilege of appointing the senators authorised to carry on the Executive Government. This democratic influence was intended to be counteracted in some degree by a clause in the revised Constitution, authorising the Lord High Commissioner to select and appoint from the Legislative Assembly directly the five senators,—a power which was enlarged, as we have described, before giving effect to the modifications. Democratic however in reality, as the Constitution now is, we think it is less so than the institutions of several of our colonies which at present are not within the control of the Government of the parent State; the Houses of Assembly having in their own hands virtually the appointment of Heads of Departments, and in fact of a responsible Executive Government.

Every man has his hobby, and a dangerous one it is to mount when the manufacturing of Constitutions is the object. In this age of Constitution-making, difficulties in that craft are endless, when the object is to destroy an old charter and give a Constitution with new principles. Short of this, the concessions have been so comprehensive as to be sufficient for all parties; and the circumstances under which the boon has been conferred on this occasion, reflect the highest honour on the British Government. For it is almost the only instance of ample and well considered concessions having been proposed by the Government spontaneously, and at the proper time. Objections in detail have been made to the compass and long-stride of the alterations as well as to minor points; but those who have made them lose sight of the principle on which the privileges were conceded, criticising individual management, and attributing motives tending only to continue party controversy. We infer from the statement of Count Salamos that a revision of the Constitution was required, but that in his judgment it should have been accomplished step by step; and that the repairs, although begun before the hurricane season in a different latitude, should have been delayed by detached, gradual, probationary concessions. Unfortunately, this

mode of getting rid of positive defects is a more difficult process than the Count imagines.

With respect to our policy and existing relations, and the effect of the press we have let loose, every pretext for complaint of our political injustice has been removed but one; and that is, the question how far more strictly defined constitutional police powers may be substituted for those actually retained by the Lord High Commissioner. Now these cannot be withdrawn without great circumspection;—for this the proximity of the Greek and Albanian coasts, and the present condition of those countries, is sufficient reason. The distant prospect of an Hellenic league, as cherished in the Islands, it would be needless to discourage: it cannot embarrass any of our measures. We are not without abundant proofs that when colonial interests and prosperity draw strongly and steadily in an opposite direction, their attractions will easily overcome nationality and attachment of race. The Ionians may be satisfied with our protection and government, and yet discontented with their lot as Greeks. This is precisely the state of feeling in the Seven Islands. They see distinctly the folly of the enthusiasts who would unite them to an insignificant kingdom, with slender resources and notoriously ill governed; and at the same time are well aware of the great advantages they enjoy in the protection of the British flag, and of the support afforded them by our ambassadors and consuls over the Levant, and at the several eastern ports to which their commerce leads them, where they give much trouble and full employment to our consulate establishments.

We have heard it mentioned that even a regent of one of the Islands, three or four years ago, when a Greek national vessel of war entered an Ionian port of his municipal district, went on board, and ostentatiously embraced and kissed the Greek national flag, kneeling under it, and pouring forth an enthusiastic invocation on the occasion; but these flashes of nationality, whether on the part of Government officers or others, cannot excite surprise among a people having the language, manners, and customs of the modern Greek, occupying a portion of the soil of Hellas, and bearing the mark in every village of an homogeneous race; nor could we reasonably desire to see admiration of Greece and its new kingdom checked or suppressed.

By applying to these isles of classic associations careful and methodical attention, based on enlarged policy and views, and looking on them as a nucleus from which the welfare and progress of the adjacent eastern peninsula might be gradually promoted, we may hope that it will have been for their good to have



been thrown under British protection. Retained with such objects, and in the conjoint political interests of the parties to the Treaty of Paris, and encouraged by beneficent treatment, we need not trouble ourselves about the question of race in dealing with people committed to our charge, or how far the race may have deteriorated by barbaric hordes, — by the descendants of the Slavonian colonists of Acarnania and the Peloponessus, — by the Crusaders, or Venetian importations. If a prosperous Greek kingdom should be witnessed rapidly growing to maturity, under a real constitutional policy, it would, we are sure, be a matter of great rejoicing; and ardently as every Englishman may desire that British colonies should be planted in every part of the earth to which they can carry the institutions and character of their native land, the prospect is scarcely more delightful than that the islands of the Ionian Seas should form a district of Greece as soon as ever a prosperous and powerful Greek nation shall come into existence, fit and qualified to assist in maintaining the European balance of power, and in diffusing the blessings of civilisation.

Statesmen and historians expressed their regret at the dismemberment of the British Empire and at the loss of the fairest and most extensive possessions ever subjected to the rule of any nation, when its colonies, now forming the United States of America, achieved their independence; but although the disruption may have been accelerated by an evil policy, and by a series of inexcusable blunders, civil and military, no party at the present moment can have the least doubt that feelings of attachment to the mother country could not have withstood the attraction of important colonial interests drawing in an opposite current; or that a separation would not inevitably have ensued, independently of the immediate causes by which it was provoked. The vast forests of North America have given way to the axe, and are replaced by twenty-three millions of people; the events which have brought on these wonderful changes can no longer be considered as unfortunate by any citizen on either side of the Atlantic. Meantime, the necessity of the existing connexion between Great Britain and the Septinsular Islands, is well known and recognised in the Ionian States as our determination to retain them under our protecting power, whatever signs of nationality it may spit the agitating annexionists ostentatiously to display.

We have entered at some length into the views of the framers of the original Constitution, and endeavoured to explain fully the character of the alterations which we are of opinion may be advantageously carried out. Our inquiries have convinced us that

the Government will be administered with less trouble, anxiety, and inconvenience, and with fewer accidental hindrances, than occur in the management of any of our colonies, large or small, having representative governments. Due allowance must be made for the immediate conduct of electors and legislators who have recently acquired authority and importance, flattered by a new crop of editors of newspapers, and by official documents of similar import and tendency to those from which we have made some extracts, published probably, if not *ad captandum*, yet without reference to local parties and proceedings under discussion, and in ignorance of the evils which an unseasonable publicity may kindle or inflame.

It must be confessed that some specimens of editorship which we have seen from the southern islands do little credit to the taste of Cephalonia and Zante, or rather, we may say, disgrace the tribe of writers which appear to have sprung up in the first days of a free press. But we are informed that these editors were so despicable and impracticable that the most sensitive official was not disturbed by their impertinent attacks. The most rabid newspapers of this description, we believe, already are no more, and the remainder meet with no encouragement. The Acts passed to restrain the license of the press have, we have heard, been considered insufficient, but have such laws not always been found inadequate in our colonies to prevent the publication of seditious political articles? In this matter we may be too sensitive. Whoever will take the trouble to look over political tirades, which appear occasionally in the periodical press, beginning with those of the Channel Islands, and continuing their inspection of the journals of our insular and continental colonies, will be persuaded that Attorney-Generals have either been in a trance for forty years, or have come to the conclusion that Crown prosecutions are useless. In fact, in these matters the press must be declared free, or the alternative adopted of a censorship and admonitory system, similar to that which existed latterly in France, for the regulation of political articles. A controlling law, sufficiently strong to check political attacks on the Government, is exceedingly difficult to enforce in a country where responsible editors are to be procured in abundance, at a cheap rate. The excitement of a new constitutional organisation of the Ionian Islands will subside as they become accustomed to the good effects of a free press.

When we reflect on the number of Ionian tribunals, the excessive litigation in the Islands, and an establishment of judges, on a scale, we should conceive, intended for a population of millions, although under the supervision of an excellent Court

of Appeal, composed of highly esteemed judges, we are confident that the administration of justice will derive important benefits from the vigilance of well conducted journals. The factious conduct of the Zantiot members has already been checked by the results of the Cephalonia and Corfu elections, and we may venture to predict that the advantages emanating from the integrity, perseverance, and laborious attention of Sir Thomas Maitland, and improved under the administration of his successors, will be readily acknowledged and duly appreciated by the majority of the representatives elected this year; and that they, finding themselves on the right track, will continue in it, give their cordial support to the Lord High Commissioner, and be encouraged to exertion when they calmly reflect on the progress that has been made already. Their advanced institutions comprise a system of accounts and checks, and fixed regulations, early introduced, and steadily followed, public schools for all classes, a code of laws in operation, district circuit courts by which the villager has the means of obtaining justice at his own door, public works, convenient roads and communications through every island, marshes drained, and the construction of tanks, aqueducts, moles, harbours, and canals.

We may be permitted now to offer a few observations on the new kingdom of Greece, and the continental Greeks. It has been said that the Constitution ratified in 1843 by the king has not produced the results expected from the proceedings of that year at Athens and the meeting of the Legislature.

The attempt at reform has certainly been hitherto a decided failure, but this is to be attributed to the unfortunate perseverance of incapable administrations in interfering to prevent the free course of representative institutions. These institutions had been founded on the unanimous wishes of the nation, scandalised at the squandering of the loans destined for the improvement of the country, and jealous of the number of foreigners employed. When we reflect on the enormous difficulties to be encountered in moulding a race lately rescued from the domination of the Ottomans, and in forming a new kingdom, and how these difficulties were aggravated by the grievous error committed at starting by the Allies, we cannot be surprised at what has since happened in that country, or at the state in which it now remains.

The whole affair having been mismanaged, and the results having occasioned so much disappointment, the most enthusiastic admirers of Hellas, of her cause, and of the Greeks engaged in the hard revolutionary struggle, would not desire one acre more to be added to a territory towards whose improvement so little

has yet been done: The wants of that miserable Epirus, and the wretched condition of that unhappy bordering population, must, we apprehend, be relieved by other means than extending the Greek frontier; a question which has been disposed of by treaties, and presents formidable obstacles in respect to further territorial arrangements. Nevertheless, we commiserate the fate of the Thessalians, and enter into all the feelings of the Primate of Larissa, the host of Dr. Wordsworth, who exclaimed when he looked over the waters of Peneus, still subject to the Sultan, — ‘Peneus has wept itself almost dry for grief, and Mount Olympus has grown old and hoary; for they are both exiles from their land.’

The conditions on which the protectorship of the Ionian Islands was undertaken by Great Britain having been fulfilled, as far as it has been practicable to comply with them, the opportunities offered of serving Greece, and a portion of the Sultan’s dominions also, will be increased, and can scarcely fail to draw towards them the vigilant and enthusiastic attention of statesmen. Few there are who have not arrived at the conviction that the precarious existence and domination of the Ottoman Empire, and the probable fate of its European provinces, will soon require interposition on the part of the Allied Powers, who, by extraordinary occurrences and considerations, are compelled to support and protect a government and system at variance with the institutions and customs of every Christian country, and which have brought with them incalculable evils. The standard of an enlightened and powerful country accidentally planted within sight of an oppressed and necessitous people, and also close to the border of a race anxious and struggling for improvement, active, intelligent, easily led, propelled and flattered, raises a fearful responsibility, commensurate only with the opportunity of doing good. The thriving commercial intercourse carried on with the neighbouring Pachaics, and the daily transport of merchandise from the magazines and depôts of Corfu, and the British influence which has been obtained at Constantinople by our diplomatists, might also be made available in commencing the satisfactory and glorious career opened to England and her servants. The Ottoman Empire, destined to be overthrown, if her laws and her population cannot be improved, is a subject for much more attention than has been yet given to it.

The advantages of the Septinsular dependency to England, considered in a more limited view, have been so often enumerated, and their importance as naval, military, and commercial stations are so evident, that we shall merely add, that it is by holding such commanding points with a strong arm that we may

hope to preserve peace and extend our commerce in this quarter of the globe. The papers and despatches on this subject, received by the Colonial Office from the head of the Ionian Government, and published fourteen years ago, contain the fullest information relative to their value. As many of the opinions expressed in these able documents coincide with those we have ventured to offer, we shall lay before our readers the following extracts from them; every line of which must be perused with interest at present.

Corfu is the key of the Adriatic; Santa Maura, lying in a commanding position near the Gulf of Arta, which, in that quarter, separates Turkey from Greece, is importantly situated with respect to both. Cephalonia is next to this island in importance, and larger in extent. It possesses, in Argostoli, one of the finest sea-ports in the Mediterranean; whilst Samos Bay, on its eastern shore, sheltered by Ithaca, and having every facility of ingress and egress through the strait which divides these two islands, forms a valuable roadstead for the resort of ships, squadrons, or fleets operating in the Adriatic or upon that coast. Zante, from its commerce, possessing a good roadstead, and a fortress placed upon an almost impregnable site, and facing the Gulf of Corinth, is a position of vast importance; and the small islands of Calamos and Meganissi add to the importance of this valuable group of islands.

'We are pledged by the treaty which placed these Islands under the immediate and exclusive protection of Her Majesty, "to employ "a peculiar solicitude with regard to the legislation and the general "administration of these States." I am at present the person invested by Her Majesty with the necessary power and authority for these important purposes, and I do not feel that I should be discharging my duty properly, did I not thus fully state the opinions and views I entertain respecting all the conditions of a trust so nearly concerning the reputation of our great country, the glory and honour of our gracious Queen, the Sovereign Protectress of these States, and the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers.'

'Were there no recorded obligation, no question of policy, no considerations connected with our own interests, binding us to the observance of a particular solicitude "for the improvement of this "country, as productive in a great degree of commercial value in "our intercourse with these islands;" yet, considering them only in the relation in which we stand as a powerful and enlightened nation, baring under its protecting wing a weak, defenceless, and backward State and people, whose destinies we hold in trust for good or for evil, for our glory or to our shame; and who, rescued first by British power, and now susceptible by her influence of being reclaimed from the sad effects of centuries of mismanagement and misrule; a people not wanting in high names, and rich in historical recollections. The least enthusiastic of the many who visit these islands, imbued with vivid classical associations, may be permitted to feel that a sense of

national dignity, and all the high and noble sympathies which so peculiarly distinguish our country, unite in requiring of us to show that we are not actuated solely by selfish motives in retaining possession of these Islands; but that we recognise the moral obligation that rests with us, above all others, to dispense abundantly the blessings of internal improvement, education, and civilisation, which Great Britain has it so much in her power to confer, and which may realise to these people, and exhibit to adjoining nations, the peculiar advantages which accrue to all who have the happiness to be connected with our great country.

‘Detached from political connexion with Italy, — protected from relapsing into the possession of other Powers, — shaking off by degrees the moral dependency on Italy, to which these States are still subject with respect to education, — and admirably situated for cultivating and extending relations of every kind with adjoining countries, — these Islands may become a great head of civilisation, acting under British influence towards the East, and forming with Greece a bulwark against encroachments from the North.

‘I always thought that taking these Islands under our protection, in whatever views it originated, would prove in effect a vast and mighty scheme, accomplishing indirectly no less than making these Islands a great centre for effecting the moral and political emancipation and regeneration of Greece, and, in the end, of other countries, through the moral, political, and statistical improvement of these Islands.’

‘The effects of improvement, order, prosperity, and contentment, if introduced into these Islands under British management and influence, must spread, and extending to the insular and continental dominions of Greece (but more immediately to the former), greatly bring that country under our influence, without intriguing to cause it to enter into the political system of these States; whilst, in certain events, which are by no means improbable, it cannot be disadvantageous to our country that a disposition should be manifested to seek our protection.’

‘We must, however, be careful to raise and keep these States in advance of their continental neighbours, by promoting every wise, suitable, and rational improvement; and then matter gravitates not towards matter with greater certainty and affinity, than that the other country will become, morally, more and more subject to the influences which may be made to operate with so much reason and force here; and through the state, condition, and contentment of these Islands, upon the regeneration of Greece.’

An anonymous pamphlet appeared in February, 1851, ‘The Ionian Islands under British Protection,’ which we read with distrust and suspicion, because, from the drift and tenor of this plausible statement, it could at one glance be discerned that the remarks of the author were dictated by vindictive feeling, or interested views, although it was cleverly drawn up, and its plagiarisms artfully put together. We are informed by the

writer that his observations were intended for a review; and if they have been since transferred to the columns for which they were originally destined, it is only the more our duty to take notice of the publication.

It would seem, according to the author of the pamphlet, that the Lord High Commissioner, to whose policy he devotes his most particular attention, failed in all his efforts to promote the welfare of the Ionian Islands. 'His "unpopular regulations emptied "the public schools of their pupils;" his "model farms" were so "mismanaged" that every potato cost a shilling,' and his successors were compelled to sell cows, ploughs, spades, shovels, and rakes, by auction, at a vile price. The Penitentiary at Corfu, built and occupied during his administration, was so ill-contrived that the convicts escaped from it "by dozens." The ship canal across the lagoons separating Santa Maura from Acarnania was undertaken by him "in defiance of the opinion of the "officers of the Royal Engineers," and would neither allow of the passage of vessels through it when the boisterous south wind blew, nor attract them when northerly gales prevailed; and was therefore a useless and extravagant project beyond the means of the Ionians.' 'His municipal revisions and innovations rendered the magistracy inefficient,' his acceptance of a public dinner from a literary society, of which circumstance he forgot to inform the Colonial Minister; and his invitations in 'barbarous Greek, prepared the way for disturbances in 'Cephalonia.' Yet in the enumeration of all these *delicta* and misdoings, the censor never once refers to an arrangement for which we have heard Lord Seaton was more blamed than for any other made by him during the whole course of his administration; and which we really think cannot be palliated,—we mean the imprudent step in bringing from an English University a Fellow of a College, who was personally unknown to him, to take charge of the University of Corfu, on the retirement of Professor Orioli; and giving him the respectable title of Rector. This appears to have been one of the most objectionable appointments that ever was sanctioned by a Governor or Lord High Commissioner in the wide field of his patronage; so unfit was the chosen candidate for the office and work for which he was intended, that six weeks after his arrival scarcely a difference of opinion existed on the matter. It has been said, in apology for this injudicious selection, that the Lord High Commissioner stated that he had confided entirely in the judgment and discrimination of the Heads of Houses, by whose exertions and good offices, on former occasions, eminent individuals had been sent out from Oxford and Cambridge at his request, to preside over Collegiate

Institutions in British dependencies. We cannot, however, admit this as a sufficient excuse for Lord Seaton's having persevered in the error into which he had fallen, by continuing the rector in office. If it be true that his *protégé* provoked the interference of the authorities responsible for his conduct, by his disobedience, and disgusted the Ionians by his *extravagant and uncontrollable* garrulity and absurdity, and thus deprived himself of the influence necessary for success in tuition; in short, if he were tried and found wanting, he should instantly have been set aside. Far better indeed would it have been for the rising generation trusted to his care, that an eastern consulship, an employment for which his great acquirements and abilities qualify him, should have been provided for him, than that the educational current should have been checked, interrupted, and disturbed at the fountain head.

The appointment to which we have adverted became the concern of every family, and we learn, with no surprise or regret, from the reviewer, that the heathen vote by which a colossal statue had been decreed in honour of Lord Seaton, was rescinded or delayed on the first Session of a reformed House of Assembly, a measure, perhaps the only wise one, adopted by the majority of those turbulent and detestable legislators elected in wrath. Neither the good intentions of Lord Seaton, nor his 'popularity with the mass of the people,' which the reviewer says he had acquired, but which, we should think, 'was of that kind that followed Lord Normanby in Ireland,' could have drawn from the Assembly, justly dissatisfied in a matter of this importance, a decree for even a bust or a statuette. Having discharged the disagreeable task imposed on us of showing a proven error on the part of the Lord High Commissioner, we must, in justice to his administration, endeavour to give such explanations as we have been able to collect from official documents and private letters in reference to the allegations preferred in the pamphlet and review.

1st. It should be known that the prisoners and convicts at Corfu, and in some of the other islands, had remained for many years in a horrible and deplorable condition,—thieves, murderers, and criminals for petty offences being all confined without classification in unventilated pestiferous casemates, with no attention paid to their cleanliness; tobacco and wine allowed within and without. To alter this prison system, Lord Seaton ordered, with the concurrence of the Senate, a penitentiary on the separate system, and hospital to be constructed, on a healthy site, for the reception of 400 convicts. To this capacious and convenient building the convicts were removed, as soon as pos-



sible, and classified, and an intelligent and esteemed chaplain of the Greek Church took charge of the schools attached to the prison. Some were instructed in trades, and others employed in clearing away the *debris* of abandoned forts. The new system was commenced before the outer wall and *enceinte* were completed, and three prisoners escaped, chiefly owing to the neglect of the guard; these fugitives climbed over the iron fences of the prison courts, and four others effected their escape from the police guard, while at work in an adjoining fort. This is the substance of the reports of the police department, and civil engineer and architect who planned the penitentiary and superintended its erection.

2. We come next to the charge concerning the ship canal of Santa Maura, and having accidentally had an opportunity lately of procuring full information concerning this work, through the civil engineer employed, we insert below in answer copies of his report, and the speech of Sir H. Ward in 1850 \* :—

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\* Sir H. Ward's speech to the Legislative Assembly, in 1850, *relative to the St. Maura Canal*:— 'It is satisfactory to me to be able to state, that as far as an unprofessional man can judge, the completion of this work will be less difficult than I at first anticipated. The compactness of the clay through which the canal is cut, renders it improbable that the sides will require to be strengthened by piles or stone facings; the set in of the current is sufficiently strong to keep the channel clear without dredging; and even in its present imperfect state *eighty* vessels are stated to have passed through it in the course of the present year, besides those which were loaded with salt at the salines. It is probable, therefore, that a considerable toll may be derived from this canal when completed to the depth and width originally proposed; and, under these circumstances, I recommend the Assembly to take measures for bringing the work to a close as soon as possible.'

#### REPORT OF THE CIVIL ENGINEER.

London, 1851.

'MY LORD,—Presuming that you will be pleased to hear any news regarding the canal of Santa Maura, I feel it an imperative duty to inform your lordship, that yesterday I received a letter from Corfu, in date 21st November, wherein it states that a French steamer, directed for Alexandria, passed through the canal of Santa Maura, through stress of weather. The event was celebrated by illuminations by the islanders.' The letter further states, that by April the canal in its whole breadth, will be excavated ten feet in depth; this would have taken place much earlier if it had not happened that the dredge had to undergo a thorough repair, which was a loss of eight months. The sides, as I always gave your lordship to understand, would keep their vertical, and are not in

This ship canal was cut through the Isthmus of Santa Maura to afford a safe passage, in still water, for thirty miles to the eastward of that island to vessels bound to the Corinthian Gulf and the Southern Islands, and to prevent the detention of coasters and small vessels from the Gulf of Arta, and their encountering the boisterous gales and heavy sea to the westward of the island by Capo Ducato. The opening of the canal has promoted the commerce of the Gulf of Arta, given a splendid harbour to Santa Maura, and improved the health of the town, by causing a rapid current through the lake. The channel excavated passing through an isthmus of 237 yards, and through the lagoon of about 2000, was partly effected by a steam dredging machine, and joins an old passage near Fort Constantine, formerly used in communicating with Santa Maura and Acarnania. A direct access to the extensive salt works of Santa Maura has also been secured, and the military defences have been improved by the line of the excavation intended to be seventy feet wide, and fifteen deep.\*

3. The assertion that the schools were emptied by the regulations of Lord Seaton, must have been advanced in ignorance of the facts, for we observe from the papers laid before Parliament in 1846 and 1848, that 6005 pupils attended District Schools, that the number of students at the University was 78, at the College 80; whatever fluctuations there may have been, we should suspect, depended more on the qualifications of the master than the regulation of the Government. We see also

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the least affected by the passage of boats, which is now constant. These are points on which I feel convinced your lordship will be glad to be informed upon, — and with this spirit, I have troubled you with these few lines.

‘The Lexchimo road is also progressing, and will be completed, provided the estimates pass this next new Parliament, in about nine months hence.

‘(Signed) J. REID.’

\* We insert the following extract from the anonymous pamphlet before us in order that we may have an opportunity of stating that the Royal Engineer officers were not consulted on this occasion, and we are assured they never did express the opinions which the author has unhesitatingly ventured to attribute to them. ‘So again Lord Seaton determined to signalise his administration by digging a ship canal across the lagoons which separate Santa Maura, the ancient Leucadia, from the coast of Acarnania. Moreover it was undertaken in defiance of the Royal Engineer officers, who contended that the canal, even if completed, would be of no material advantage, and would not cover the annual sum necessary to keep it in repair.’

from the documents in the Blue Books of that period, that the whole of the buildings of the University, including the seminary, were enlarged and repaired, and others opened in 1844 and 1845. The school of chemistry, which had been discontinued for some years, was restored, in addition to the lecture-rooms for Civil Law and Materia Medica, and a course of lectures given to an increased number of pupils.

4. The remarks on the Model Farm require some notice. It was an institution not established, as the reviewer affects to imagine, for supplying the population with potatoes, but to secure a careful education in agricultural affairs to the sons of farmers and the peasantry, and to pupils intended to be employed as instructors in the different islands. A graduate was obtained from the agricultural establishment of the Marquis of Ridolfi, at Florence, to conduct the agricultural part of the system, and an eminent Greek ecclesiastic from the university took charge of the schools. One hundred and forty boys were under tuition, and a fixed number of boarders educated, destined to superintend similar institutions in other districts.

A reply, at some length, to the comment on invitations in Greek and the banquet, appears required, as the reviewer anxiously desires it to be understood that both were *avant couriers* of innovation and strong evidence of Democratic and Radical propensities, notwithstanding the revision of the Ionian Charter was suggested four years before any of the modifications were officially announced in 1848 and 1849. 'To show,' says the reviewer, 'how far a Tory, when once fairly started on the hobby of Whiggery, will ride, it may be amusing and edifying to mention that during the last month of his reign Lord Seaton caused the cards of invitation to his balls and dinners to be printed in 'Modern Greek.' Thus speaks the reviewer. We have been more inquisitive in respect to this alleged bolt out of the Tory course than perhaps is due to it, or to the record of the historian, but we give the following information respecting the occurrence as we have received it. The experienced in the *ménages* of governors and such like functionaries, will be aware that the troublesome routine business of distributing cards of invitation devolves on aides de camp, and is, as an *affaire de routine*, regulated by that department. Probably none of these cards of invitation are seen by their Excellencies from one end of the year to the other; which, most likely, and we believe, was the fact in the instance we are now called on to explain. It had been the custom, in the early days of the Constitution, to send forth invitations in Greek on the anniversary balls of the 1st January to commemorate the completion of the Ionian

Constitution. And this was certainly the practice in 1832, if discontinued afterwards. On St. George's day the Cavalieri of St. Michael and St. George were always invited to a banquet at the Palace,—an order invented and organised by Sir Thomas Maitland, assisted by an able officer on his staff, and instituted expressly to gratify the Ionians, placed, happily for them, under British protection. It appears, then, that the officers of the invitation department, extensively and intimately acquainted with Ionian families, sent out these cards in Greek to the Cavalieri invited to the feast on St. George's day in 1848. The cards were a transcript of those used in earlier times, and those in use at Athens, *ἰντασιωτής* actually being the barbarous paraphrase adopted in the new Greek kingdom. The term must be tolerated, as well as the Româic '*vépon*' pro *ὑδωρ*, and '*κρασι*' pro *οἶνος*. We must mention, moreover, that Greek is more spoken in every Ionian family than Italian, and that an Act had passed in 1847 to enforce its use in all departments, in conformity to the articles of the Constitutional Charter of 1817.

The dinner given to Lord Seaton by the Literary Society of Corfu has undergone a strict examination. The reviewer thinks Lord Seaton was irrecoverably lost in Radicalism when he accepted the offerings of the Danai. The account given of this affair is incorrect. It is asserted that in March, 1849, Lord Seaton 'forgot to inform his official chief that when he penned 'the despatch he had himself engaged to dine, on April 4th, only 'six days after its date, at one of those public dinners, which 'he seemed to regret.' This is a great error: Lord Seaton had *not* accepted the invitation when he wrote; and he *did* acquaint Lord Grey, in a despatch of April, 'that a banquet had been 'proposed by the Literary Society of Corfu in honour of Her 'Majesty, and to show their attachment to the British nation, 'and express their thanks to the Lord High Commissioner for 'the interest which he had taken in the affairs of the Ionian 'Islands,'—the very words of the invitation, and copied verbatim from Lord Seaton's despatch,—and that he had accepted it conditionally, and that the expression of opinion on the part of the Society had produced a good effect. With respect to this dinner, which the reviewer calls 'the first outward indication of sedition,' it should be distinctly stated that he accepted it at the *earnest* and repeated request and recommendation of the two secretaries of the Senate, one of whom was Count Dúsmâni, a firm Conservative, and a faithful servant of the British Government; the other an esteemed and experienced British functionary. They mentioned in support of their advice

and recommendation, that as the Radicals, at the head of which Napoleon Zambelli had lately placed himself, afterwards one of the editors of the '*Patris*' of 1849, were opposed to the invitation, that the impression it would produce in Greece would be advantageous to the protecting Government, at a time when Athenian agents and annexionists were at work in Cephalonia, and that it might put an end to the agitation in that island, and the false reports in circulation. The commandant of the garrison, and all the officers of the staff, were present at the dinner, as well as some of the most respectable Signori of Corfu, Count Dasmari, the Cavalieri Damaschino and Petrides, the one president and the other secretary of the Legislative Assembly, the present Procuratore Generale, Cuvcumelli, who had been one of the chief promoters of the banquet.

The toasts were three or four, which had been previously sent to the Lord High Commissioner for his approval; viz. the Queen, the Lord High Commissioner, the Ionian Islands, and the Greeks. The whole affair was quietly and most respectfully conducted. At this time, we must remind our readers that outbreaks in Greece, and the revolutions in other countries, were expected: while Metaxa Ioutzo, Giovanni Metaxa Gramomato, Tipaldo Capelletto, and the intriguing factionists of Cephalonia, with their agents at Athens, were encouraged to alarm the peasantry, and to circulate reports intended to disturb the public peace, by a display of popular feeling in favour of Greece. These demonstrations had commenced early in March, 1848. Caralambo Zancarlo, of Athens, having the honorary rank of major in the Greek army, and the Mirarque of Gensdarmes Panas, also a native of the Ionian Islands, were supposed to be the Greek *intrigants* at the period referred to. The Ionian Government had every reason to believe that they were implicated; both from their frequent trips between Athens and Cephalonia, and from their communication with the Ionian Advocate General of Athens.

A Bill for the removal of restrictions on the press was passed in June, 1848, but not ratified till the end of the year. No newspaper was published in the Ionian Islands till 1849, although it was known from the acts of the Senate, and the official correspondence lodged in the public offices, that the Lord High Commissioner had, in 1844 and 1845, and in 1847, suggested that the press regulations should be modified; and that later, previously to the Parisian outbreak, he had, in reference to the increased circulation of Athenian papers and other journals, recommended the removal of the restrictions altogether. The reviewer observes, that Lord Seaton 'was content to follow

‘in the steps of his predecessors, and to wield the sceptre which had descended to him with no less energetic grasp.’ We are convinced, and we think it can be shown, that the influence or confidence obtained by Lord Seaton, and which enabled him to carry on the Government efficiently and satisfactorily, should be attributed not to the power given by the Constitution of 1817, which he exercised, but rather to the general spirit of his Government and the measures which he recommended for adoption in 1843 and 1844, during the first years of his administration; viz. the District Monthly Circuit Courts, the arrangements for separating the municipal income and accounts from the general revenue, the reform of the police establishment, by which crime and criminal prosecutions were diminished one half, and some other remedial measures, to which the following extract from the Parliamentary Reports refers:—

‘Several important alterations have been made in the Judicial establishment. Courts of justice have been instituted in each district for the trial of causes of minor import, at which the inferior judges preside, assisted by the Epistati. These Courts are opened in every district, the first Monday of every month,’ &c.

A few words more on the ‘voto segreto,’ which at one period of the Ionian Constitution, and in some elections, was the law, and we have not heard that Sir Henry Ward dislikes the system. We have already shown that the Legislative Assembly stipulated for the ballot, and forwarded a petition to the Queen, soliciting ‘that the wish expressed by a large majority in the Assembly was that of the Ionian public, however open to disputes; and stating that in small countries in which individuals are closely connected, and exposed to solicitation and threats, without this precaution their vote would be no longer independent, and that many, from the intimate relations between families, would be disposed to resign their political rights, more particularly tranquil electors and haters of intrigue.’ Most of the Judges, and persons intimately acquainted with all classes concurred in the opinion, that the influence of contractors and opulent merchants rendered the precaution of the ballot necessary. Such were the reasons assigned, so different from those imputed.

We think that it is probable that Tories or Conservatives, pertinaciously adhering to the sentiments generally attributed to them in respect to the institutions of our own country, may ‘mount a Radical hobby’ at Iyannina, or in any land where the laws and government are injurious to all classes, without incurring the charge of inconsistency. And, on the other hand,

we imagine, that it is possible that Radicals may change their *façon de parler* and be speedily converted and embrace Toryism in our colonies and in States, where M.P.'s are redundant, and the press scurrilous or too communicative. Such cases are known to have occurred.

The number of the Synclitæ in the Ionian Islands, by the enlargement of the electoral franchise, was computed at about 4000; but we believe it to be overstated in that estimate. The registration returns, however, were always difficult to complete, and many irregularities were permitted. As yet we have not been able to procure a correct statement of them. The discontinuance of the interference and control of the Lord High Commissioner in municipal elections has, we are assured, been the means of correcting many abuses. The alteration alluded to by the reviewer is, that the five municipal officers are elected by the Synclitæ, registered in the city or town lists, instead of their being nominated by the Lord High Commissioner from his double lists, and elected through the Regent. The Regent, as formerly, is appointed by the Senate, with the concurrence of the Lord High Commissioner, and is President of the Municipality; and in the administration of the municipal regulations has the casting vote; he names the days of the meetings of the Municipal Council, and calls extra meetings. The business of these officers relates chiefly to markets and the subsistence of the population, to the civil police and charitable institutions. No extra expenditure can be incurred without the previous sanction of the Senate and the Lord High Commissioner; all temporary regulations proposed are submitted for the approval of them both; and all functionaries attached to the Municipality are appointed, through the Regent, by the English Government. Those who are acquainted with the mode in which the municipal appointments are made in our borough towns will be able to judge how far the modifications adopted in the Ionian Islands were likely to be beneficial to the people and serviceable to the Government. With respect to the extension of the municipal privilege to remote districts, we see that the Lord High Commissioner, in 1849, in his address to the Assembly, recommended that 'if the revision of the municipal system should take place, district Municipalities might be instituted, under whose immediate management district schools could be brought as well as the details relative to local roads, and internal communications and matters connected with the Synclitæ and session of Monthly Circuit Courts, as the only way of ascertaining the wants of the rural population.' Whether this suggestion was acted on or not we are not in-

formed; but we know that the rural population had been most shamefully neglected, and required protection and advice.

The framing of a repressive law to prevent abuses of the free press was one of the most difficult points to determine: any approach to a censorship was to be avoided; some of the clauses and parts of the Act passed, drawn up by the Procurator General for the sanction of the Government, it was thought, were of the nature of censorship, and not altogether applicable to the Islands, and would have been useless with a free press at Athens, encouraging the description of writing meant by the Bill to be checked; but the framing of a law sufficiently repressive, without technical defects, rested with the Procurator General and his legal associates. If the law to prevent seditious articles and scurrilous attacks is considered inadequate,—and we understand that it is,—the Legislative Assembly will soon find it for their own interests and for those of the Islands to amend it. It may be right also to define precisely the extent of the high police power vested by the Constitution in the hands of the Lord High Commissioner, but to exchange that check on sedition and disturbances for an amended law to restrain the press, would, we are of opinion, not strengthen the Executive Government.

It is a mistake to suppose that the five persons removed by the orders of Lord Seaton from Cephalonia in 1849 were apprehended by the police for their editorial offences. Two of them were editors, but the whole were accused by the Resident of Cephalonia of disturbing Argostoli by mischievous addresses, and by circulating false reports, which required immediate interference, and of an organised system of agitation in the country, and were accordingly embarked and sent to Cerigo or Paxo. Severe enactments can be as easily evaded as they are in our colonies; and probably not one of the specimens of a scurrilous abusive press would have gone beyond the narrow streets of Argostoli, where they were composed, had not the libels been forced into importance by forwarding them to England.

We have taken some pains to furnish our readers with details relative to individuals, and to attacks on their proceedings; and in bringing our story to an end have been drawn from the consideration of the real question at issue, to which we again return. One would suppose from the way in which the discontinuance of the Primary Council is mentioned, that it was an additional concession, but its abolition was the necessary result of the extension of the elective franchise. The chief duty of



the Primary Council was to examine and complete the double lists, which are no longer required.

The reviewer expresses his surprise that so many important privileges should have been granted at the same time; but we tell him that conceding by instalments is bad policy and seldom succeeds, when the proposed modifications of a Constitution are determined on, and can be with justice claimed, and are expected and desired by the intelligent and loyal; the Government, by at once anticipating their wishes, establishes confidence and respect. A different course is to be avoided. Sir Henry Ward has been, we think, unjustly and inconsiderately censured, and even harassed for his decision in dissolving a Legislative Assembly unworthy to represent the Islands; and in proroguing another, under the circumstances in which he was placed. The Colonial Department has always supported his views, and rightly. The conduct of these assemblies was injurious to the interests of the people at large, and embarrassed inferior departmental officers more than the Government. The salaries of the chief functionaries being provided for by permanent bills, and the Civil List not having been discontinued, the business of the Islands was carried on with the aid of the Senate, composed, it is said, of more able members than at any time since the Islands have been under British protection. In the last Session the influential and well-informed majority of the Legislative Assembly gave their support to the Government, except on the occasion when conditional measures were proposed to amend the Act passed to prevent libels and a seditious press, and to introduce some other regulations. The proposed measures were rejected, probably by the votes of the adherents of the *régime* of 1817, and by those of the Annexionists, of course. The high police power might be more distinctly defined, but the exercise of an extensive discretionary control, with the advice of the Senate, is indispensable in islands so accessible as they are from the adjoining coasts. The Parliament has been prorogued, after a Session prolonged beyond the usual term fixed by the Constitution, and probably will not meet again till 1854. The Senate having still the power of sanctioning regulations with the force of laws during the recess, — the Lord High Commissioner remains for two years in repose, undisturbed by popular legislation, — the details of the Government are administered by an excellent Senate with clockwork precision. No traces of the confusion imagined by Count Salamos, in his petulant memorandum, can be anywhere discovered. In fine, we are confident that the majority of the Legislative Assembly will give their steady support to the pro-

protecting Government; and that the intelligent and respectable majority will increase in numbers, although it may fluctuate, like all assemblies freely elected.

The revision of the Constitution has already brought into the service of Government men of talent, influence, and property, who had been for years excluded from employment, and suspected of hostility to the protecting Government. Among these we may name the family of the Romas, the Advocate Braila, at present contributing their active exertions in support of the revised system. We disagree entirely with the opinions set forth in the statement we have had under consideration, and think its predictions as unwarranted and unsound as the rest of the publication. Looking to the future prospects of the Ionian Islands, we cannot conceive a more satisfactory government for our lieutenants to administer, whether in regard to position, local advantages, or to the working of the institutions now established. A fine and compliant peasantry; free institutions; ports occupied by vessels preparing to take in their annual cargoes of oil and currants, or engaged in commerce with Odessa and the Black Sea; a delightful climate; soil fruitful in productions; magnificent scenery; sheltered roadsteads and bays; the classic land of Hellas accessible by steam in a few hours; and splendid garrisons, highly disciplined, to promote and ensure law and order; and the *Patris* defunct, without a decree having been brought forth for the erection of statues to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

Notwithstanding the writer of the pamphlet before us observes, with *Cretan* animosity, that Englishmen are looked on in Corcyra as the Austrians are in Milan, we do not hesitate to declare that, though the Ionians have reason to remember overbearing usage in a few instances, our country is loved and our compatriots respected; and that, with the attention that ought to be bestowed on the Seven Islands, they will be prosperous, and an honour to the British name, and an attractive, agreeable, residence for Englishmen. The policy and justice of providing occasionally for the intelligent and well-educated young men of the Ionian Islands, locked up on their native soil, who are not permitted to enter our naval or military service, by nominating them for employments in the East Indies, was suggested by Sir H. Douglas, and other Lord High Commissioners; and this subject is worthy of the consideration of the protecting Government. It remains to be proved whether the Ionian Constitution of 1817, based on that of 1803, democratic in terms and form, can be worked under the present system of elective franchise, with the Synclitæ ex-

tended to 4000, or according to a calculation, though incorrect, of 6000. The local mistakes of those who proposed the revision of the charter, and the merits of those who corrected them, did not affect the Bill of 1850, which has no reference to this subject. The extent of control of which the Lord High Commissioner has been deprived may be summed up by stating that he no longer elects the Legislative Assembly; and a great loss of power it is. We are not to be discouraged by the first returns from Cephalonia, or by the imbecile who was sent from Cerigo as a legislator. The Lord High Commissioner, indeed, has gained much by being enabled to nominate and appoint a more efficient and influential Senate than ever succeeded to office under the old *régime*, and by all the elections being conducted with great regularity.

The financial matters of the Ionian States having been already referred to, little more need be said to show that the annual military contributions had been fixed at a rate disproportionate to the revenue. The payments due on this account had fallen in arrear for many years. A new agreement was assented to at the suggestion of Lord Seaton, regulating their payments in proportion to the net receipts of the Ionian treasury. One fifth of the income was the amount sanctioned, which brought down the contributions from 35,000 to an average of 24,000. The resources of the Islands could not be developed without a constant outlay; nor could the debt be reduced, or a deficit prevented, without a reduction in the establishment, or of the salaries of functionaries. These reductions unfortunately lowered the incomes of departmental officers below what was due to their services and their responsibility. Whatever profit the Islands may have received from the expenditure of British troops, and it must have been large, this could not increase or affect a revenue depending on export duties on staple produce, or alleviate the distress occasioned by a total failure in the olive crop for a series of years. \*

We take leave of the subject, convinced that in governing the people of the Ionian Islands *common sense* and *sincerity* are the essential requisites, and that the defensive remarks in our paper are fully justified by the ample Ionian documents and correspondence to which we have had access, from the times of Spiridione Ferresti, our consul, and the contemplated occupation of Corfu, in 1801, by British troops, to the present period.

- ART. III. — 1. *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul: comprising a complete Biography of the Apostle, and a Translation of his Letters, inserted in Chronological Order.* By the Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. S. HOWSON, M. A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. With Illustrations by W. H. BARTLETT. 2 vols. 4to. London: 1850–1852.
2. *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* By THOMAS LEWIN, M. A., of Trinity College, Oxford. 2 vols. post 8vo. London: 1851.
3. *Der Apostel Paulus.* Von KARL SCHRADER. 6 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: 1830–1836.
4. *Pflanzung u. Leitung der Christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel.* Dritter Abschnitt: die Ausbreitung des Christenthums und Grundung der Christlichen Kirelle durch die Wirksamkeit des Apostels Paulus. [*Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* Third Part: The Propagation of Christianity and Foundation of the Christian Church by the Agency of the Apostle Paul.] Von DR. AUGUST NEANDER. 4th edition. Pp. 134–152. Hamburg: 1847.
5. *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, &c.* By JAMES SMITH, Esq., of Jordan Hill, F.R.S., &c. London: 1848.

WE see every reason to hail the kind of attention which is now being bestowed on the study and illustration of the New Testament Scriptures. Those fruits of collateral inquiry which the last age erroneously denominated the *evidences* of Christianity, while they are now gathered in tenfold abundance, are called by their right names, and ranged in their proper places. The more accurate philological study of the Greek language, — the light which the researches of Niebuhr and others have let in upon the contemporary and earlier history, — the multiplied facilities for travel, and the advanced intelligence of travellers, — have contributed to increase our means of confirming and illustrating the evangelic record. On the other hand, we cannot but think that a deeper insight into the character of Christianity itself has led us to give all such accessories their true importance, and no more. The stranger may gaze

with wonder at the far-stretching outworks and bastions of the fortress ; but he who dwells within, knows that its strength is not only, nor chiefly, in these.

The reader who feels the force of our last remark, will have no difficulty in joining us in the assumption, with which we shall proceed to the consideration of the works mentioned at the head of this Article.

We assume, that it was the Divine intention to reveal a religion, which should suffice for the moral and intellectual elevation of ALL MANKIND ; which, laying its foundations in individual convictions, should clear and exalt the conscience, purify the affections, ennoble the intellect ; while, at the same time, it disclosed a hope common to all men, and capable of sustaining under every possible trial of humanity. We assume further, that *this religion was Christianity*. And we are thus led to the contemplation of definite historical facts. Christianity was introduced into the world at a certain time, and under certain circumstances. Can we, by examination of the state of mankind at the time, perceive any remarkable preparations for the assumed work which Christianity had to accomplish ? Periods of this world's history may be conceived, singularly *unfitted* for the promulgation of a religion which was to take general hold on mankind. Does the period of the promulgation of Christianity present any remarkable contrast to these ?

Again : if it was the intention of the Allwise to bring the whole of mankind under one bond of union, we might imagine that there would be visible in history some traces of previous preparation ; that amidst the wars of states, and the conflict of opinions, we should find some advance made towards the possibility, and efficacy, of such a blending of both, as was destined hereafter to take place. Nay, we may go further than this. Excluding mere chance from any part in the arrangement of man's world, we may fairly say *à priori*, that we might expect to find some adaptations in local circumstances themselves, to the end which was to be answered. Situations might be conceived, which should be most *adverse* to the accomplishment of the end assumed. Was Christianity introduced in *those* situations, or in others of a very different character ?

Again, if Christianity is to be founded in individual convictions, the weapon of its warfare, above all others, must be *persuasion* ; and in order to persuasion, there must be *one able to persuade*. Do we find any provision made for such a persuader ? The work will be no ordinary nor easy one. The conflicting elements of the ancient social system could never be amalga-

mated, but by one specially and unusually prepared for the task. The hierarchical prejudice of the Jew, the intellectual pride of the Greek, the political pre-eminence of the Roman, would present insuperable obstacles to any man who was not capable of entering into and dealing with each, not as extraneous to himself, but as a part of his own character and personality. And more than this. The religion of Christ was, from each of these elements, itself in danger. It might become hierarchical and Judaistic, or philosophic and Grecian, or might lose its great characteristics in the political liberalism of Rome. It would need one singularly fitted by education and temperament, to mark boldly and keenly the outlines of the faith to be preached; who, while he recognised the legitimacy of the Judaistic and Grecian elements in Christianity, and laid down the canons of civil and political conformity, might yet be under exclusive subjection to none of these, but able to wield and attemper them all.

Have we any traces of the preparation of a workman for such a work? Does any appear on the stage of the early Christian period, answering to these unusual and difficult requirements? Can we find any person able, at that time of strange complication and difficulty, *to carry out all men's religion among all men?*

Our readers will excuse us for entering somewhat into these questions, and endeavouring popularly to state the resolution of them with which Providence, in the course of history, has furnished us. They will thus be better able to appreciate the nature of the service which has been rendered to the Christian world by the authors whose works are mentioned at the head of the present Article.

Mr. Howson strikingly remarks (p. 4.), 'The city of God was built at the confluence of three civilisations.' The Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, had each borne their part in the preparation of the world for the Gospel. 'They were' (it is the saying of Dr. Arnold, *Life*, ii. 413. 2nd edition), 'the three peoples of God's election: two for things temporal, one for things eternal. Yet even in the things eternal they were allowed to minister: Greek cultivation, and Roman polity, prepared men for Christianity.'

The first pages of the father of history are devoted to tracing the original quarrels and reprisals between the inhabitants of the opposite coasts of Europe and Asia. And if ever two continents were designed for intercourse, these surely were. The Grecian or Asiatic fisherman could hardly sail out from the

beach of his native creek without being tempted onward by the blue islands in the distance, which, like so many stepping-stones to another land, stud the waters of the Ægean. Adventure in the early ages was inseparable from piracy: and as villages banded into states, and states into confederacies, piracy became war, and war brought national glory. Thus the first undying song celebrates the expedition of the confederate Greeks to Troy in reprisal for the rape of Helen. Nor should the commercial element in this early intercourse be forgotten: nor the important fact, that one article of commerce was the *persons of men*. The principal trading cities were Tyre and Sidon: and we have in the prophecy of Joel (whose most probable date is as far back as the ninth century, B.C.\*) a distinct charge against the Tyrians and Sidonians, that they had 'sold the children of Judah and Jerusalem to the sons of the Grecians†, that they might remove them far from their border.' Thus we have the Jew at a very early period carried into Greece, and introduced into Grecian families; and the first nucleus formed of that vast dispersion, which we witness in subsequent history. The captivities, first of Israel, then of Judah, can hardly fail to have driven westward, through Asia Minor and the Greek colonies, some scattered portions of the main bodies of captives. And doubtless the break up of the great remnant of Xerxes' army under Mardonius added considerably to the number of Jews in Greece. Mr. Howson has remarked (vol. i. p. 18.), that about the time of the battles of Salamis and Marathon, a Jew was the minister, another Jew the cupbearer, and a Jewess the consort, of the Persian monarch. Great indeed must have been the number of Jews settled throughout the East.‡ The small gleanings which returned with Ezra and Nehemiah was as nothing compared with those who remained contented in the land of exile. Asia was full of Jews. On the coasts and in the islands

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\* See the various opinions given and discussed by Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, sub voce.

† Joel, iii. 6. (Heb. iv. 6.) The words are לְבָנֵי הַיִּנָּנִים.

‡ Mr. Blackburn refers to the residence of Ezekiel in Assyria, that the mighty minister to the captive Jews settled by the river Chebar. He repeats, on the authority of Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*), that the description by Ezekiel of the interior of the Assyrian palaces so completely corresponds with the monuments of Nimroud and Khorsabad, that there can scarcely be a doubt that Ezekiel had seen the objects which he describes, — the figures sculptured upon the wall and painted. — *Blackburn's Nineveh, its Rise and Ruin as illustrated by Ancient Scripture and Modern Discoveries.*

of the *Ægean*, along the Asiatic, European, and African sides, we find Jews and their synagogues. By trade for themselves, or by the policy of their patrons and conquerors, they had been thickly planted in the chief rising seats of civilisation and commerce. In Antioch, Alexandria, Cyrene, Corinth, Athens, Thessalonica, and many other well-known cities, we hear of Hebrew settlements more or less considerable in number.

Nor is it too much to say, that the influence of these widely dispersed Jews must have been every where felt. In the case of the Jew alone was religion bound to a law of moral purity. The Jew only had a conscience, in the better and higher sense.\* Everywhere a mystery to the surrounding heathen, despised by the cultivated and learned, he yet found his way into the bosom of households, and laid hold on those feelings after purity and truth, or even those weaknesses and pronenesses to superstition, which are common to the tender in age, or sex, or bodily constitution. We find, in some of the most renowned cities of the East, that a large proportion of the female inhabitants had embraced Judaism.† And allowing for every admixture of superstition and misunderstanding, there can be no doubt that better convictions, and a yearning after something more solid than Paganism, must be conceded to have operated widely on the proselyte class. Where such feelings existed, the way was being admirably prepared for a religion, which, founded on all that was true and permanent in Judaism, should yet winnow off the effete and temporary, and embody in itself, with yet loftier sanctions, all that was pure and good in it before.

But this was not always the character of the world-wide Judaism of the day. Regarding the conscientious 'God-fearing' proselyte as the mean, we have for our two extremes, Pharisaism and Hellenism.

The Pharisaic society formed a hierarchico-political combination only equalled in efficiency and influence by that of the Ulemas in Turkey or the Jesuits in modern times, and forming to this last, in some respects, a remarkable parallel. Schrader† has vividly depicted the zeal, aims, and practices of the Phari-

\* 'Treffend und schön bezeichnet De Wette als die auszeichnende Eigenthumlichkeit des Hebräischen Volkes, dass in ihm von Anfang an das Gewissen rege ist.'—*Neander*, Pfl. u. Leit. p. 91.

† Josephus, Bell. Jud. ii. 20. 2., says of the women of Damascus, that they were *ἀπίστας πλὴν ὀλίγων ὑπηγμένας τῇ Ἰουδαικῇ θρησκείᾳ*. See also Acts xiii. 50.; xvii. 4. 12.

‡ Vol. ii. ch. 4.



sees. By their stern theocratic exclusiveness, their minute literal observances, their proselytising zeal, they formed the inner stronghold of Judaism,—the conservative power which kept inviolate the letter long after the spirit had departed. At the same time that the gross materialism of their expected messianic kingdom attracted the lower and selfish multitude, the apparent earnestness and perfection of their legal obedience acted as a lure for better and loftier spirits. In comparison with the importance of collections for the temple, the first moral duties were set aside by them: weighed against the advancement of hierarchical Judaism, justice and mercy were light altogether. Their history, like that of the body to whom we have compared them, is one of intrigue, turbulence, and bloodshed. We find them in the courts of princes, and in the houses of widows: praying apart in the holy places at Jerusalem, and mingling with the great concourse at Rome; the stirrers up of the people to sedition and tumult, the secret organisers of conspiracies, and subverters of thrones.

From this compact and organised body it was to be expected that Christianity would meet with the most determined opposition. They had been the bitterest enemies of its Divine Founder. His teaching was the negation of all their views: its success would be death to their dearest hopes. Moral purity was by Him upheld at the expense of ceremonial correctness: all hierarchical system was abolished by a religion whose foundations were laid in individual conviction: the messianic pomp of the expected kingdom was apparently resolved into some spiritual renovation, to them unintelligible, or, if understood, unwelcome.

Such was one, and that the prevailing element in the Judaism of the time; prevailing, not because numerically the greatest, but because in it was concentrated all the fire and zeal of the system; because it had the only organisation, the only perfect unity of mutual understanding and action. The other, the Hellenistic element, embraced all those Jews who had become mingled with Grecians, used their language, and had learned their habits of thought. To them, for the most part, the sacred tongue was unknown. They had their own version of the Scriptures, made in their great metropolis, Alexandria. They formed a widely spread and motley combination of various grades of opinion and practice. For the most part, Hellenism was a fruitless attempt to unite principles essentially discordant. Its philosophico-allegoric speculations on Scripture may have amused some ingenious minds like that of Philo; while, on the

other hand, the refuge which its purer creed offered at small cost from the utter abandonment and hopelessness of heathenism, attracted many of the conscientious and upright; but we can hardly imagine in the Hellenist either logical consistency, or very fervent zeal.

As regarded Christianity, Hellenistic Judaism was a most important preparation. By it the essential truths of the Old Testament had long ago been clothed in the language of philosophic thought. At Alexandria, at Antioch, at Ephesus, the weapons had been prepared, with which the warfare of persuasion was to be carried on. It was the link between the schools of Athens and the schools of the Rabbis: the form in which, if at all, the truths of Christianity must be presented to the Grecian mind. The processes of dialectic argument, unknown to Eastern composition, were eminently suited to a religion whose hearers were to prove all things, in order to hold fast that which is good. And it was now no new thing, to have sacred truth propounded in these dialectic forms.

We have thus been gradually led to the *second* great element in the social system at the Christian era — the intellectual culture of Greece. If humanity is to be gained for the highest purposes, the reason of man must be satisfied, and his intellect ennobled: nor can that be the religion under which man's highest state is to be realised, which is not prepared to enlist and consecrate every lawful use of his powers and faculties; to work in the lump until the whole is leavened. At the same time, let it be granted that this is to be done, not by unaided human power, but by a revelation from above,—and it is manifest that a very important part of the preparation for receiving such a gift would be, the demonstration of the insufficiency of man himself to attain to this ennoblement of his powers. And this is the work which, in the designs of Providence, was accomplished by that wonderful development of the human intellect witnessed in ancient Greece. That a height of intellectual excellence should there have been reached which has never since been attained,—that in philosophy, in art, and in poesy, the patterns for the world should there have been set once for all, will surprise only those who do not bear this purpose in mind.

But while the failure of Greek philosophy to regenerate mankind was thus in progress of demonstration, these highest exercises of man's intellect were but preparing the way for Him who was to come. The *language* of the Greeks is itself a wonderful monument of the culminating intellectual period of our race. In no other tongue under heaven, can the minutest

shiftings and distinctions of the mental feelings be expressed with so much precision. In no other are there so many varieties of construction and arrangement, by each of which some minute distinction of meaning or emphasis is given. In no other language have we so many apparently insignificant particles, by which the exact reference of secondary clauses to the main subject, and to one another, can be marked off and determined. In that language, every term relating to things human or divine had already been discussed, and its meaning laboured out with marvellous patience and accuracy.

Nor was Providence, which was thus preparing a garb for Christianity, wanting in making it generally known and used. The dispersion of Greeks is hardly less wonderful than that of Jews. In early times, their colonies had spread along the coasts of Italy and Sicily, of Africa and Asia Minor. Their hostile intercourse or intrigues with Persia had gradually carried them further East; till finally the conquests of Alexander distributed the Greek tongue and influence over the whole of his vast but fleeting empire. Amidst the struggles and confusion incident on his death, this one effect alone of his conquests remained undisturbed and increasing. All the dynasties which sprang from his grave were Greek, and tended to consolidate the Grecian element which his victories had first introduced. Greek letters and arts became every where cultivated; the language usurped the place of the indigenous tongues in all polite intercourse. Nor was Judæa exempt from this influence. Lying between the contending kingdoms, and ever involved in their quarrels, it too received, although slowly and reluctantly, the unhallowed boon of Grecian culture.

There yet wanted a political power which might adjust to equilibrium these disturbing forces. Had the world been seething in tumult, as it was under the successors of Alexander, the propagation of Christianity would have been, humanly speaking, impossible.

And we must here express our opinion, that there are few things more instructive in history, than the relation of the Roman Empire to the spread of Christianity. Whether we regard it in its rise, at its height, or in its decline, we see in it a vast instrument to subserve the purposes of Providence with regard to the religion of Christ. In its rise, with which we are here more immediately concerned, by a rapid succession of conquests and annexations, it reduced to political unity and security the various conflicting powers whose struggles had hitherto distracted the world. Crushing and afflicting as was the

character of its rule over its provinces, it was every where the government of order, and the friend of commercial intercourse. Among its works conducive to safe transit by sea and land, we may reckon, for the first, the extinction of piracy in the Mediterranean; for the second, the admirable roads with which every part of its vast territory was intersected. It was through these seas, and along these roads, that 'the noble army of martyrs,' as well as the armies of Rome, advanced to the conquest of the world. In times of restricted intercourse, and unsafe transit, these missionary journeys would have been impracticable.

The Roman policy with regard to religion was entirely consistent with the other parts of the system. Every existing religion of nation or tribe was sanctioned by law; but no countenance was given to the introduction of new tenets or modes of worship. Thus Christianity, for many years after its promulgation, grew up undistinguished from Judaism, and under the shelter of this *religio licita* as one of its sects. It was not till the inhabitants of whole districts flocked to baptism amidst the indignation of surrounding Jews and Pagans, that we find systematic persecution enjoined; and by that time Christianity was strong enough in numbers to be aided, rather than crushed, by such hostility.

During and for some time after the reigns of the first twelve Cæsars, the citizen of Rome was endowed with considerable privileges. Among these, exemption from corporal punishment, and the power of appealing to the people, were the chief and best known. It is true, that this last had now merged into an appeal to him who wielded, by his concentration of offices, the power of the *populus* and the *plebs* alike; but, it had not, on that account, lost its value as a means of rescue from arbitrary decisions, and from the warping of justice by the venality of provincial judges.\*

The foregoing sketch of the state of the world shortly after the Christian era, will enable us to lay down *à priori* the necessary and desirable qualifications of the man who is to be the main agent in propagating the Christian faith.

First. It is absolutely necessary, that he be a Jew. Founded as Christianity is on the ancient covenant and promises, its appeal to the world was mainly through Judaism; addressing

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\* The bearings on Christianity of these various characteristics of the time are admirably treated in the first chapter of Conybeare and Howson's work.

itself 'to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile.' It is to the Jews that the preacher must look for his earliest and his most able converts: men, who having been reasoned with out of the law and the prophets, were thereby convinced, and prepared to convince others, that Jesus was the Christ. And none but a Jew would gain access to that exclusive and prejudiced people. The synagogues would be forbidden ground to a Gentile teacher: the ears of the Jews would be absolutely closed against him.

For the same reason, the Apostle of the world must be not a Hellenist, but of pure Hebrew descent. It is of the utmost importance that he should be able to speak and cite in the sacred language of the law and prophets. The Hellenists were looked on by the purer Jews with disparagement and contempt. They had their own synagogues, in which the sacred tongue was never heard, and to enter which would have been pollution to the scrupulous and rigid Pharisee. Thus a Hellenist would have acted at a great disadvantage, in leaving the central fortress of Judaism untouched, because to him inaccessible.

This last consideration will at once bring before us another requisite. None but the strictest sect of Judaism will furnish the man who shall be sufficient for this work. The pretended mysteries of the Rabbinical teaching must be in his grasp to deal with and set aside. None must be able to say of him, 'This man, who knoweth not the law, is cursed.' In one point at least his message to the Jews should be without fault: all should be compelled to look up to him as one trained to teach, and thoroughly capable of doing it. If the question, 'Whence hath this man letters?' was for other and wise purposes permitted to be asked respecting Him who came to be rejected and suffer and die, it would have been, as far as we can judge, a serious obstacle to the work of one who must be to the Jews as a Jew, in order to persuade and gain them.

But yet another reason existed (and this is ably brought out by Schrader\* and Neander†), why the great apostle of Christianity should be a Pharisee. Of all the opposition offered to Jesus of Nazareth, that of the Pharisees was the most consistent and entire. They saw in his teaching the abnegation of hierarchical Judaism. If He were a teacher from God, the ceremonial law had passed away, the barrier between Jew and

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\* Vol. ii. ch. 6. 'Bildung des Apostels Paulus in der Schule der  
Pharisäer.'  
† P. 133.

Gentile, was broken down, and Judaism became an empty husk henceforward. None thoroughly understood this but the bigoted Pharisee. The lapse of years, and the warning of heavenly visions, had not kept the greatest of the chosen Twelve from vacillating on this vital point; and there is every reason to believe that the Church at Jerusalem remained to the end practically prejudiced against the free admission of the union of mankind in Christ. Amidst all the difficulties and inconsistencies on this matter, he only would be sure never to go wrong, who having during his life of Pharisaic zeal keenly stigmatised as an abomination the anti-exclusive spirit of the religion of Jesus, had thus gained the clearest view of its universality, and in his conversion adopted this view as his own to the full.

But Jew and Pharisee as he must be, other elements must be mingled in him, which few who were Jews and Pharisees united in themselves. A Jew born in Palestine, and receiving a purely Jewish education, could have been a missionary for the most part to pure Jews only. It is plainly necessary that he be, though not a Hellenist himself, yet from youth accustomed to the use of the Hellenistic version of the Scriptures, together with the Hebrew original, — nay more, from youth accustomed to the habits of thought and expression of the more cultivated Greeks, — no stranger to the literature and rhetorical usage of that language which had been prepared for the work which Christianity had to do. The advantage of a boyhood spent in the haunts of Greek literary culture would be great, even if he himself did not frequent the schools for instruction. A certain pride in the place of his birth would lead a youth of genius to some acquaintance at least with the Greek writers who had sprung from it, or were connected with the studies there pursued; and the first remembrances of his early days would be bound up with his taste, however brief, of the sweets of profane literature. All this would eminently fit him to address a Grecian audience; to know the peculiar stumblingblocks which the hearers must be taught cautiously to approach, and gently to step over; and skilfully to avoid incurring those charges, which might exaggerate in the Greek mind the repulsiveness of himself and his message. At the same time, no extraneous culture could educate a Pharisee. In the Holy City alone, and in the schools of the Jerusalem rabbis, was the fountain head of Judaism to be drawn from.

Thus we have arrived at the complicated, and we may conceive not often united requirements, of pure Judaic extraction, °

With birth and early education among Hellenists and Grecians, and subsequent training in the rabbinical schools of Jerusalem. If however we rested here, one important advantage would be wanting. The great Apostle is sure to incur the deadliest hatred of the Pharisaic party, which he has deserted to pass over to Christianity. That hatred will be unrelenting, and will pursue him wherever his message is delivered. No calumny will be spared, no attempt withheld, to make him odious to the local magistracies. Should he be found in Judea itself, the jealousy of the Roman procurators, ever ready to awake against turbulence and sedition, will be roused to effect his ruin. One safeguard, and one only, humanly speaking, would obviate the danger of his career being cut short by conspiracy on the part of his enemies, or the tyranny of an unprincipled governor. If he possessed the privileges of a Roman citizen, his person would be safe from punishment at the hands of the officers of Rome; and an escape would be always open to him from conspiracy or apprehended injustice, in an appeal to the supreme power in the great metropolis.

We have said nothing of personal characteristics. That the 'Apostle of the world' should be full of earnestness and self-forgetting zeal, is too obvious to be insisted on. That a great persuader should, besides convincing men's minds, be able to win and keep their hearts, — that he who wishes others to weep must weep himself — has long ago passed into an axiom. But we prefer filling in this part of the sketch *à posteriori*, from the facts themselves.

That the person so required *was found* — that so many and unusual attributes were combined in one individual — is known to us all. But it seems to have been reserved for our own age of biography and minute research, fully to trace all the qualifications of Saul of Tarsus for his great mission, and to point out their examples in his extraordinary career.

There is no work extant in which this is more laboriously and completely done than in Conybeare and Howson's 'Life and Epistles of St. Paul.' The names of the authors are vouchers for their ability to perform their task; and no one will consult their book without being convinced of the diligent research and careful accuracy with which it has been accomplished. No pains have been spared to gather information on every point of the Apostle's life and sayings; and the abundance and excellence of maps, and illustrations by landscapes and coins, make the book a complete manual of all that relates to the subject. The authorities referred to are given *at length* in the foot-notes, which greatly increases the value of the work to the scholar.

On the whole, we doubt if any modern literature possesses a treatise more complete or satisfactory in its design and execution.

Perhaps there is a little too much of imaginative minuteness in some of the descriptions of the journeys of the Apostle; and we confess an objection to the frequent and sometimes bewildering illustration by reference to modern state relations or local circumstances. These however, to which might be added an occasional want of condensation, and exuberance of style, are but slight faults, compared with the essential service, which these authors have rendered to English biblical literature by their elaborate researches, and to English society by the pleasing and attractive garb in which they have clothed the results.

Into the important portion of the work which Mr. Conybeare has contributed — the translation of the Epistles — it is not our intention to enter critically. In such a wide field of controversy, philological and doctrinal, there will be much for every scholar to question. At the same time we have found much to approve; and we hail every independent scholarlike attempt to render the sacred text in our language, in hopes that it may lead at some time to the judicious removal of some of the acknowledged blots on our otherwise excellent authorised version.

Mr. Lewin's work, though published since the first volume of Conybeare and Howson, is an original contribution to the same subject, from a candid and diligent layman. While there is much in it that is really valuable, it is to be regretted that Mr. Lewin has not enriched and in some places rectified his book by the admirable and copious treatises which have of late years been published in Germany, and of which the authors of the former work have largely and most properly taken advantage. This fact tends to place Mr. Lewin's book altogether on lower ground than it should have occupied; while the unfortunate inaccuracy of its printing is continually confusing the reader.\* At the same time, Mr. Lewin's useful historical memoirs, his plans of the principal towns, with geographical authorities cited at length†, and the justice and good feeling which he shows in

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\* The Greek is printed *without accents*, a practice against which every scholar should protest, and about as rational as it would be to print an English work without crossing the *r's* or dotting the *i's*. The punctuation of the text is in some places in utter confusion. Take an example: — 'but, at night he escaped from his guard, and got on board, and reached, Alexandria.' (P. 84.) Such abound throughout.

† His geographical notices are not always accurate: *e. g.* where in



his remarks, will prevent his work from being laid aside, and cause it to be retained as accessory to, or a cheaper substitute for, the more important and costly volumes of Conybeare and Howson.\*

We have placed two well-known German works on our list, because our neighbours have in this, as in most of the departments of biblical literature and research, the credit of having led the way, and suggested to ourselves the reproduction or expansion of their labours; and because there is something so well fitted in the German mind for treating subjects of this kind, that after all acknowledged defects are allowed for, and evident excrescences pared away, we always have left, in the work of an intelligent German, abundant suggestive matter that is truly valuable, and nowhere else to be found.

Schrader's treatise spread its publication over the years 1830—1836: and considering the time, we cannot help ranking it as the most remarkable work on the subject. Its plan is that of a biography, with the chronology and doctrine treated of in separate volumes, and followed by a translation of the Epistles, with a commentary. For really sound research into the necessities and inner proprieties of St. Paul's preparation for his work, we know of no book which approaches Schrader's in value. We might perhaps be disposed to find a little fault with Mr. Howson for not having more abundantly transferred to his pages the interesting speculations of this author. We might think that some pruning of graphic description would have been more than compensated by giving us the substance of some of Schrader's valuable chapters in his second volume on the personal character and training of the Apostle.

At the same time, there is one part of Schrader's work which disfigures it in common with many of the best German treatises on matters connected with historical Christianity. We mean its perfectly gratuitous rationalism. If Saul was in reality, as Schrader and we are sorry to say Neander also would have us believe, merely *struck with lightning* on the way to Damascus,—not only were the solemn words then related to have been spoken to him, and on which he distinctly grounds his apostleship, the offspring of his excited imagination,—but he

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speaking of Myra, he makes it the metropolis of Lycia in the apostolic times, on the authority of the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles, a work of the sixth century; and in the same notice makes the distinct rivers Limyrus and Andriaki into one.

\* Mr. L. gives the Epistles in the authorised version, with a few departures, and those not always for the better.

must himself be charged with deliberate falsehood and imposture; for in neither of the narratives of his conversion which we possess from his own lips is there the slightest intimation of a storm having overtaken the party, but an evident intention to imply that in the brightness of the noonday sun, a light brighter still was shed around him, and a supernatural voice plainly heard, answered, and heard again, the speaker being all the while distinctly seen.\*

Neander's work is well known in this country by translations, as one of the most valuable contributions to an intelligent appreciation of the mind and mission of the various great Apostles, and the conflicts and character of the first Christian age. Tinged strongly with the peculiarities of the German school, it yet exhibits so thorough an understanding of the position, wants, and divisions of the nascent Church, and so admirable a spirit of Christian faith and charity, as to have become an indispensable element in the study of the Apostolic history.

We shall proceed now, with the aid of the works which we have characterised, in some measure to fill in *à posteriori* the outlines given above. To do this continuously would be out of the question. We must necessarily select a few salient points of the history as examples of the rest.

The destined Apostle of the Gentiles was born of pure Jewish descent, 'a Hebrew of Hebrews,' at Tarsus, the capital of the province of Cilicia, a few years probably after our era. With

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\* If, to take another instance, (and here we must include Mr. Lewin in our reprehension, and even complain somewhat of the guarded and ambiguous language of Mr. Howson,) the pythoness at Philippi was not really possessed by a spirit, but only (we quote Mr. Lewin) 'subject to ravings, and at the present day would merely be 'committed to the charge of a keeper,'—how on the one hand can we account for those ravings taking daily the form of vehement recognition of the divine mission of the Apostle, and how on the other can we give any consistent account of her *cure*, which both these authors believe to have followed on St. Paul's words? Far better and deeper in this instance Neander, who, though he supposes the case need not imply possession by a personal evil spirit, yet distinctly recognises the agency of the chief spirit of evil, and the maiden's liberation from it by the Apostle. See the whole matter very satisfactorily treated in the recent work of Baumgarten, 'Die Apostel-geschichte, oder der Entwicklungsgang der Kirche von Jerusalem 'bis Rom,' vol. ii. § 26. There is a sensible and able refutation of the rationalistic views of Saul's conversion in Hensen's 'Apostel Paulus,' p. 12. ff.

his birth he inherited the citizenship of Rome.\* His native place, characterised by himself as 'no mean city,' was one of the most celebrated seats of Greek learning. Two eminent Stoics, Athenodorus the tutor of Augustus, and Nestor of Tiberius, were taken from the school of Tarsus. Strabo gives it the preference over Athens and Alexandria, and every other academy of the time. No city could be imagined more fitting for the birthplace of an apostle of the Gentiles. Free from the warping influences which would have beset a childhood in Athens, Alexandria, or Rome, the Hebrew youth might here stray without danger into the pleasant paths of Grecian literature.† We know that his main education was Jewish. In all probability, both the Hebrew text of the Scriptures and the Septuagint version were familiar to him from childhood. The former would be sure to be known and read in a pure Hebrew family; and the familiarity with which he cites the latter from memory, can hardly be accounted for except by early habitude. Mr. Howson traces, with that graphic minuteness which, while it is sometimes his temptations, is undoubtedly also his excellence, the illustrious recollections connected with the tribe of Benjamin, and with his own royal name, which would stir the spirit of the eager Hebrew boy,—and the fine emotions with which one capable of the feelings which we find expressed in his writings, would wander by the clear cold stream of the Cydnus, and gaze on the snowy heights of Taurus.

But other and more exciting scenes soon rose upon his view. We can hardly conceive the burst of enthusiasm with which such a Jewish youth, educated in exile, first beheld the spot where Jehovah had placed His name. We may well conceive that from the time of the youthful Saul entering the Holy City, his previous intercourse with Hellenism was dropped, and he devoted himself zealously to the study of the law and traditions of his fathers. He himself appeals to the fact many years after: 'My manner of life from my youth, which was at the first 'among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews;

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\* This fact is as certain as its explanation is obscure. It was formerly assumed (by Tillemont and Cave, see C. and H. vol. i. p. 49.) that the privilege belonged to natives of Tarsus; but more accurate knowledge has precluded this. The probable account is that which Mr. Howson has adopted, that Saul's father had gained the citizenship as the reward of services rendered during the civil wars to some influential Roman.

† We find him quoting Aratus (a Cilician poet), Epimenides, and Euripides, or Menander. Where did he read these authors, if not in his early youth at Tarsus?

‘which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that  
‘after the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee.’  
(Acts xxvi. 4, 5.)

‘Having a foundation of excellent natural talents, gifted  
‘with creative profundity, and a rare clearness and energy of  
‘thought, he made his own the whole cycle of Rabbinical Scrip-  
‘ture-lore, its jurisprudence and its theology, the different  
‘exegeses of the Bible, its allegory, typology, and tradition, as  
‘his Epistles sufficiently show. By this theoretical education,  
‘he was enabled, in after times so powerfully and convincingly  
‘to refute Pharisaical errors, and to unfold the most profoundly  
‘and amply of all the Apostles the intrinsic doctrines of Chris-  
‘tianity. By nature an ardent and decided character, armed  
‘with the choleric and melancholic temperament found among  
‘Reformers, he embraced whatever he once held to be right  
‘with all his soul, and was thus inclined to a rude straightfor-  
‘wardness and action in extremes. Thus he became a Pharisee  
‘of the strongest kind, and a blind zealot for the law of his  
‘fathers (Phil. iii. 6., Gal. i. 13, 14.).’\*

Saul was never a hypocrite. He hated the name and fol-  
lowers of Jesus from his innermost soul. In this he nobly dif-  
fered from many of his elders and compeers, who in hypocrisy  
carried on an opposition to a teaching which in their hearts  
they approved, but saw to be the certain ruin of their worldly  
hopes. Schrader (ii. 47. ff.) brings out well this difference, and  
speculates on its probable effects. It was no small thing for  
Pharisaism to possess a partisan of an earnest and thorough  
spirit—one too, who was not, like the Palestine Jews, confined  
to a narrow Judaistic circle of experience, but had from child-  
hood known Gentile persons and practices. Is it not certain  
that they who compassed sea and land to make one proselyte,  
would be carefully training such an one for a missionary of their  
own and promising themselves by his co-operation a rich  
accession of Gentile converts? If so, Pharisaism was even-  
tually pierced to death by a shaft winged with its own feather.

We must quote Schrader for the further usefulness to Saul  
of his Pharisaic education: —

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\* Schaff, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche von ihrer Gründung bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. i. p. 163. This work, of which the first volume was last year published in America (Mercersburg, Pa.), promises to be one of the best compendiums extant of Church history. Its spirit is thoroughly Christian, its arrangement clear, its style lively and attractive; and it contains notices of the most recent German and other opinions on every question as it arises.

'In order to defend themselves against the attacks of Jesus, and retain their own influence, the Pharisees not only availed themselves of excommunication and persecution of those who would not implicitly obey them, but sought even more eagerly to fill their partisans with inexpiable hate of Him. This was the easier, because to those who reckoned Pharisaism as a thing from God, Jesus could only appear as God's enemy. It required no perversion of truth to prove this. They need only say that He was the greatest foe of the patriarchal traditions, did not keep the sabbath, did not fast, nor pray as other men, neglected the necessary washings, held converse with Samaritans and Gentiles, placed them on a level with Jews, nay required and yielded obedience to the Gentile government, gave himself out for the Messiah, &c., and they were sure to render their fanatical scholars His irreconcilable enemies. But to Paul, all this was of the utmost value. He thus learnt to apprehend in many respects the plan and intentions of Jesus more correctly than even His own friends and disciples. To these last it appeared impossible, in their deep reverence for their Master, that He should in any way have impugned or rejected that which was to them above all things precious and sacred. And hence it was that they so seldom understood His sentiments, which deviated from the established maxims, and so often defended him against the charge of transgressing or rejecting the Mosaic law. The Pharisees, on the contrary, veiled nothing; to them it was a delight to lay hold of, and disseminate among their partisans, such acts and sayings of Jesus as contradicted that which had usually been esteemed true and divine. . . . As the foe of the ancient traditions and precepts, and of Pharisaism, as the abrogator of the law of Moses and of Judaism, as the friend and enfranchiser of Gentiles and sinners, — thus was the image of Jesus vividly present in the heart of the Pharisee Saul. And as it often happens to those among us who advance far before their age, that their views are rightly apprehended, and therefore derided by their opponents, but misunderstood by their friends, and by way of justification attempted to be reconciled with doctrines previously held, thus it was also in the case of our Lord; His friends and worshippers were blind, and His enemies only had eyes to see His intentions.' (Vol. ii. p. 82. ff.)

With such an impression of Jesus, and with his earnest character and fiery temper, Saul could not but be a persecutor. To extinguish the hated name, — to prevent the obnoxious sect from spreading in or out of Jerusalem, — would be an exertion worthy of all his energies. To this accordingly we find him devoting himself, when the sacred narrative first introduces him to our notice.

The question, whether he had seen our Lord in the flesh, is wrapped in obscurity. The probable answer is in the negative. Had he taken any part in the acts of the Pharisees during the eventful period of the ministry of Jesus, he would hardly have

passed it over in silence in those passages where he speaks so freely of his state and acts as a persecutor; and that he should have been present, and have taken *no* part, is inconceivable. Why he was absent from Jerusalem during those three years, it is impossible to say. It may have been just the interval between the completion of his Rabbinical training and his maturity as a member of the Sanhedrim, which we afterwards find him. He may have been at Tarsus, or on travel. That he should not yet have arrived as a youthful scholar, is chronologically improbable. However it was, such seems to have been the fact; and his first hostile efforts were brought to bear on the Church about eight years after the Ascension.

We refer to Mr. Howson for the complete detail of the trial and execution of Stephen, and for some able remarks on the influence, in after times, which the apology of the martyr seems to have had on the mind of his chief persecutor. It has been assumed by recent writers (Schrader, Olshausen, Neander,) that a deep immediate impression was made on Saul's mind by the circumstances of the death of Stephen, and that he was in a remorseful state of self-questioning when he undertook his errand to Damascus. But this idea, intimately bound up as it is with the rationalistic interpretation of the narrative of his conversion, is entirely opposed to the history (Acts ix. 1.), and to his own assertion: 'Being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities.' We have no reason whatever to suppose that any change had taken place in his sentiments towards Christianity. Nay, we quite agree with Baumgarten in placing here the culminating point of his zeal, and seeing, in this sudden arrest and turning of his course by the working of Divine wisdom and power, a fitness for the occasion and for the character and temperament of the man. As Bengel strikingly remarks, 'in summo fervore peccandi ereptus et conversus est.'\*

Of all that has been written on the mind and feelings of Saul consequent on his conversion, we have read with the greatest interest the remarks of Baumgarten, vol. i. pp. 198—223. On one point only we entirely differ from him. He spends some pages in tracing during this period the inner experience detailed by the Apostle, Rom. vii. 7—25. We believe the greater part of that weighty passage to belong to an earlier and totally different portion of his life; and it seems to us strange that a

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\* Such too was the view of Chrysostom: καθάπερ ἱατρὸς ἀριστός, ἀκμάζοντος ἐν τοῦ πυρετοῦ, τὸ βοήθημα αὐτῷ ἐπήγαγεν ὁ Χριστός. C. & H. i. p. 108.

writer who has taken so just a psychological view of his subject should have adopted a theory which tends completely to confuse it, and destroy its unity. This is not the place to discuss and appropriate that description; it may suffice to say that, while we distinctly recognise its autobiographical character, we see in it a reference to a process much more frequent in the human mind, and better calculated to be a general pattern for us all, than that by which the zeal of the persecutor became transformed into the zeal of the apostle.

Some degree of mystery has always rested on the *visit to Arabia*\*; but almost all writers are agreed in connecting it with an immediate reception of the Gospel from Christ himself. Mr. Howson indeed gives the alternative, that perhaps he went to preach 'in the synagogues of that singular capital which was 'built amidst the exiles of Edom, whence "Arabians" came to 'the festivals at Jerusalem (Acts, ii. 11.);' but we must own the other alternative seems to us more probable; and that, whether the rationalistic or the supernatural view be taken. The former is given by Schrader (ii. p. 147.):—

'He cared not, previously to the public opening of his ministry, to obtain information from other men in a matter which was accessible to him by his own reason (?), but preferred shortly after his baptism to retire apart from all human society to the solitude of the Arabian wilderness; with this view beyond doubt, undistractedly to prepare himself for the work of the promulgation of Christianity, to meditate on his present circumstances, to think of that which lay before him, to make powerful resolutions, or rather to confirm himself in the resolution already made, and to take counsel of God and of himself, or of that which was become a divine or living principle within him. In this he acted as other men of great and independent character have done, and even as Jesus himself, who also immediately after His baptism withdrew Himself for a similar purpose into the same wilderness.'

But sensible as this view is as far as it goes, none can fail to see how entirely inadequate it is to satisfy the requisitions of the historical facts resulting, or the assertions of, the Apostle himself. In a passage (2 Cor. xii. 1. ff.) where he is undoubtedly describing his own experience, and referring to a period not far removed from this, he speaks of 'abundance of' visions and 'revelations' being granted to him, and recounts in mysterious words the nature of some of these. We should therefore be much more disposed to agree with Baumgarten, when he says (vol. i. p. 223.),—

‘Those will take the right view of this sojourn of Saul in Arabia who regard it as a still retirement, in which he lived in communion in the spirit with the Lord in Heaven, as the original Apostles had conversed with the Lord on earth.’

Another difficulty belongs to this period, which has been very variously dealt with. The facts are simply these. Some physical weakness, of a conspicuous and distressing kind, resulted from the exaltation of the spirit at the expense of the body. Perhaps his own words—‘when I could not see for the glory of that light,’—may furnish some clue to its origin. Feebleness of sight, connected probably with some nervous infirmity, may have constituted the thorn in the flesh, concerning which he prayed thrice that it might depart from him: which made his ‘bodily presence weak, and his speech contemptible;’\* and of which he could say to the Galatians, ‘My temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected. . . . I bear you record, that if it had been possible, ye would have *plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me.*’† But even this, whatever it was, served him as an argument for the divine character of his mission. It precluded any imputation that he had won his converts by the charms of graceful rhetoric; he was among them ‘in weakness, and fear, and much trembling.’” So does every circumstance in the life of this remarkable man fit into its place, and bear its part in the work prepared for him.

Five years at least elapsed after his conversion, before we find him actively engaged in ministerial labour. He certainly was not idle, but his proper vocation had not begun. There had apparently been nothing more than fragmentary testimonies in the synagogues. At Damascus and at Jerusalem he had been exposed to the fury of those Jews, whom he had now through life for his implacable enemies. At both places he was rescued by the brethren; who yet, not knowing in what department to employ the zeal of the new convert, sent him back to his native town, to wait a special call of Providence.

A great question soon began to be agitated in the Church. Was Christianity to be preached to the Gentiles? That they were eventually to share in its blessings, no believing Jew doubted; but *how* this was to be brought about, was yet unknown. The first step towards a solution seems to have been taken at Antioch, by certain Cyprian and African Hellenists, who had fled on the persecution which arose about Stephen, having *spoken to Gentiles*‡ in that city. This new step aroused

\* 2 Cor. x. 10.

† Gal. iv. 14, 15.

‡ The reading ‘Ελληνας, for the ‘Ελληνιστάς of the received text,



the attention of the mother-church at Jerusalem. Barnabas, himself a Cyprian, was sent to report on the movement, or perhaps to restrain what was deemed an excess of zeal. By what he saw, he was convinced, and sympathised. But joy was not his only feeling at seeing the Gentile converts. The time for action was obviously come. There was one in retirement, to whom it had been said, 'I will send thee far hence unto the 'Gentiles.' He went to Tarsus to seek Saul. For a year they taught at Antioch, which became the second historical capital of Christendom, the great centre of activity during the transition-state from Judaism, and most appropriately the birthplace of that name, by which those who were neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, were in future to be called. After a journey to Jerusalem for a special eleemosynary purpose, the two friends depart, by Divine command, on their first great missionary journey.

The whole process of this, as of the other journeys, is admirably narrated, discussed, and illustrated by Conybeare and Howson. We have every accessory which could be desired. Recent surveys and soundings have furnished accurate maps of almost every country and coast; while Mr. Bartlett's beautiful drawings give reality to the scenery of the most remarkable spots. There can hardly be more pleasant reading for the lover of travel and adventure, than the pages of this work which trace the Apostle through Cyprus, or Asia Minor, or Greece, or afterwards on his perilous voyage by Malta to Rome. And it is no small merit of the work that, while it extracts information from every source, an admirable spirit of Christian faith, accompanied by a manly love of truth and soundness of judgment, characterise it throughout. While its hand is in every German treatise, its heart is thoroughly English; and its effect will everywhere be, to confirm those great central truths, round which it has grouped the accessory and subordinate matter.

The first eminent fruit of this journey was the conversion of the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus. From this time Saul becomes known by the Hellenistic name of Paul. The coin-

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is now almost universally adopted. The received reading would stultify the whole narrative. There was and could be no difficulty about preaching to *Hellenists*.

We do not in the text forget, nor depreciate the importance of the special mission of Peter to Cornelius; but regard *this* incident as necessarily prior in point of time, and *that*, as intended more to give solemn sanction in the sight of those who would be most difficult to persuade, than to precede all efforts of the kind.

cidence is at least remarkable, and may not have been altogether fortuitous. But that the Apostle, as Jerome and Augustine believed, took the name from his convert, we may with safety deny. Such a piece of secular conceit was wholly alien from his character, and could only pass current when that character was, as a whole, very imperfectly studied. It is far more probable that the change marks the transition from his earlier memoirs, when from the still Jewish character of the Church his Hebrew name prevailed, to those recording his preaching among Gentiles. The bearing of two names, the original Oriental appellation, and the same græcised or romanised, in sound or meaning, was very common.\*

During this journey we have striking instances of the fitness of the Great Apostle for becoming all things to all men, that he might by all means win some. At Antioch in Pisidia, we have his first recorded discourse. It was delivered to Jews, and besides its historical detail, so suitable to his hearers, contains, as Mr. Howson justly observes, the kernel of that great argument which he afterwards unfolded in the Epistle to the Romans. At Lystra we find him dissuading the heathen multitude from sacrificing to his companion and himself, in words of singular skill and beauty, founded on an argument from natural theology, far too expansive for any mere Pharisee to have propounded.

On the commencement of the next journey a personal dispute separated from him the former companion of his toils and dangers. He is henceforth either alone, or accompanied by a group of which he is unquestionably the centre; thus bringing his apostolic agency more plainly into relief, and removing all possibility of actual rivalry, or, which was more to be apprehended, the setting up of one against another in the minds of converts.

It is on this journey that the most remarkable instances of that which we are illustrating are presented to us. It originated in that affectionate yearning after converts once gained, which we see so often expressed in his Epistles. This directed his way to Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. His course lay through his native province and city: and Mr. Howson is justified in raising on the well known character of the Apostle the following supposition: —

‘One other city must certainly have been visited. If there were churches anywhere in Cilicia, there must have been one at Tarsus.

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\* See Grotius's note *in loc.*; and Conybeare and Howson, vol. i. p. 164.

It was the metropolis of the province; Paul had resided there, perhaps for some years, since the time of his conversion; and if he loved his native place well enough to speak of it with something like pride to the Roman officer at Jerusalem, he could not be indifferent to its religious welfare. Among the "Gentiles of Cilicia," to whom the letter which he carried was addressed, the Gentiles of Tarsus had no mean place in his affections. And his heart must have overflowed with thankfulness, if, as he passed through the streets which had been familiar to him since his childhood, he knew that many households were around him where the Gospel had come, "not in word only but in power," and the relations between husband and wife, parent and child, master and slave, had been purified and sanctified by Christian love. No doubt the city still retained all the aspect of the cities of that day, where art and amusement were consecrated to a false religion: The symbols of idolatry remained in the public places, — statues, temples and altars, — and the various "objects of devotion," which in all Greek towns, as well as in Athens (Acts xvii. 23.), were conspicuous on every side. But the silent revolution was begun. Some families had already turned "from idols to serve the living and true God." The "dumb idols" to which, as Gentiles, they had been "carried away even as they were led," had been recognised as "nothing in the world," and been "cast to the moles and to the bats." The homes which had once been decorated with the emblems of a vain mythology, were now bright with the better ornaments of faith, hope, and love.

We leave in the able hands of our authors the description of the journey itself, and select one or two points for our especial purpose.\*

At Neapolis, the port of Philippi, the missionary band, now augmented by the youthful Timotheus, and Luke 'the beloved physician,' first set foot in Europe. From the high grounds above that town, they gazed on the plains where the world was lost and won: arrived at the walls of the now flourishing colony, they entered a miniature of that great capital in which the Apostle had already resolved to bear witness to Christ. Here, amidst the insignia of Roman power, in a Greek city, they sought out the few Jews who assembled by the river brink outside the gate for the purpose of prayer. The combination is singular, and more remarkable, as we reflect how many ages had been spent in bringing it about, how many and jarring influences had converged. Here we have the first record of

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\* We cannot withhold our praise from the minute and very satisfactory manner in which the contemporary geography of Asia Minor is discussed and illustrated in this chapter. Certainly the sacred chronicle has never before had such diligent and loving labour bestowed on it.

the Roman citizenship having procured for the Apostle and his companion an honourable dismissal, and doubtless for the cause which he preached respect and protection, after illegal treatment during a tumultuary outbreak.

But before he had been many weeks in Macedonia, the enmity of the resident Jews had been thoroughly aroused, and they were acting in concert against him. They drove him first from Thessalonica, then from Bercea. It became necessary to take measures for his safety. As at Damascus, the brethren sent him away by night. His destination was a distant part of Greece, where the enmity of the Thessalonian Jews might for a time be baffled. He went by sea to Athens.

And here we have every thing present, which can kindle enthusiasm in the breast of the Christian scholar. For those who have tasted deeply the sweets of art, poetry, or philosophy, there is an indescribable charm in all that is connected with Athens. It is the metropolis of the human intellect; the holy city of the nether world, as Jerusalem is of the upper. And when, as in this case, the two are linked together,—when we see the man prepared by Jewish birth and training, united with Grecian culture, standing on the Areopagus and preaching God's revelation, we feel, if ever we do, the unity and harmony in the divine counsels of all that is holy and beautiful and great in man; that ours is not a nature of bright fragments, disjointed and helpless, but that there is a power able to unite and hallow all that is good, or seeking after good, amongst us. His *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* comes on us with its familiar sound, as we have heard it from Pericles and Demosthenes and the illustrious masters of persuasion, like a well known strain grafted into some loftier harmony. In the stately periods of this second and nobler Areopagitica, we read an indubitable proof that the speaker had drunk no shallow draughts at the fountains of Grecian learning. Perhaps there does not exist a more perfect specimen than this speech affords us of cautious prudence and consummate skill. It might well be so, when such a man had been so prepared; when a mind of the highest order was enlightened and directed by the special suggestions of superhuman wisdom. The authors at the head of our Article have vied with one another in its praise. An able analysis is besides given in Hensen, *Der Apostel Paulus*, pp. 148, 149.

But Athens was not destined to be noted in the annals of the Apostolic Church. We know nothing of any permanent fruit of the Apostle's residence there. It was not from the stronghold of the human intellect that the Gospel was to win its most numerous or brightest trophies.

'It is a serious and instructive fact, that the mercantile population of Thessalonica and Corinth received the message of God with greater readiness than the highly educated and polished Athenians. Two letters to the Thessalonians, and two to the Corinthians, remain to attest the flourishing state of those Churches. But we possess no letter written by St. Paul to the Athenians; and we do not read that he was ever in Athens again. (Vol. i. p. 409.)

The next visit was to the capital of the province, the rich and dissolute Corinth.

'The reasons which determined St. Paul to come to Corinth (over and above the discouragement he seems to have met with in Athens) were, probably, twofold. In the first place, it was a large mercantile city, in immediate connection with Rome and the West of the Mediterranean, with Thessalonica and Ephesus in the *Ægean*, and with Antioch and Alexandria in the East. The Gospel once established in Corinth, would rapidly spread everywhere. And, again, from the very nature of the city, the Jews established there were numerous. Communities of scattered Israelites were found in various parts of the province of Achaia, — in Athens, as we have recently seen, — in Argos, as we learn from Philo, — in *Bœotia* and *Eubœa*. But their chief settlement must necessarily have been in that city, which not only gave opportunities of trade by land along the Isthmus between the Morea and the Continent, but received in its two harbours the ships of the Eastern and Western seas. A religion which was first to be planted in the Synagogue, and was thence intended to scatter its seeds over all parts of the earth, could nowhere find a more favourable soil than among the Hebrew families at Corinth.' (Ib. p. 410.)

Into the many points of interest which now gather round us, we must forbear to enter at any length. At Corinth, St. Paul wrote his first extant Epistle to his Thessalonian converts. There commenced that invaluable series of letters in which, while every matter relating to the faith is determined once for all with demonstration of the spirit and power, and every circumstance requiring counsel at the time, so handled as to furnish precepts for all time, the whole heart of this wonderful man is poured out and laid open. Sometimes he pleads, and reminds, and conjures, in the most earnest strain of fatherly love: sometimes playfully rallies his converts on their vanities and infirmities: sometimes, with deep and bitter irony, concedes that he may refute, and praises where he means to blame. The course of the mountain torrent is not more majestic nor varied. We have the deep still pool, the often returning eddies, the intervals of calm and steady advance, the plunging and foaming rapids, and the thunder of the headlong cataract. By turns fervid and calm, argumentative and impassioned, he wields familiarly and irresistibly the varied weapons of which Providence had taught

him the use. With the Jew he reasons by Scripture citation, with the Gentile by natural analogies: with both, by the testimony of conscience to the justice and holiness of God. Were not the Epistles of Paul among the most eminent of inspired writings, they would long ago have been ranked as the most wonderful of uninspired.

It is not to be supposed, that we now possess all or nearly all the letters written by the Apostle. If we take into account his fervid and affectionate spirit, and the frequency of communication between the principal cities of the Roman world and along the great roads, we may safely say, that many Epistles of guidance, warning, and encouragement were addressed by him to the numerous churches. Of these he mentions\* one to Laodicea, now not extant; and it is necessary, unless we do almost more than commentators' violence to the natural construction of words, to suppose a lost Epistle to have been sent to Corinth. The interesting letter to Philemon was doubtless one of a large class addressed to individuals.

And not only have Epistles been lost, but voyages and visits to churches remain unrecorded. The phenomena of the Epistles to the Corinthians are not satisfied by the history in the Acts. If there be plain meaning in plain words, the visit which he was about to pay them when he sent the Second Epistle, would be the *third*.† But the History informs us of only *one* previously paid. It becomes necessary then to interpolate a voyage to Corinth during the 'three years' stay at Ephesus of Acts xix.; for this is the only admissible time. And this has accordingly been done by almost all modern critics. Mr. Howson devotes some space to an able description of the probability and nature of this visit. We cannot, however, agree with Wieseler in uniting with it the sojourn to Crete implied in the Epistle to Titus, nor in placing that letter itself, or any of the so-called Pastoral Epistles, at this period; seeming to us as they do to bear unquestionable evidence of a much later date.

We pass on to the return from the third visit to Corinth. For many years now had the hostility of his own countrymen pursued the Apostle. Bitter and unrelenting, it met him at

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\* Col. iv. 16.

† We are well aware of the ingenuity with which the *τρίτον ἐποίμωσ ἔχω ἐλθεῖν* of ch. xii. 14., and the *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι* of ch. xiii. 1., have been twisted different ways by commentators to escape this third visit. But we hope an age of biblical exegesis is dawning, when we shall inquire no longer what words *may* mean, but what they *do* mean.

every station of his apostolic work. As an omen of this journey, a conspiracy awaits him as he is about to set sail for Syria. But it is defeated by a change of plan. The old route is retraced. The Egnatian Way is once more traversed to Philippi. His heart at this time seems to have been unusually full — his words more than ever impassioned and earnest. What outpourings of affection would there be to the Thessalonians, 'his glory and his joy,' — to the Philippians, 'his brethren dearly beloved and longed for, his joy and his crown!' But we are not left to conjecture. We hear of a whole night's discourse at Alexandria Troas. We have the tone of his spirit feelingly struck in the short hint that he sent the ship round Cape Lectum to Assos — 'for thus had he arranged, intending himself to go afoot.'\*

He hastened, therefore, through the southern gate, past the hot springs, and through the oak woods, — then in full foliage, — which cover all that shore with greenness and shade, and across the wild water-courses on the western side of Ida. Such is the scenery which now surrounds the traveller on his way from Troas to Assos. The great difference then was, that there was a good Roman road, which made St. Paul's solitary journey both more safe and more rapid than it could have been now. We have seldom had occasion to think of the Apostle in the hours of his solitude. But such hours must have been sought and cherished by one whose whole strength was drawn from communion with God, and especially at a time when, as on this present journey, he was deeply conscious of his weakness, and filled with foreboding fears. There may have been other reasons why he lingered at Troas after his companions: but the desire for solitude was doubtless one reason among others. The discomfort of a crowded ship is unfavourable for devotion: and prayer and meditation are necessary for maintaining the religious life even of an Apostle. That Saviour to whose service he was devoted had often prayed in solitude on the mountain, and crossed the brook Kedron to kneel under the olives of Gethsemane. And strength and peace were surely sought and obtained by the Apostle from the Redeemer, as he pursued his lonely road that Sunday afternoon in spring, among the oak woods and the streams of Ida. (*Conybeare and Howson*, vol. ii. p. 214.)

He had a strong presentiment that this would be his last apostolic journey. He had determinedly set his face toward Jerusalem. Like his Master, he had a baptism to be baptized with, and was straitened till it was accomplished. He dared not trust himself at Ephesus, the scene of his former labours and dangers. He might be involved in the one or the other anew,

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\* Acts xx. 13.

and thus his object be foiled. But the ship tarried a short day or two at Miletus. He sent for the Ephesian elders—he spoke to them his second great discourse—the noblest extant effusion of love, as that at Athens of wisdom.

Then pass rapidly before us the great crises of his course. His apprehension at Jerusalem—his rescue from the conspiracy of the Jews—his detention at Cæsarea—all hastened on the fulfilment of the divine announcement, ‘As thou hast borne witness at Jerusalem, so thou must bear witness at Rome.’ We laid great stress at the outset on the importance of his Roman citizenship. It was this which prevented his life falling a sacrifice to the caprice or corruption of the procurators of Judæa. It was this which rescued him from the conspiracies of his fellow-countrymen. It was this again which secured his transmission to the metropolis.

But we may just turn aside to remark, in the two apologies delivered by him during this interval, new proofs of exquisite tact and skill. The narrative of his conversion is common to both. The *first* is made before the infuriated Jewish multitude in their native tongue. He probably foresaw that he should hardly be heard to its termination. But at all events, it was an opportunity for them to hear from his own lips, unvitiated by the misrepresentations of his enemies, the account of the momentous change which befell him. Accordingly, he uses all possible caution in his narration. Every word is carefully chosen. To the Jews he speaks as a Jew. The Christian faith is ‘this way’; the Jews at Damascus are ‘the brethren.’ The hated Name is avoided throughout,—used but once, and that in the speech of another. Ananias is ‘a devout man, according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews who dwelt there;’ not a word is breathed of his being ‘a disciple’ (Acts ix. 10.). In the *second* apology, all the circumstances are changed. He is speaking under the safeguard of his civil privileges, before the Roman procurator, the Jewish king, and an assemblage of the high officers of both. The detail, so useful in the other case, but likely to be wearisome here, is altogether dropped. Ananias does not appear. The ‘heavenly vision’ is represented as embracing the whole command given in fact through Ananias, and all the weight is laid on the paramount duty of yielding obedience to it. Thus we have two distinct treatments of the same occurrence, both strictly within the limits of truth, both admitting of illustration and justification by the ordinary methods of speaking among men, adapted with exquisite skill to the different trying circumstances under which the orator was placed.



We come now to that voyage to Italy, so full of incident and adventure, so rich in materials for the research of the geographer, the sailor, and let us add, the psychologist. The duties of the two former have been admirably fulfilled by an English gentleman, whose work concludes the list at the head of our article. After the labours of Mr. Smith, there can be no doubt left on any reasonable mind as to the direction of the Apostle's course, or the accurate trustworthiness of the history. The idea that St. Paul was shipwrecked not on Malta, but on Melita or Meleda, high up in the gulf of Venice, was preposterous enough at any time, when compared with the requirements of the narrative; but has now, by an abundance of circumstantial evidence of the plainest and most satisfactory kind, been fairly scouted out of the field. We cannot follow Mr. Smith through the various interesting steps of the identification of the scene of the shipwreck with St. Paul's Bay at Malta, but recommend our readers to study them in the book itself, believing that they will find them, as we have done, irrefragable. Mr. Smith has also done excellent service by bringing his naval experience and reading to bear on the various nautical incidents recorded. He has shown that the course adopted under each trying circumstance was precisely that which good seamanship dictated; that the very shiftings and characteristics of the wind were such as are well known to and expected by sailors in the Levant at that time of the year. He has elicited some curious results respecting the character of St. Luke's naval knowledge; showing that he was not a sailor, but a landsman well accustomed to the sea. This point he illustrates by the journals of others similarly situated, and by comparison with the Evangelist's own account of the storm in the Lake of Genesaret. The book is full of solid proof and valuable suggestion; and we may safely say, that a more valuable original contribution to biblical knowledge has not been made by any countryman of ours during the present century.

But *psychologically* this voyage is hardly less interesting. The influence acquired by a prisoner in chains over the motley assemblage congregated in the huge Alexandrian corn-ship, would of itself testify to his being no ordinary character. But when we combine this with our previous knowledge of the man and his mission, we hardly could have testimony more satisfactory to the consistency of a truthful narrative than this, that one so described antecedently should have so done and spoken and influenced those about him. The following beautiful description is from Schrader, whose unworthy rationalism here

completely disappears, and gives place to an enthusiasm far more genial to him:—

‘Amidst the many dangers which Paul, well accustomed to perils by sea, had clearly foreseen, he was the adviser, he was the comforter of all; like a genius from a higher world, he stood among the men of this earth, carried onward by the persuasion that he should proclaim the Gospel in this world’s metropolis, and before its rulers; that he should gain for it a new and noble victory; that in chains and weakness, not in freedom and strength, he was to work its work. So lofty was his purpose, so visibly was his God pleased to glorify Himself in him through his captivity, that at midnight it was bright day about him: the angels of God hovered round: waking and sleeping, in thoughts and dreams, they whispered consolation; they pronounced his purpose so blessed, so knit into the divine counsel, that God would, in its pursuance, defend both himself and all that were with him in the ship.’ (Vol. ii. p. 363. f.).

We have now brought the great Apostle to Rome. And here the shades of evening close over him, and the apostolic history withdraws its guidance. We only know that for two years, he continued in custody, but in his own lodging, privately preaching the Gospel. We cannot doubt that some of his Epistles date from this imprisonment. Hence he wrote to the Colossians, to the Ephesians (for we still believe, notwithstanding the arguments of Conybeare and Howson, and so many able critics, that it was veritably addressed to *them*), to Philemon, and the affecting letter to the Philippians; the latter in the apparent prospect of death. The evidence supplied by each of these has been well collected and applied by many able writers, and seems unobjectionable and convincing.

From this time the shade becomes deeper and more impenetrable. We have yet remaining (to say nothing of the much-questioned Epistle to the Hebrews) three letters, two to Timothy and one to Titus, commonly known as the Pastoral Epistles. These, in style and diction, are so completely distinct from the others, that while they bear indubitable marks of the mind and hand of Paul, we must refuse to insert them anywhere in the existing series, but regard them as subsequent, and in a later manner. If this were once established, the important question of a *second imprisonment* would be also decided; for journeys are spoken of, and events alluded to, which make it impossible that two of them should have been written in captivity. We cannot pretend here to follow out this matter: we will only cursorily notice two points connected with the question:—

1. The statement in 2 Tim. iv. 20., ‘Trophimus have I left’

'at Miletus sick,' has never received any satisfactory explanation on the hypothesis of *one* imprisonment. Those who wish to see to what shifts the advocates of that theory are reduced by those words may refer to Schaff's *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 273*b*, or Davidson's useful introduction to the *N. T.* vol. iii. p. 53.

2. There is between the remarkable doxology at the end of the Epistle to the Romans, and the Pastoral Epistles, a curious affinity in style and diction. Might it not well have been that the Apostle, reviewing his Epistle in later days at Rome, subjoined this fervid ascription of praise (for the Epistle was manifestly complete without it), — and so may it not be synchronous with the Pastoral Epistles?

Of the death of St. Paul, we know next to nothing. All that tradition tells us, is no more than might be inferred from his own notices, and therefore probable: but on this very account, of little independent weight. Gathering the evidence for ourselves, we may safely assume that he died by martyrdom, and possibly at Rome.

However this may have been, we know that he regarded his COURSE as FINISHED.\* The end for which he was raised up had been answered. A man had been found, who by birth, by training, by privilege, by character, united in himself the many requirements for an Apostle of the nations. By this man's living word, the principal churches in the world were founded. By his written testimony, the principal disputes of Christendom were anticipated. To this armoury went Augustine: to this, Luther. From this, future champions of God's truth and man's right may yet equip themselves.

We regard it as a sign for good, that just now attention should be directed to the biography and character of St. Paul. No study could prove so effectual an antidote to the assumptions of hierarchical pretension; — none will afford a more grateful relief from the tinsel of that frippery Christianity which is now so ostentatiously imported among us. He is above all others the Apostle of individual religion: of those things which are true, and honest, and just, and pure, and lovely, and of good report. His course was a life-long and single-hearted striving after one glorious purpose, with no side-aims nor reservation.

The more such a character is known and appreciated, the better Protestants shall we be, and the better Christians.

- ART. IV.—1. *Mein Leben und Wirken in Ungarn in den Jahren 1848 und 1849.* Von ARTHUR GÖRGEY. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: 1852.
2. *Der Nationalkrieg in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen in den Jahren 1848 und 1849.* Von GEORG KLAPKA. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: 1851.
3. *The Fortress of Komárom (Comorn) during the War of Independence in Hungary in 1848 and 1849.* By Colonel SIGISMUND THALY, late Director of Fortifications in Komárom. 1 vol. 8vo. London: 1852.

GR<sup>EAT</sup> historical events, like large pictures, should be viewed from a distance. If too near, we can only perceive a portion of them, and form no correct idea of the whole. The more imposing they are, the greater should be the distance which separates us from them. The generation, therefore, which witnesses an historical event is seldom a competent tribunal to decide upon it. A correct judgment is reserved for future ages, free from the passions and prejudices to which the actors and spectators of an historical drama are necessarily subjected.

The actors themselves can only narrate that part which they performed; for the time is passed when *one* individual embodied in his person a whole period, and when historical events were transacted, or at least written in the style, which is exhibited on the propylon of the temple of Thebes, where *one* gigantic warrior trampled down whole hosts of pygmy foes. The nearer we approach our own times the more clearly we find all great events accomplished by a combination of individuals animated by the same idea. Colossal characters, which united the king, legislator, and prophet in their sole persons, and obtained oftentimes a seat among national divinities, have disappeared. The consequence is, that in our degenerate or, perhaps after all, only our more inquisitive age, the historian, finding no legendary heroes large enough to fill up the whole frame of his picture, has to group together the principal individuals of his age, and arrange them in a proper light.

We are, therefore, glad to have the opportunity of collecting some of the various autobiographies which illustrate a contemporary period, and of drawing from them the soul of future history; for the individuality of an author and his age shines through his descriptions sometimes against his will, and in no

case more distinctly than in several of the publications enumerated at the head of this Article.

The vindication of the rights of individuality in the person, and those of nationality in the world, have constituted the most interesting objects in the struggles of modern Europe; and although often oppressed and seemingly extinguished, the ardent desire after these imperishable rights still glows in the European heart, only to be put an end to by the annihilation of the race itself. The spring of 1848 kindled to new life this everlasting flame, and bore it over the western continent; but the breeze died away, and before another spring the sacred fire was quenched in blood. In the eastern corner of Europe alone the flame still blazed mightier than ever, and grew into a triumphant and consuming fire. The astonished nations of the West ran for their maps, and found the name Hungary on this field of warfare. Many had heard, but few recollected anything about that people which, among the strange and convulsive migrations that took place in the beginning of our era, had been thrown from Asia into the very heart of Europe, and there had lived as an isolated colony, retaining an eastern nature and eastern ideas, which for centuries had formed the noble and valiant barrier against the barbarism of the East, and had inspired the development of western civilisation by keeping at bay the followers of Mohammed.

It was not unreasonable that political imaginations, agitated by the February revolution of France, should have viewed at first the two events in connexion. They thought the Hungarian war was a continuation of the galvanic convulsion by which France had been surprised and shaken; and when they began at last to understand the struggle which the united strength of two mighty empires, aided by internal disunion and treachery, could only just subdue, sympathy came too late; and an opportunity was lost for regulating, under favourable circumstances, the entangled affairs of the East of Europe.

By a reference to the map of the Austrian empire we can form an idea of its history. We see a heterogeneous compound of nations differing in race, language, religion, habits, and customs. The centre of all is occupied by an Eastern people, the Hungarians. In adopting western civilisation the Hungarian did not lose his oriental character; he only modified it sufficiently to receive the benefits of western ideas. His nature is therefore a mixture of the oriental and occidental element. The arable blood which he inherited from his ancestors, who roamed over the tablelands of Asia as herdsmen and warriors, has not been subdued by the more calculating spirit of the West.

He is as susceptible as ever, and breaks out readily into the wildest enthusiasm. He is swayed by impulse, but his impetuous temperament is mitigated by a chivalric spirit, which pervades the whole nation from the highest to the lowest, and which renders it as a race capable of everything grand and heroic.

The poetry of this people is almost identical with its history — both tell us, that isolated betwixt diametrically opposite races, it carried on for centuries a continual war for its existence. Far from all its kindred tribes of Asia, and growing in the heart of Europe, like the hardy exotic which shelters the place of its adoption from the sun as well as from the storm, the Magyar race formed the boundary between the East and the West. From the West it was exposed to the overpowering influence of the superior German civilisation which threatened to absorb it; and in the East it had to repel first the encroachments of the cunning monarchs of Byzantium, and afterwards the brutal invasions of the Mongols and Turks. These continual and glorious struggles imparted such a strength to the national feeling; that nationality became the ruling sentiment of the Magyar; and differences of class and even of religion vanished altogether whenever they endangered the safety of this most highly prized possession.

To have a real appreciation of that hereditary love for nation and family which animates all nomadic and patriarchal races, we must behold the Bedouin in his waste and the Tartar on his barren steppes. This spirit is not lost by migration to a land more rich and beautiful. Historical recollections add their charm to the innate love with which the Magyar is inspired for his country's very soil, where the ashes of his fathers lie beneath his feet, and where the names of the places around him, with their wild euphonious sound, recall to his mind the deeds of his ancestors. We may say of him, that he is first an Hungarian, and then a man.

The detached parts of four different nationalities — the German, the Italian, the North-western Slave, and the South-eastern Slave — group themselves around this foreign people. Separated from their original stock and kindred, they are here united under one head, and bear the name of the Austrian empire.

It would be impossible to find stranger ingredients for a popular compound than these five nationalities. Western civilisation is common to the German and Italian people, notwithstanding their contrarieties in all other respects. On the other hand, the Hungarian and Slave exercised no influence on the development of occidental civilisation: they have only accepted and modified some of its results, a course which has tended to

create a civilisation of their own. This civilisation, though still in its infancy, has a distinctive character, one of its peculiar marks being the predominance of feeling over reason, and of impulse over calculation. These two latter races represent in some degree the youth of Europe — their manhood has yet to come; while the two former, the German and Italian, have passed their youth, and are now in their manhood, if not advancing towards old age.

In addition to the well-known differences between the German and Italian people, which have disfigured the book of modern history with many a bloody page, there is also a remarkable contrast between the Hungarian and Slave: the one, though fiery and impassioned, has always been stationary and unyielding. Oriental like, the tendency of its character is conservative and aristocratic; whilst the other, being the most numerous family in Europe, is distinguished by a longing for expansion and a decisive democratic feeling.

The last distinction; and not least, in this chaos of nationalities, divides the North-western Slave from the South-eastern. The former, to whose family the Poles, Czecks (Bohemians), and Slovacs belong, with flaxen hair, blue eyes, and pale complexions, represents not only in body but also in mind the northern element; while the latter, with dark eyes, hair, and complexions, have all the moral idiosyncrasies of a southern people; so that, notwithstanding the unity in race, there is an invincible opposition in character, which has shown itself in the life and death struggle between the Poles and the Russians, the latter of whom belong to the South-eastern family. It is remarkable that the difference in language is too great for these two cognate branches of the same race to understand each other; and when in the early days of the popular movement in 1848, an universal Slave congress was attempted at Prague, after many attempts at compromise, they were obliged to keep their records in the German language.

We naturally inquire what power has collected under one head all these opposing elements? and what bond of union keeps them together as an Austrian empire? Common interest it could not be, for such would have separated the heterogeneous elements, and drawn each of them to an union with its own kindred. Conquest has not incorporated the several provinces, for there is no numerical predominancy of any one of the various nationalities. On the contrary, that section which has given its name to the whole State, forms only one-twentieth part of the empire. Finding no bond of union in the people, we must look for one in the government; and it would appear that, to the luck

and clever management of the rulers is the existence of the Austrian empire to be attributed — that 'Felix Austria' which the capricious goddess has constantly overwhelmed with her favours. The story of the Austrian empire is comprised in the family annals of the House of Hapsburg-Lothringen.

Favoured by a remarkable coincidence of circumstances, this family, though it never produced one great man, became the centre of heterogeneous possessions, only allied under a common sovereignty. All these territorial fiefs, mostly acquired centuries ago, at successive periods and under different conditions, were considered as patrimonial inheritances, to each of which, both in law and custom, the prince stood in a peculiar relation. How much this was the case appears from the circumstance that prior to 1804 there was no name to designate the union of all in one State; for the successive sovereigns attached to their titles all the names of their possessions, as if accident, not combination, had made the same prince the head of several independent Governments. The titles ran 'Romanorum Imperator,' 'Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Rex,' &c. &c. It was only after Napoleon terminated the holy Roman Empire by the Confederation of the Rhine, that Francis II. thought of including the different possessions of his House under one common name. Then the empire of Austria was born into the world. The infant's birth was inaugurated by the baptism of blood on the fearful field of Austerlitz, which cost its parent a considerable portion of his newly constituted empire.

But the old luck of the Hapsburg-Lothringen dukes and emperors was handed down to the new firm, and at the Congress of Vienna, by relinquishing some antiquated claims to former successions, the House of Austria obtained several very convenient and extensive possessions in Italy and Galicia. It thenceforward prosecuted more earnestly than before its intention of uniting the various races under its sway into one people, by consolidating the laws and empire into one.

The tendency of every dynasty which sprang from the chaos of the Middle Ages, to sovereign rule, was to overpower its former equals, and to establish absolute dominion. The House of Hapsburg was no exception in this respect. It employed the system which was used by all the dynasties of Europe aiming at the same end. These were, the assistance of the Church, a standing army, the amicosities of the different classes, and last, but not least, the jealousies of the different nationalities. The House of Hapsburg has always been one of the staunchest supporters of the Romish See, and the grateful Church has frequently and generously repaid her faithful ser-



vant and useful protector, not, however, forgetting to exact fresh surrenders from the Emperor when her aid was especially needed. Generally the interests of the two Powers have been the same: Rudolph I. was raised by the influence of the Romish clergy to the Imperial throne, and the priests possessed themselves of the education of the youth,—the most powerful means to preserve the darkness so favourable to their purposes, as well as to maintain the subjection of the people to the despotism of civil authority.

But the Reformation dawned, and the new light was so piercing that even the blind felt it. It spread with the quickness of lightning over the northern part of Europe, and, before one generation had passed, it was deeply rooted in England, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Germany, and Hungary. Alarmed at its threatening aspect, the Church of Rome looked with anxiety towards her most powerful defender—the House of Hapsburg. Charles V. was too great a politician not to wait for the consequences of this new movement. It seemed at first a very appropriate means to curb the intruding influence which the Romish Church had exercised over the clergy of his dominions. Therefore, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the Pope, he was tardy in stopping this alarming heresy. But he soon found that the spirit of Protestantism is analogous to that of freedom, and that those who perceived the abuses in the Church were not likely to be indifferent to the imperfections in the Government. After his retirement both branches of the House of Hapsburg began an implacable war against this new and most formidable enemy.

The ample contributions which flowed from the Catholic League for the defence of despotism, both in the mitre and the crown, furnished the means of raising out of the Condottieri bands, which infested Europe during that dissolute epoch, those powerful armies which suppressed Protestantism in all the hereditary dominions of *Austria* except Hungary, and which were also employed to annihilate the civil rights of the people, in order that, with the suppression of Protestantism, the last spark of constitutional liberty might be for ever extinguished. Many of the regiments formed at this era still exist, and under the names given to them when first enrolled. The chief care of the rulers has been to maintain them as an isolated body, torn from all connexion with the people, and therefore subservient to all Government designs. The internal regulations adopted in the army have been based on the differences—we might almost say the hostility—of the several nationalities which composed it. The troops were enrolled by conscription, and firmly held to—

gether by an iron discipline. To counteract all national feeling it was a rule to give to the troops of one nationality officers of another, who were frequently ignorant of the language of their subordinates. Moreover, the regiments were seldom stationed among the people out of whom they were constituted. Finally, to bind together these unharmonious parts by a tie which should also separate them from the community of their fellow subjects, they were made independent of the civil law, and only responsible to military discipline, codes, and tribunals.

The attempts of Governments to set one class of the population against the other, and which were so successful in other continental countries, proved in the Austrian dominions generally fruitless. We must except the fearful contest in Galicia in 1846, when the peasantry were instigated to destroy the so-called rebel nobility, by the publicly offered bribe of five florins for every head they brought in, dead or alive, to the Government officers. Unable to wield this unholy instrument of rule in Hungary, the parental rulers of Austria, with a Machiavelian policy that became the then ministry, resumed the ancient system of fostering national animosities, in order to pursue their absolutist schemes for engrossing all government at Vienna.

Many circumstances had combined to consolidate and unite Hungarian feeling in this struggle against the absolutist desires of the kings of the House of Austria. Hungary had to fight for life from her first existence as a nation in Europe. She had a dynasty of her own. The virtues of her model king, St. Stephen, like those of our own Alfred, are heart and household Lares—the subjects of her poetry and her legends: and it was only when her native dynasty was extinguished in the year 1527, that—unlike the other territories of Austria which had been acquired partly by inheritance and partly by treaty—Hungary of her own free will elected her king from the House of Hapsburg, upon the condition that he should preserve inviolate her rights as a nation. The new dynasty could at first do little to extend its regal prerogatives, as part of the country remained under Turkish sway; and the other provinces had still the power of counteracting the influence of the rulers. Several attempts made by the Government, principally against the fast-spreading Protestant religion, were vigorously repelled by the people; and Rudolph II. and Matthias II. were compelled to sign the pacifications of Vienna and Linz, which guaranteed perfect religious freedom to the Protestants, and confirmed the liberties of the people of Hungary. But after the final expulsion of the Turks, and after reducing the power of the estates in her other territories, the

House of Austria recommenced her manœuvres for the subjection of Hungarian independence.

Let us now see what was the character of that independence, and the nature of those rights, for whose defence Hungarians have so long struggled, and which they yet hope and seek to recover. As in all other feudal monarchies, so in Hungary, the nobility and the deputies of the freemen possessed from the earliest times great power of control over the king. Thus they succeeded so early as the 13th century (only a few years later than ourselves) in obtaining a charter (*Bulla aurea*) granting the same rights as our own Magna Charta. The similarity between the two is most remarkable. The Diet in which the nobility and deputies sat together granted taxes, raised troops, and made laws. Jealous to an extreme of all his rights, the Hungarian was chiefly anxious to retain those which he possessed. Besides, the continual wars in which he was engaged left him little time to develop from these rights a constitutional form of government in our sense of the word.

In the most advanced countries of the West the boundary line between the legislative bodies and the executive power was not accurately drawn, until a comparatively late period; it is not, therefore, wonderful that the princes of the House of Austria succeeded in partially withdrawing a *portion* of the executive from the control of the Diet before the new constitutional ideas had taken root in the mind of the nation. If the nation did not early develop the germ of its constitution by the establishment of a truly limited monarchy with responsible ministers, it nevertheless retained that indirect controlling power which the Diet had always exercised from the first existence of the State. Having the right to levy taxes and raise troops, it possessed an all-powerful check on the Government in general, though for the redress of particular grievances it had no other means but that old feudal right of petitioning the king, which, as our own history shows, was far from unavailing in an armed community. Besides the *Plebiscité* of the Diet, the municipalities in counties and towns possessed extensive rights and privileges, which likewise greatly controlled the exercise of the executive power. The counties were in their internal administration altogether autonomic; they chose their own magistrates every third year, sent their deputies, instructed how to vote, to the Diet; and opposed every illegal decree of the Government, by first protesting against it at the Quarterly Sessions, and then making it a grievance at the next Diet.

When the sympathies and apprehensions of the 18th century influenced the feeble-minded Austrian dynasty, it is not

surprising that, under the advice of designing statesmen, and with the example of despotic sovereigns at hand, it should have sought to consolidate and re-construct the whole empire on the principles of Absolutism and Centralisation. But the Diet and municipal institutions of Hungary presented an invincible impediment to the realisation of this idea. It was necessary, in the first instance, to abolish or to weaken these; strong, therefore, in the holy Alliance of Princes, Francis, Emperor of Austria, and King of Hungary, allowed year to follow year, after the peace, without convoking the Diet. He was mistaken in his plans; the spirit of independence was not quenched by the wars of Napoleon; on the contrary, the people having been roused to defend their country against foreign power, the reins had been loosened, and free action had imparted new might.

The dissatisfaction manifested throughout the nation by the postponement of parliamentary action proved that Hungary had not even tacitly surrendered its liberties, and the Government, after repaying the devotion of the people during the recent wars, by an attempt to suppress their liberties, was at last compelled to assemble the Diet in the year 1825. This Diet is the beginning of the new constitutional history of Hungary. The constitution of that country, like our own, had been a work of time, never systematically developed, but adapted to, and growing out of, the necessities of the moment. The chief care of the nation had always been to *preserve* rather than extend; for the people preferred enduring some imperfections rather than risking the loss of all, by seeking to change a part, knowing that their rulers, who should have been their protectors, were ever warily watching to take their privileges away. The Diet of 1825 opened a new series of what might be called the Reforming Parliaments.

The object of the reforms was simply to adapt the ancient constitution of Hungary to the wants of the times, to abolish the abuses by which the Government had made the executive power nearly independent of the legislative assembly, and to establish a real Representative Government. This is the most brilliant epoch of the parliamentary history of Hungary. A new spirit animated the whole nation, and gave elasticity to all its faculties. This activity was not confined to its political life, it spread itself throughout its literary, scientific, and industrial spheres. Associations were formed to encourage all the different branches of national industry, and steam-boats, manufactories, railroads, with agricultural and scientific institutions, were originated with wonderful rapidity. It seemed as if, notwithstanding manifold obstacles, Hungary was prepared to stride on with

gigantic steps, to regain lost time, and to rival the most advanced nations of the West.

The Vienneese Government anxiously sought to counteract this new spirit, and employed all the resources which an actual possession of the executive power can give, in order to obstruct its progress. So enthusiastic was the unity and the will of the nation, however, that the greatest exertions of the Government only gave it a bare preponderance in the Upper House. But with this it was able materially to impede the projected reforms. Feeling its weakness, the Government sought and found an ally influenced by national jealousy. The spirit which had penetrated all Hungary had also spread to Croatia. This territory had been connected with Hungary from the 11th century, and enjoyed the same laws and privileges. Her deputies met in the same Diet, and were treated altogether on equal terms. The people—a branch of the South-eastern Slavonic race—had begun to imitate and emulate the Hungarians. To turn the activity of these two nationalities against each other, and to foment the animosity of both, was now the game at Vienna, and so cleverly was it played, that during several years preceding 1848 the Croatians were thrown into extraordinary commotion, and every thing was prepared for an outbreak.

The Diet was sitting in Presburg when the news arrived of the French Revolution of February. The members were at that juncture in the greatest excitement, having been roused by new encroachments on the part of the Government, and Kossuth's proposal to appoint a deputation to ask the King to govern Hungary, according to her ancient laws, as an independent country, and by responsible ministers, was at once and unanimously adopted. Nor was this demand unreasonable or rebellious; on the contrary, it was strictly in accordance with the laws of the empire, and craven would have been the spirit, and cold the heart, that, with the living recollections of Hungary's independence, could have shrunk from the duty which the Diet was ready to perform. On ascending the Hungarian throne, the House of Hapsburg had sworn to govern according to ancient law, to maintain inviolable the nationality of the people, to preserve the independence of the country, its liberties and its constitution, and not to absorb the nation into the common mass of its imperial dominions.

Hungary was to be to Austria as to laws what Hanover was to Great Britain. Previous to the year 1687, Hungary had been an elective monarchy. In that year the throne of Hungary was declared hereditary in the House of Hapsburg, but on the condition that before being crowned, each prince should take

the oath to defend the constitution, and to maintain the nationality inviolate. How literally this was understood appears from the circumstance, that all the acts of Joseph II., who had not been crowned king, were abrogated and declared null by the succeeding king.

The late king, Ferdinand V., after swearing the oath that his forefathers had dared to break,—but never with impunity,—received with all solemnity the separate crown of Hungary in the Dóm of St. Martin at Presburg. So important was the ceremony of the Hungarian coronation considered, that on his marriage six years afterwards he brought his queen to Presburg to be crowned with the same solemnity Queen of Hungary. His declaration of title, the coins of the realm, every communication to foreign courts, every patent, and every decree, while it declared Ferdinand to be Emperor of Austria, declared him also to be only King of Hungary, and affirmed Hungary to be a kingdom.\*

The deputation sent to Vienna, in accordance with Kossuth's proposal, was successful, and brought back the assenting promise of the sovereign to the exulting population. The Diet set to work, and in less than a month all the reforms of the liberal party passed into law by common consent, and the improved constitution of the kingdom was established. Instead of the Aulic Chancery a responsible Ministry for Hungary was instituted. The censorship of the press was abolished. The National Guard was established. A general taxation was introduced. The mode of election was improved. Instead of county delegation, representative districts were created. The

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\* It is worthy of remark that the Crown invariably used at the coronation of the Kings of Hungary, was that of St. Stephen. The ancient regalia were modelled after the Byzantine fashion. The Diet appointed custodes to keep them in safety at Buda, under a guard selected for the purpose. Although the elective power of the people had ceased, the adoption or rejection of the Sovereign seemed still to linger with them as a matter of choice, or at least was subject to conditions, for the coronation could only take place while the Diet was sitting. The two custodes, Magyar magnates, required an order from that body to bring up the Crown, and deliver it for the use of the archbishops during the coronation at Presburg, and after the ceremonial to take it again under their charge.

It may also here be noticed, that the inscription on the Austrian coinage ran as follows:—‘Ferdinandus I., D. G. Austriæ Imperator. ‘Hungariæ Bohemiæ Rex, Hoc nomine quintus.’ Clearly designating a separate regal union to Hungary as the fifth Ferdinand, while to Austria he was only the first Ferdinand.

peasantry were made free proprietors of the land which they possessed formerly as hereditary tenants,—not as serfs, as was commonly believed with us, for they had freedom of person, but were obliged to give as rent for their lands the ninth of its produce, and also fifty-two days' work with cattle, or 100 handwork days. They could leave the land whenever they chose, but they could not be sent away by the landlords. Lastly, the union of Transylvania with Hungary was decreed. The King came down, and on the 11th of April, 1848, gave his sanction to all these laws. The enthusiasm which prevailed was general, and the nation, almost without exception, hailed these events as the opening of a new era. The letter of the law was at last realised, and Hungary, instead of remaining *de facto* a province of Austria, had now regained her independence. This feeling overpowered every other sentiment, and the whole nation abandoned itself to the intoxication of success. All differences seemed to be forgotten, and, perhaps for the first time in history, a people offered to the world the spectacle of perfect union among all its classes. Nobody seemed to recollect that liberty never comes as a free gift, all forgot that it must be bought with the heart's blood of the people.

These events had passed so quickly and unexpectedly, that perhaps no one soberly appreciated the true position of the country; certainly no one appeared to doubt that the Hungarian Ministry would at once restore the golden age.

There were two ways for the Ministry to act at this conjuncture, according as they believed or disbelieved in the readiness of the power at Vienna to respect the recent laws. On the first assumption conciliatory, on the second, energetic, measures were necessary. But in either case a wavering course was most impolitic. Unfortunately this last was pursued by the first Hungarian Ministry.

The idea prevalent upon the formation of the Ministry was undoubtedly that of conciliation, for it was composed of all parties. The chief advantage of such a combination of parties would have been, that it should comprehend persons whose names were known all over the country. But, most strangely, with the best intentions, this universal conciliatory idea was in the end practically forgotten. Not one of the Croatian leaders was included in the Ministry. This alone would have served to quench the movement which had begun in Croatia in union with that of Hungary. Another blunder was, that when the Austrian Exchequer, overwhelmed by the enormity of its burden, proposed that the Hungarian Exchequer, now separated from it, should take a portion (about 200,000,000 florins) of the

debts contracted before the separation, the Conciliatory Ministry indignantly refused the proposition. No doubt the right to refuse rested with the Ministry, because the Diet had never been concerned in the expenditure of the Austrian finances; but it was not consistent with a conciliatory policy to drive the Austrian Government to extremity, instead of trying to alleviate its difficulties as far as was compatible with the security of the Hungarian finances.

Again, the proposal of the Ministry to supply Hungarian troops for the Italian campaign, which was revoked by Kossuth himself in the open Diet within a few days of its being made, indicated that want of a decided straightforward policy, which in the end proved their ruin. Pursuing half-measures, the precious time was lost which was necessary to regulate the affairs of the nation, under its peculiar circumstances, and for putting the country into a state of defence against the aggression which it was impossible not to apprehend.

Even when the tactics of the Court of Vienna were no longer concealed,—when, carrying out their ancient policy of exciting the enmity of races, the Austrian Ministry stimulated the Servians in Hungary to rebel against the Government, supplying to these insurgent troops regular Austrian artillerymen,—the Hungarian Ministry pursued the same undecided course. Many persons may view with charitable approval the unwillingness of a people to believe in the treasonable policy of its rulers,—for a ruler may be as much a traitor to his people as a subject to his king,—but when the success of the Hungarian armies, officered by Austrian generals, was sacrificed by the evident treachery of these generals, then ought the Ministry and the people to have listened to the opposition, headed by Perczel, and changed their irresolution into a decisive action worthy of the nation.

Perhaps the greatest error committed by the new Government was in raising only ten battalions of volunteers against the Servians instead of fifty, because the arms could more easily have been raised at the time than at a later period, and a determined course at this time might have induced the Austrian Government to think it dangerous to attack the liberties of a nation so energetically preparing for its defence.

To understand the subsequent events, we must contemplate, for one moment, the position of the Imperial Government in March 1848, when the first revolution broke out in Vienna, falling upon the astonished Court like a thunderbolt from a cloudless sky. Confusion and consternation arrested at once the whole machinery of the State. Nor was it surprising. The whole system of administration had been based on an elaborate



bureaucratic system which ascended pyramid-like to one head. The apex, and we may say the foundation also, was the Prince Metternich. Whatever may be our opinion of his measures, no one can deny that the manner of his rule was almost absolute. In every emergency he was consulted, and he decided.

The popular mind understood the system, and the first movement was against *him*. The first day of the March revolution ended with his removal. The want of his directing spirit was manifest as soon as he fell. The pyramid was without its head and without its base. The Collegiate or Corporate system (as we might translate the idea), by giving the mutual dependence of a corporation to the bureaucratic councils, which had prevailed throughout the whole administration, had taught every officer of State to identify himself with his colleagues as a body, and to shun all personal responsibility. This was carried so far that each person feared to take an independent resolution. All were blind tools, only daring to pronounce their opinion when interrogated upon matters of secondary moment. Generally they had no acquaintance with the higher principles by which statesmen are guided, and were equally ignorant of the action and influence of the different elements in a State.

Constitutions they had always heard of as dangerous and abominable things, which entitled the people to find fault even with the actions of that sublime being, a Minister of the Crown. Such an idea seemed blasphemous in Austria. At the first moment all these gentlemen hearing of an actual revolution at home, thought only of the French Revolution of 1789 and—of themselves. If the revolution had been the very abyss they feared, it could not more quickly or completely have swallowed up the faithful Counsellors of His Majesty. They disappeared as by magic. His Majesty must indeed have imagined some strange fate had attended his flatterers and advisers, when on the second day there was not one of them to be found who could draw up a proclamation to the people. One of the popular leaders was therefore called upon to do it. But with the illuminations and processions which followed the promise of the new constitution to Austria, which the Emperor spontaneously volunteered on this occasion, these cautious gentlemen crept out of their holes, having first provided magnificent popular rosettes to be looped on to their buttons. They were grafted on to the branches of the constitutional administration, and those who were formerly called Presidents were now converted into Ministers, and the Aulic Counsellors were baptized Chiefs of Sections. All endeavoured to ape the gait and figure of constitutional statesmen according to M.

Hecker's 'Staats Lexicon.' But accustomed to the tight uniform of bureaucracy, when no longer buttoned up, and when their actions and shape were left to their natural play, they only roused the laughter and contempt of the bystanders by their cowardly and hypocritical awkwardness.

It was not from such automata, however useful in the machinery of an absolute State, that the dynasty of Austria could expect its salvation in these perilous times. Meantime, this bewildered dynasty never stood more in need of a clear-sighted honest statesman. It required a man, who, understanding the character of the people and the tendency of their ideas, could behold with prophetic eye the direction which the yearning impulses of his countrymen were ready to take, and without coldly repelling their fervid energy, would have controlled and moulded it, and thus led them on to create a new life and existence for the ancient empire. It was, perhaps, the most decisive moment in the history of the House of Austria. The almost instantaneous crash with which the old edifice crumbled down, was a sufficient proof of its rottenness; and the unanimous rising of the whole empire, excepting Moravia, Illyria, and the Tyrol, should have convinced the Imperial Monarch that the people had ceased to be children, and that the prestige of paternal authority was irrevocably broken.

The renewal of the bond of union in its old form was now impossible. Through all changes of the dynasty the people had preserved an awe and respect for prerogative; and though sometimes experiencing that there were bayonets behind the paternal throne, they always wished to regard the throne with the reverence that exists towards the head of an old hereditary house. In the new position of affairs the resumption of this feeling could not be expected; but the Government should have resolved that the children having arrived at maturity, it was necessary to expand the institutions of the country to meet the development of their faculties. Instead of this course, the despotic policy of the Court was, first to gain time by amusing the population with a so-called Constitution, while it fostered jealousies between the different nationalities; and then to make the Government power feared and respected, by placing the bayonets before the throne and governing by military power alone. Acting on the absolutist view of divine right, the Court concluded that all measures were lawful by which the supremacy of the throne could be secured against and before all popular claims. In the nineteenth century there can be no other apology than the right divine to govern wrong for

those savage cruelties, which were perpetrated under this plea, and which must prove the eternal shame of our age.

A mock Assembly was convened at Vienna. There it was impressed on the deputies from the other States, that Hungary only desired a separate government in order that it might supplant the other nationalities of the empire,—‘a project which it was the special object of the paternal government to prevent.’ This assembly, having fulfilled its purpose of deluding the people with false hopes, was dissolved, its acts and the decree constituting it abolished, and Viennese absolute decrees now govern the once free and independent States of the empire. The operations of this intriguing policy commenced immediately after the outbreak at Vienna in March, and its influence, fostered by the priests of the Romish and Greek churches, soon penetrated the various ruder nationalities. The Slave and Wallachian races were infected with the Court fanaticism against Hungary, and perpetrated atrocities in civil warfare, which the historian will blush to record, and which the actors themselves now lament — perceiving as they do, that after all, they have a common interest with Hungary in the maintenance of popular freedom.

The chief hopes of the Government from the first rested on the Slave races. These had been led to believe that if the independence of Hungary were destroyed, and the Austrian provinces rendered one consolidated family, they, as forming a majority of the population, would shortly realise the idea of a vast Slavonic Empire. Their contiguity to brotherhoods of the same race in Russia and Turkey, rendered this a favourite notion. Vainly some of the Polish leaders tried to remove this delusion, showing their fellow Slaves that, by refusing to unite with the Hungarians and the Germans for the purpose of obtaining the establishment of a reasonable federalism under the family of Hapsburg, in which the rights of all should be sustained, they were only running after a shadow of greatness and seconding absolutist views which must ultimately crush them. How correct such advice was, time has already shown, to them and the world.

But at that period, fired by delusive expectations, stimulated by the hope of plunder, and encouraged by their Greek and Romish priests in Viennese pay, who willingly preached a crusade which bore upon the Protestantism and independent Constitution of Hungary, — Croats, Servians, and Wallachians assembled to defend the Emperor and their religion, both of which, they were assured, were threatened by the rebellious and heretical Hungarians.

Of all these nationalities the Croatian was the best prepared for seconding the Austrian wishes. During the persecutions of the Christians in Turkey, in the eighteenth century, many fugitives found refuge in Croatia, and were organised on the frontiers as military colonies. The assumed object of such establishments was to erect a military cordon upon the Turkish frontier. Similar colonies were organised all along the southern frontier. They were divided into seventeen regiments, and the regiment into four battalions, numbering 1500 men each. Every male inhabitant of these colonies was a destined soldier from his birth, and was drilled from his childhood. The administration of this district lay in the War Department at Vienna, which sent down Austrian officers to command these regiments. The officers were never chosen from the colonists themselves. Separated from their equals, they took root among their troops, and not only superintended their military duties, but regulated their minutest affairs. All the regiments on the Croatian frontier were under the command of the Ban of Croatia.

This was the secret of the 40,000 men whom Jellachich, the convenient instrument of the Court, led against Hungary. It has been supposed that the acts of this army manifested the enthusiasm of the Croats. The reverse was the fact. These almost servile frontier regiments are assembled for exercise each September. When on duty as usual in September 1848 they were ordered, greatly to their surprise, to proceed to the borders of Hungary; and after the victories in Italy had placed more forces at the disposal of the Government, Jellachich threw off the mask, which his countrymen alone had been too blind to penetrate, and set forward towards Buda by orders from Vienna. In vain did the Hungarian Diet repeatedly send deputations to the Monarch, calling upon him to use his authority, to maintain the integrity of the Hungarian Crown, and to order the Ban of Croatia to desist from hostilities, in order that all matters between Hungary and Croatia might be settled by a congress at Vienna. Evasive answers only were brought back, and the Viennese Constitutional Assembly, to whom they at last appealed, refused to hear the Hungarian deputies.

Thus involved on all sides, the Hungarian nation saw no hope save in her own energy. She retained the right of self-defence. A painful hesitation and pause occurred before the irrevocable step was taken — it was the dead silence before the thunderstorm; and then all attempts at pacification failing, the nation rushed to arms.

But the people required a leader in this emergency, one to bear the banner of Hungary in this strife of life and death.

Public opinion had for some time singled out one man. It was Kossuth. His heart-stirring eloquence had been always ready to revive the sinking spirit, and his energy had communicated itself to the most desponding of his countrymen. Every day thousands surrounded the house where the representatives sat, and an anxious people in the country waited on the roads to hear what their favourite, Kossuth, had said. The nation had faith in him because he had faith in the nation, the cause, and himself. Faith and hope were the charms which subdued all spirits, and gave him the position which first elevated him above all competitors.

It was the duty of the Palatine, the Archduke Stephen, the appointed representative of the King, his Alter Ego in fact, as supreme captain of all troops in Hungary, to lead the army against Jellachich. He proceeded to the neighbourhood of the lake Balaton, there reviewed the troops, and then fled to Vienna, without communicating with the Parliament. In this position the Hungarian Ministry felt themselves dissolved; and the Diet at once appointed a Committee for National Defence. This body was composed of members of both Houses, including two late Ministers, and Kossuth as president. Its object was the defence of the rights of the nation embodied in the laws of 1848. It accomplished its aim; for when it was constituted, the hostile army was a few miles from the capital; and when its power was superseded by the Provisional Government, the whole country, with scarcely an exception, was free from the enemy. This was the most brilliant effort of Kossuth's genius.

The first care of the Committee was the army. By the laws of 1848, all Hungarian regiments employed elsewhere were to return home, and be subjected to the Hungarian War Ministry. To the reiterated demands of the Hungarian Ministry evasive answers were returned from Vienna, alleging the impossibility of the recall of the Hungarian troops, as they were employed in the campaign in Italy. But the Viennese War Department authorised the Hungarian Ministry to employ in the meantime such foreign troops as were then stationed in the country. These troops accordingly took the oaths to the Constitution. The Ministry employed these forces against the Servians and Wallachians, but in vain; for the Austrian officers were traitors to their ostensible cause, and instead of subduing the insurgents, allowed the insurgents to fortify themselves, and to devastate Hungary by their inroads. At the entry of Jellachich, all the foreign troops began to act openly against Hungary; but the greatest part of the Hungarian troops remained faithful. Even those who had been formed under

Austrian rule, and had officers of different nationalities, who had no interest in the cause, maintained their allegiance to their oath; and Jellachich was defeated and driven over the frontier. Viennese troops were now ordered to his rescue, but the people of the capital opposed their departure, and the October revolution broke out. The unwillingness of the Austrian officers who had remained in the Hungarian army to cross the frontier and follow Jellachich into Austria Proper, delayed the advance of the army. When this difficulty was at last overcome, Vienna had fallen; and instead of finding a demoralised and fugitive enemy, the Hungarians were met by well-appointed forces; and on the 30th of October the unfortunate battle of Schweiat induced them to withdraw into their own territory.

The die being now cast and the lists opened, every one felt that it was no longer safe to employ Austrian officers, on whom no reliance could be placed. Kossuth, therefore, sought to separate all Austrian elements from the constitution of the army, and to make it truly Hungarian. Hence Moga, an old Austrian general, was removed, and Görgey appointed Commander-in-chief. Görgey had to organise the army. Nor was his task less arduous because the army he had been called upon to organise consisted chiefly of enthusiastic recruits. This made it the more difficult to implant in their minds the necessity of a systematic discipline. His previous life seemed hardly of a kind to fit him for the duties to which he was summoned. Though trained in the Royal Hungarian 'Noble Guard,' he had relinquished the army, and applied himself to chemical studies. Few would have thought that at thirty years of age the young lecturer was qualified to head an army. But those who reasoned thus must have been ignorant of the intensity of his character, and his powers of rapid and keen perception. Kossuth understood his capabilities; and had the Statesman and the General worked afterwards truly and heartily in unison, neither the armies of Austria nor the weight of the Russian alliance could have crushed the Hungarian independence.

When the State was in danger, Rome used to create a dictator. Extraordinary events require extraordinary means. In that deadly struggle on which the Hungarian nation had entered, unity of action was an indispensable condition of success. How much the nation felt this, was shown by the noble confidence with which it singled out Kossuth to lead her in the approaching trial. So long as the task was to arouse the people and to inspire them with his own energy, Kossuth had brilliantly responded to the confidence of the nation; but the forces now

organised had to be employed, and employed on the field of battle, and he was no general. Educated for a legal and political career, he had not studied the art of war. He, therefore, found himself compelled to commit that most important responsibility to other hands. In this juncture he might have transported the seat of Government to the head-quarters of the main army; but then he could not have superintended the organisation of new troops, or he might have confided the army to a general possessing his entire confidence, both in respect of his skill and his patriotism. Kossuth apparently chose the latter, but he did not carry it through by giving the general his full confidence.

As it would have been ridiculous to attempt to control all military movements from the seat of the Government, Görgey was invested with the command of the main army; but several smaller armies were in the field, and these professed to communicate with the Government, or rather with Kossuth alone. An attempt to secure union of action among the generals was made by professing to subordinate all the troops to the Minister of War, who was also a member of the Defence Committee; but his authority was so little maintained, that several independent commanders, Bem especially, scarcely ever condescended to correspond with the War Department, but sent their despatches directly to Kossuth. So long as the new commanders felt Kossuth's influence to be absolute, this was of comparatively small importance; but when, with the progress of the war, they assumed a more independent action, the subordination of the military power to the Central Government was so far relaxed, that at last the orders of the Minister of War lost even the shadow of authority. This was the consequence of that personal influence on which Kossuth based his authority, instead of fortifying it by a subordinate, but effective organisation, of which he would have been the head.

After the submission of Italy to the troops of Radetzky, and after the suppression of the popular movement in Vienna, the Imperial family proceeded more energetically to carry out its absolutist projects. Some future student, turning over the archives of the House of Hapsburg, will perhaps be able to discover the secret of the Court revolution which occurred at Olmutz in the beginning of December 1848. An unexpected proclamation announced to the inhabitants of the Austrian empire, that Ferdinand the Good had abdicated in favour of his youthful nephew, Francis Joseph.

Was this abdication voluntary or not? is the question which first suggests itself to the mind. Did the Emperor, weak in

mind and body, harassed by the violent commotions which shook his throne to its foundations, throw down the heavy sceptre which fatigued his arm? or was he indignant that his courtiers and his family insisted upon the necessity of his breaking that oath which he had sworn to his people? Time only will disclose the causes of this change, and how far his confessors and his family took part in it. But one thing was gained—the new Emperor had never sworn fidelity to the contract made by the House of Hapsburg with the people, and therefore had no oath to break. The proclamation which announced this important event to the Hungarian nation was answered by a declaration of its Diet—that no change could take place in the throne of Hungary without the consent of the Diet, as long as the former King lived; and that no King could be recognised, according to ancient law, until he had been crowned, after having first taken the oath to the Constitution. The response of the Diet was unheeded, and the proclamation of the new Emperor was backed by a powerful army, which at once entered Hungary from all sides.

To the combined forces of the empire, numbering about 150,000 men, exclusive of the Servian and Wallachian insurgents, Hungary could only oppose at that time about one third the number. Moreover, the greatest part of these were new levies. As it would have been impossible to contend against such disproportionate forces, the chief object of the Hungarians was to occupy the invading hosts until the national army could be increased and efficiently organised. This could be best effected in a position little exposed to the enemy, and which at the same time offered facilities for accomplishing the purpose. Such a position existed in the heart of Hungary.

Inclosed by the river Tisza (Theiss), the sacred river of the Hungarian, by the Maros and by the mountains of Transylvania, lies the large Hungarian plain, an European savannah, containing 3000 or 4000 square miles of country, almost exclusively inhabited by the Magyar race, living as agriculturists and herdsmen, which occupations render them extremely hardy. In former days they furnished soldiers in the insurrections of Boiskay and Rakoczy, as well as in other struggles for national independence. They still bear many traces in their customs and character of their long relinquished, but not forgotten nomadic life. Both rivers run a very rapid and irregular course, between low banks, which are liable to great inundations, forming extensive marshes, that extend for miles inland, so that all the year round—but principally in spring and autumn—the transit of an army and its train is a matter of the greatest diffi-



culty, and nearly impossible. The mountains of Transylvania protect the eastern side of this plain, and offer but few passes practicable for troops. This protected position includes the most fertile part of the country, one peculiarly rich in grain, cattle, and especially horses; so that it affords all the requisites necessary for forming and victualling an army, and for recruiting and mounting cavalry.

Görgey proposed, even before the invasion of the Austrian army, to transfer the seat of government and the military depôts to the left bank of the Theiss. Kossuth, however, objected, apprehending that if the Government retreated before the enemy had crossed the frontier, the nation would be too much discouraged. His hopes in regard of the then efficiency of the Hungarian troops were also more sanguine than those of Görgey. This difference of opinion had its origin in the difference, nay contrast, which existed between these two leaders, and which is to be traced in all their actions. So long as they did not meet in antagonism, but only modified the opposite extremes to which both were inclined, success attended their common enterprises; but when this sort of tacit compromise was broken, both manifested in excess their peculiar tendencies, and the cause suffered in proportion.

Kossuth, the enthusiastic patriot, had embraced his country's cause because the honour and independence of his fatherland had been to him an all-absorbing idea, to which he had dedicated his hopes and his life. Görgey defended his country because he thought the cause a just one, and one for which he had sworn to fight. Kossuth, the tribune of the people and the orator, hoped to save the nation by the energy of the people. Görgey calculated only on the army. Kossuth desired to elevate his country, and to make it free and independent. Görgey's aim was to maintain unimpaired the Constitution of 1848. Kossuth's plans expanded with success. Görgey's success was the fruit and consequence of his plans.

It was very natural that the opinion of each respecting the mode of repelling the Austrian invasion should also be different. Kossuth relied chiefly on enthusiasm. Görgey exclusively, or nearly so, on discipline. Therefore Kossuth's chief object was to keep up the former; Görgey's to establish the latter. The difficulty was to combine the two in one. Both plans were attempted. The military depôts were transferred to the left bank of the Theiss, but the army remained on the frontiers, and the Government at Pesth.

The difficulty in unexpected casualties is not so much to find the means to escape, as to use the means at the proper moment.

So the retreat of the Government behind the Theiss was a measure demanded on the most superficial survey of the circumstances; but the difficulty was the time. Too early or too late was equally objectionable; as in both cases the confidence of the nation in the Government would be shaken, because the first would show that it had lost its courage, the second, that it had lost its head. The Government being anxious to avoid the former, fell into the latter error.

The astonishing celerity with which the Austrian main army, without striking a blow, had followed Görgey's retreat upon the capital, had a stunning effect on all minds, including the Diet and Government. A deputation to Prince Windischgratz to try pacification once more, received the easily foreseen answer: 'We don't negotiate with rebels.' The resolution was then instantly taken, to transfer the Diet and Government to Debreczin, and the order was given to Görgey to risk a decisive battle before the capital. This was, however, recalled by a council of war, and he was directed to the left bank of the Danube, in order to divert the attention of the enemy from the pursuit of the Government, and to enable them to raise new forces and to collect those scattered in the country.

The halo of authority must constantly surround the rulers of a people. Once penetrated, it is useless to disguise it any more. It then loses its power to awe. The Government migration had been more like a flight than like a well-arranged removal. The commanded battle was more like a measure to secure an Hegira than to benefit the country. The army was left to arrange its own course; and having felt the want of energy in the civil rulers, it began to act independently. Hence ensued subsequent catastrophes.

The first act showed what was to be expected. Görgey published a proclamation from Waitzen in the name of the army, in which he declared that the army fought *only* for the Constitution sanctioned by the King Ferdinand V., to which it had sworn fidelity; and that its mission was to defend the Constitution both against the public enemy from without, and republican movements at home. This went the whole length of pronouncing the precise conditions which the army was to obey; and amounted to a renunciation of implicit obedience to the decrees of the Diet and the National Defence Committee, provided they should undertake any thing inimical to the Constitution.

With the retreat of the Government to Debreczin, and the occupation of the capital by the Austrians, the year 1848 and the first year of the Hungarian war of independence ended.

In the beginning of that year the nation had vindicated its ancient liberties, in a lawful form, through the Diet, and under the sanction of the King. The year ended with an invading army, in the heart of the country, bent upon depriving Hungary of its rights. Nevertheless, the nation was not cast down: it had decided to resist; and notwithstanding the unfavourable turn of affairs, it believed in final success. Austria had to attribute much of the energy of this resistance to her own duplicity, which had disgusted and exasperated many of her staunchest supporters.

Though the successful opening of a campaign generally acts favourably upon the spirit of soldiery, it also may produce an unwarranted feeling of contempt for the enemy which subsequent campaigns painfully dispel. Such was the case with the Austrian army. Notwithstanding their confidence in their experience, and their low opinion of their adversaries, they had not anticipated so successful and rapid a march on the capital. Their good opinion of themselves became an absurdity, and induced them to despise the supposed cowardice of the constantly retreating enemy, who refused to furnish them with one opportunity for the display of their valour. An overweening confidence naturally led them into the trap laid for them by the retreating army of Görgey. This army contained a large portion of the old soldiers who had been drilled under the Austrian discipline, and those hussars about whom alone the Austrians professed any uneasiness. It was, therefore, their main object to capture these troops, after whom they detached a large portion of their forces, depriving themselves of the means of actively pursuing the Diet and the Government, which continued to be the rallying point of the nation.

Notwithstanding this seeming respite, the position of the Government and the Diet at Debreczin was by no means satisfactory. Other Austrian armies were advancing towards that place. But at this juncture Kossuth proved that he deserved the confidence which the nation had placed in him. He was the first to recover from the disheartening effects of the opening of the campaign. He inspired the Diet and the different branches of the Government with spirit and energy, and he worked marvels with the nation at large. He manifested what one man can make of a people which trusts him. The recruits of the levy granted by the Diet were organised; and tailors, shoemakers, and sadlers went energetically to work to fit out the troops for the spring. The national tendency to indolence disappeared. Kossuth was well seconded by the people, and armies arose as if by enchantment.

Perhaps, after all, the most difficult task that Kossuth had to accomplish in the winter of 1848-9 was to keep up the members of the Diet to the proper degree of enthusiasm. Like all the other assemblies chosen to represent the interests of the people in the various continental States during the popular movement of 1848, this Diet was behind the emergency of the case. True, it consisted of all the men of note in Hungary, whether political or literary,—of the members of the former opposition as well as of the Conservative party. Many members of the aristocracy took their seats in it. But it was a deliberative, not an executive body. Different degrees of opinion were unfortunately represented in it, and an undecided and wavering policy was often advocated there by men who, with the best intentions, were not equal to the crisis. In the end, its spirit, instead of being elevated to the height of circumstances, admitted too readily the possibility of failure, and proved that in political revolutions, a body that discusses and hesitates, though composed of the best men, is inadequate to the management of affairs, and that power, on such occasions, demands to be concentrated in a few hands.

Despite the difficulties he encountered, Kossuth found his reward in February, 1849. An Hungarian force of 40,000 men, including Görgey's, Klapka's, and the Southern army, was ready to advance from the plains of the Theiss. But nothing is so pernicious to the authority of a government as to attempt measures which it cannot carry out. Such a proceeding was the nomination, at this moment, of Dembinsky as commander-in-chief.

The Government had not forgotten Görgey's proclamation from Waitzen, and was anxious to regain the influence which it had lost by its precipitate retreat in the winter. It therefore named a commander for the united main army, who should implicitly obey all its orders, and, as commander-in-chief, hold the other generals in hand, and connect them with the War Office. Kossuth also believed that the military renown of the Polish General would excite the confidence of the army, and probably thought that, as a foreigner, he would not join an opposition party. This was keen calculation; but he, who should have been the last to do so, forgot on this occasion the Hungarian character. He omitted the fact that this was one of those national wars wherein the admixture of foreign elements never answers; and that a nationality so jealous as that of the Hungarian would not long tolerate the idea that its army needed a foreign commander.

The moment the news was received of Dembinsky's appointment, Görgey's army commenced a demonstration against the

new commander. This produced no effect until after his unsuccessful operations on the right bank of the Theiss. Then, upon the loss of the battle of Kápolna, the army declared its want of confidence in him, and required the commissary of the Government, Szemere, to appoint another commander *ad interim*. Szemere complied, and nominated Görgey. Dembinsky refused to relinquish the command; but Görgey ordered him to be placed under arrest. At this conjuncture Kossuth arrived; a council of war was held, and the result of the investigation was Dembinsky's removal, and the nomination of Vetter, the former commander of the South army, as commander-in-chief.

These events struck another deadly blow at the civil authority. The army had rejected the commander whom the Government had (unadvisedly, it is true,) appointed. His removal was necessary; and how could the Government punish the movers in this opposition, after it had acknowledged they were right? This independent conduct of the army, therefore, remained unpunished; the authority of the Government fell; and when Vetter was disabled by illness, unable longer to resist the wish of the army, the Government was obliged to appoint as commander-in-chief that general who was most formidable to its power, and who had shown the greatest unwillingness to submit to its authority. But the splendid successes which followed this appointment of Görgey soothed, in some degree, the bitterness of the necessity. Victory followed victory, and in less than four weeks, and before the middle of April, the Austrian army was driven to the frontiers, and, with little exception, the Hungarian territory was free from invaders.

Now was the time to restate to the powers at Vienna the object for which Hungary fought, and to obtain a guarantee for the Constitution of 1848. But prosperity stimulated larger hopes, and Kossuth availed himself of this period of success to make a proposal to the Diet which, while we acknowledge it to have been provoked by the conduct of Austria, entirely changed the character of the war. This proposal was the deposition of the House of Hapsburgh from the kingdom of Hungary. After three days' discussion with closed doors, and one day in open session, it was accepted, and on the 14th of April, 1849, Hungary was proclaimed independent of the rulers of Austria, Kossuth appointed Governor of the Kingdom, and a cabinet was selected to aid the executive in conducting the affairs of the State.

In extraordinary crises, when the reasons for or against a decisive measure are nearly balanced, success must certainly pronounce upon the policy of the steps, because it proves

whether the calculations are right or wrong. To determine the propriety of this declaration of independence, we must consider it from two points of view—justice and policy.

The justice of the step raises that old, and some will say undecided question,—when has the people the right to resist the oppression of its rulers? This problem has been practically solved on several occasions by ourselves. The House of Austria certainly held Hungary upon ancient and well-known conditions. It had violated these by armed force, and had sought to deprive the people of their guaranteed rights. It appears therefore that, in the light of justice, the war was simply one of self-defence. What might have been the result had not events been precipitated by this declaration it is impossible now to determine. Granted, then, that the nation had a clear justification for armed defence, was the declaration of independence equally justifiable, and, if so, was it expedient? The main argument by which Kossuth stimulated the Diet so hastily to adopt this declaration, was the promulgation on the 4th of March of the constitution decreed for the whole Austrian Empire. This was made public immediately after the Hungarian army was checked in the battle of Kápolna. Imagining that opposition was then subdued, the Viennese Court availed itself of the opportunity to proclaim the unity and indivisibility of the empire,—the existence of separate, but, of course, powerless, provincial diets,—and the establishment of one central Chamber at Vienna, by which the affairs of the Empire were to be regulated.

It is needless to enter further into the working of this mock constitution, because, like all other semblances of liberty in Austria, it has been wholly abrogated. But it was clearly intended that the nationality of Hungary should be extinguished, and that kingdom be reduced to the condition of a mere province of the Austrian empire. The Hungarians felt this, and Kossuth urged that this decree should be responded to by a like act declaring the dethronement of the House of Hapsburg. But even if this act of the Hungarian Diet was defensible on the grounds of justice, we have a strong opinion that, at the moment, the measure was contrary to sound policy.

After a six months' war, justified by the infraction of the National Hungarian Constitution, the publication of this new Austrian Constitution in no wise altered the position of affairs. The nation was at war for their own Constitution, and had nothing to do with that which Francis Joseph published as Emperor of Austria. The *casus belli* had been as patent to the world upon the entrance of the Austrian army into Hungary

as at any subsequent period; and if dethronement was the just reward of the House of Hapsburg for outraging the Hungarian Constitution, this step should have been taken at the commencement of the war, and thus the nation would have known from the first for what it was fighting. Therefore, if judged by the mere justice of the case, the declaration came too late, and, if viewed in the light of expediency, too early.

For it was a crowning provocation offered to the House of Hapsburg. There was no medium now between separation or subjugation. It was easy to foresee that Austria would accept the offers of her mighty ally, Russia, rather than descend from her position as a first-rate Power in Europe, which would have been the inevitable consequence of the loss of Hungary. Russia had abundant reason to seize the first opportunity to humble her rival, and to crush, at the same time, that dangerous movement in Hungary which served as an example for the Poles. Moreover, Russia had nothing to apprehend from any other foreign intervention, as the popular party was everywhere subdued, and there was no reason to anticipate that England or America would interpose in favour of the dethronement since, having no diplomatic relations with Hungary, and — at that time like the rest of the world — being very ignorant of the merits of the case, they were not in the position to take the question in hand.

A division in the army was another evil likely to follow the declaration of independence. As before stated, many of the officers in Görgey's army had been in the Austrian service. They fought in obedience to the oath they had sworn to the Constitution, but were by no means disposed to partake in a war against the dynasty of Austria. The battle for the Constitution had united the whole nation and the army: the dethronement was the apple of discord which ruined the hopes of Hungary.

We see no advantage connected with it. It had no inspiring effect on the nation. It did not enlarge the means of defence: on the contrary, it diminished them. It increased the number and the hostility of the enemies of Hungary, and there is no evidence that it gained one additional friend to the cause. Nor are there any traces of any wish in the nation for such a measure. The disadvantages of this measure were greatly increased by the establishment of the Provisional Government, with a responsible Governor, and, under him, a responsible Ministry in the constitutional style. At that moment, the nation, to realise the idea which was expressed in the declaration of independence, had need of all its concentrated energy. But the same act surrounded the executive power with those forms which, however salutary — nay, necessary — in ordinary times, must needs have

a pernicious effect under circumstances which require rapidity of decision and unhampered energy. In the abrogated National Defence Committee, Kossuth had been, if not in name, at least in reality, dictator; and now the power was split and weakened by the collegiate forms of a cabinet.

At the period of the Declaration of Independence, the Hungarian movement had reached its height. From that moment it began to decline. It had overshot its mark. The second era of the Hungarian war furnishes a brilliant chronicle of heroic deeds, of union, and concord; which testify that the Hungarian race, though long silent in the history of nations, is not dead. It has opened for itself a glorious position in the modern annals of the people of Europe. Nationality and liberty fed the fire and animated the patience of the people. So long as these intelligible barriers had to be defended, the nation was victorious. But when theories were set before it, the nation lost its basis. The movement had ceased to be national.

In the life of nations, as in that of individuals, there are moments which decide their fate for years. To use that moment is success; to lose it, is ruin. Such a moment presented itself to Hungary in the beginning of May, 1849. The Declaration of Independence had irrevocably broken up all hopes of a compromise with the dynasty, and there was therefore no hope but in its utter defeat and abolition. Even for this extreme measure the moment was favourable. The Austrian troops flying and disorganised,—the Hungarian army, flushed with victory, at their heels,—Vienna trembled. Then Kossuth himself might have gloried in the probable realisation of his wildest schemes: for, having passed the Rubicon, and severed himself from Austria, he might have attempted to confer on the other nationalities of the empire the like independence he expected to gain for Hungary. As he had now thrown the dice, such was the surest way to preserve his stakes. But at that decisive moment, the army went back to besiege Buda, in which a small garrison had been left by the retreating Austrians.

The Government either did not perceive the greatness of the moment, or did not dare to enforce the necessary orders. Görgey received instructions to follow the enemy with the bulk of his army, and to direct a few thousand men upon Buda. But he sent a small force to follow the enemy, and marched with the greatest part of the troops to besiege Buda. After a month's siege Buda fell before a splendid assault. But in the mean time the enemy's forces were reorganised, and a Russian army had assembled on the frontier. The second moment for a *coup de main* on Vienna passed away like the first.



The fall of Buda was the last gleam of the sun of Hungary. Buda, the old capital which overlooks the field of Rákos, where, in bygone times, her proud nobles assembled to discuss the affairs of their country in the sight of heaven;—Buda, the town of Matthias Corvinus, who made the Hungarian name resound from the Baltic to the Adriatic;—Buda, the scene of the most heroic events in the national history, — the sacred Palladium of the Hungarian,—was again in the hands of the nation. Never, during the whole war, had there been so much bravery, and so much contempt of death displayed. It was as if the meanest soldier had been an inspired hero. Görgey became the pride of Hungary, as Kossuth had been her love.

But in this brilliant display few observed that the star which had guided the nation up to this moment, and which had pointed out the way for her leaders, had become extinguished. That star was *faith*. Faith in the justice of the cause — faith in her own virgin strength, had elevated the nation to that sublime height which attracted the gaze of the world. Faith had been the pillar of fire, going before her, and sustaining her courage in the dark night of trouble and misfortune. Faith had hardened the bare-footed Honvéd against cold and hunger, and prompted the Magyar woman, peasant and princess alike, to submit to the severest privations. But when the nation awoke from that intoxication into which her many victories, crowned by the fall of Buda, had thrown her, the star was gone, and the sky grew darker and heavier day by day. The pathway was obscured; the nation lost herself; she had begun an undertaking or had been led to attempt one, which she had no longer faith to accomplish. A negative idea, the dethronement of her Royal House, had been put before her as the reward of her exertions. This excited no enthusiasm, and when the pompous proclamations intended to rouse her soul to fresh exertions were published, they spread panic instead of encouragement.

If at this moment a new and energetic arm had seized the reins, an arm guided by a clear head and by a firm conviction, would all then have been lost? Probably not; for the nation feeling the imminence of the storm was more willing than ever to be led in the right direction. But the leaders ceased to confide in themselves: losing the purity and singleness of their early love, they lost their faith, their head, and their hope.

The success of the spring campaign had soothed for a moment the animosity existing between the head of the Government and Görgey. The proclamation of Waitzen and the deposition of Dembinsky by the army seemed to be forgotten, but the declaration of independence, and a lull which came over the mili-

tary successes, reopened the breach and made the gap wider than ever.

The individual who seizes an idea and is intent on carrying it through, imperceptibly identifies his person and his passions with the idea itself, and generally concludes that the impulses of his own personal feeling emanate from his leading idea. With the two rival leaders in the Hungarian war, the guiding idea was, we believe, the welfare of their country. But each connected his person and himself so closely with the cause that he sometimes failed in keeping the two interests separate: nay, very often mixed his own individuality with the interests of his country, of course always to the disadvantage of the latter.

Previous to this time, Kossuth and Görgey, though on different roads had striven in the same direction. Now their paths separated. Kossuth thought that the declaration of independence would alone save the country. Görgey believed that this document contained the seeds of its destruction. Both felt that they could no longer work together, and each felt it necessary to displace the other in order to save the State. Neither of them had the moral courage to do this openly, because neither felt confidence in the possibility of realising his own scheme. Otherwise both would have been ready to risk even the danger of a division in the nation,—an uncertain evil,—rather than longer endure that latent discord, which paralysed all the actions of the executive power. Under these circumstances both thought it better to feign, and believed that this falsehood was a policy justifiable by the object. They ultimately destroyed each other, but their country perished in their fall.

There was one difference, however, between the two. Kossuth only feigned confidence in Görgey's *person*. Görgey appeared to approve,—nay, in his appeal to the army dated Comorn, 29th April, 1849, *openly* approved, the declaration of independence, and proclaimed a *conviction* which he did not feel. He therefore descended to direct treachery, like those Austrian officers who accepted the commissions of the Hungarian Ministry intending to betray it; and his was not the less treachery, because his object was to save his country.

This alone explains that fatal irresolution which marked the actions of both leaders after the declaration of independence. Neither of them saw his way to the end. As if their policy had sunk to the level of *ouvriers*, they lived from day to day, making schemes which were never executed, until the approach of the allied armies of the enemy reminded them of the fatal *trop tard*.

The errors which overwhelmed Hungary in quick succes-

sion during this third period,—the period of her decline,—were consequences of this irresolution. The siege of Buda instead of a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, — Deimbinsky's lingering on the frontiers of Galicia, instead of carrying the war into that country, and seeking there allies among the people ready to join him,—the incredible hesitation which prevented the adoption of one determined plan of defence,—and, finally, the fatal indecision in selecting a Commander-in-chief in place of Görgey, are the results of one and the same cause. All pointed in a natural direction to the surrender of Világos.

So ended the Hungarian war of independence. The sword was laid down and the work of the executioner's axe begun. It has been an elevating but distressing vision. A nation, strong in her right, driven to extremes, defends herself, and at first humbles her aggressor. Hurried into extremes herself, she falls.

Of the two men who had her destiny in their hands, one is under surveillance, and if not a prisoner is certainly a pensioner of the enemy. The other is wandering in distant countries seeking help for his down-trodden fatherland. One has hitherto been the object of the execration of his nation and of mankind. The other has received the homage of the two greatest people in the world. One had too low an opinion of the cause he defended; the other estimated it too highly. Görgey judged *first* as a soldier and *then* as an Hungarian; Kossuth *first* as a cosmopolite and *then* as an Hungarian. One was too near, the other too far, for the mark.

This mark was NATIONALITY, the dearly bought jewel for which the Hungarian has so often shed his best blood; the oriflamme which will at this moment alone inspire him, and which he will follow so long as his name exists. It is his religion, his history, his literature, his country, the very atmosphere he breathes.

But the struggle in another light cannot be considered as a mere national affair. It was one of principle:—Hungary, the isolated and constitutional, against the absorbing centralisation and absolutism of Austria. Such a struggle, in order to yield a decisive verdict, ought to have been left to itself; but Austria did not conquer by the vitality of her institutions or the energy of her forces. She was obliged to have recourse to foreign aid. Such victory is a defeat as it respects the settlement of the two principles involved, and likewise as it regards the future greatness of Austria. Three years have elapsed since Hungary was crushed before the Czar, and placed at the foot of the Emperor of Austria. But has Austria made one step in the fulfilment of her centralising schemes? It is still the state of siege which

maintains her tranquillity. Her reluctant subjects, deprived of the last shadow of a representative system, are held in subservience by terror, not by love.

Austria is a hollow name: we meet with Hungarians, Bohemians, Germans, Italians, Poles, but no Austrians. A native of the province of Ducal Austria Proper, who ought to be the most proud of his name, will say, I am a Viennese, or speak of some other town or district as his place of birth, but he will never boast of his great Austrian fatherland. Despotism may exist if based on nationality. The proud *civis romanus sum* was the link which kept together the empire of the Cæsars. The autocracy of Russia stands on this foundation; but what has Austria given wherewith to inspire her subjects? bombardments, massacres, and executions!

It is not difficult to foresee what will be the future of that tendency to centre all government in the rulers alone which is now creeping over the Continent. Least of all does mystery hang over the fate of Austria. Its doom is written in language as clear as that which flashed in fire through the banqueting hall of Babylon. We see an image of gold, iron, and clay; but the gold has been corrupted and the iron weakened, and what now remains of either is but a scale to hide rather than adorn the earth of which the image consists:—and it is but an image after all, for where is the life? The House of Austria must now stand alone. The last golden link which bound Hungary to its rulers, and to which age had imparted the reverence due to antiquity, has been melted in the fire kindled to burn up a nation's liberties, and to forge, not chains of love, but the fetters of servitude and humiliation. This unhappy House, deceived by its successes, may think it has quenched the spirit of freedom, but the world's records are a proof that the strongest arguments of despotism so lavishly used by imperial oppressors—the hangman, the axe, and the prison,—are inadequate instruments for suppressing the breath of a nation which pants for liberty.

Were the millions of voices which cry, 'Haza és Szabadság,' (country and freedom) in the Magyar tongue, silenced by the Austrian executioner; or were the millions of hearts which animate those tongues impaled in a death-struggle on the bayonets of a mercenary Austro-Russian host—Hungary would not be dead. The destined avenger will yet arise.

- ART. V. — 1. *A Bill to enable Her Majesty further to regulate the Duties of Ecclesiastical Persons, and to make better provision for the Management and Distribution of Episcopal and Capitular Revenues.* Prepared and brought in by the Marquis of BLANDFORD and Lord ROBERT GROSVENOR. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. 1852.
2. *Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment.* By the Rev. ROBERT WHISTON, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Head Master of the Cathedral Grammar School, Rochester. London: 1849.
3. *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland.* By the Rev. JOHN JEBB, M.A., Rector of Peterstow, Herefordshire; late Prebendary of Limerick. London: 1843.
4. *An Attempt to investigate the true Principles of Cathedral Reform.* By the Rev. WILLIAM SELWYN, M.A., Canon of Ely and Rector of Branstone. Cambridge: 1839.  
*The Same.* Part II. Cambridge: 1840.
5. *Thoughts on the Renovation of Cathedral Institutions.* By HENRY BOOTHBY BARRY, M.A., Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Yarborough. London: 1852.

THE time seems to have come for an effectual reform of the Cathedral Establishments of England. The chapters have scarcely recovered from their surprise at the debate of last summer on Lord Blandford's motion for leave to bring in a Bill, by which deans were to be totally abolished. This debate exhibited the strange scene of Lord Blandford and Mr. Hume, Mr. Horsman, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Secretary Walpole, and, if we mistake not, Mr. Gladstone, all shaking hands, and exhorting each other to the pious work of demolition. The deans seemed to be selected as the especial objects of vituperation. They were regarded as public enemies; no voice but that of Sir Robert Inglis was uplifted in their defence; and the advocacy of the venerable champion seemed perversely to be looked upon, by an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons, as in itself a sufficient *primâ facie* evidence, that the dignitaries thus defended were an abuse and ought to be put down. And now the issuing of the Cathedral Commission has followed the debate.

No one would have supposed, on reading that debate, that amongst the twenty-nine clergymen thus quietly set aside, as

persons with whose existence the Church and nation could so easily dispense, are to be found the first Greek scholar in Britain, if not in Europe; the only two really able ecclesiastical historians in our Church (one of the two also a poet of no slight merit as well as an historian); the greatest mathematician of Cambridge; two of the most eminent geologists of this or any other country; while there are at least a dozen of others in the number, who, by their writings or their preaching, their efforts in the cause of education among rich and poor, or their laborious care of parishes in their earlier years, have won their way deservedly to the leisure and dignity to which the favour of their Sovereign has promoted them. We doubt much, whether any other twenty-nine appointments in the Church of England, taken at random, will be found to be so well filled as the twenty-nine deaneries.

We are, therefore, justified in concluding, that the leaders of the assault selected this office for attack as being the strongest point in the intrenched camp of the cathedral army, thinking that when they had carried this point by storm, no head could be made against them elsewhere. Doubtless Mr. Hume and Mr. Horsman saw at a glance, that if they could get the whole world to acknowledge, on the safe authority of Lord Blandford, that there was no possible use of a learned clergyman, selected by the Prime Minister out of the whole body of the clergy, residing for eight months of each year in his cathedral town, making the cathedral close his home, and therefore necessarily the centre of his charities and his activity, *à fortiori*, there must be a universal agreement that canons were worse than useless: for canons certainly are usually selected from a much narrower circle than deans; under the present system, they reside each year only for three months, during which they are kept at a distance from important duties calling for their presence elsewhere; and they can do no real work in the cathedral town while they are in residence, from knowing that any business they may undertake is so soon to be interrupted by nine long months of absence. Doubtless some of the new allies had made a careful note of the following passage from Mr. Sidney Herbert's\* Letter to the Dean of Salisbury (p. 35.), and were ready to produce it the moment deans were disposed of, in order to show that the uselessness of deans implies the more than uselessness of canons.

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\* Proposals for the better Application of Cathedral Institutions to their intended Uses, in a Letter to the Very Rev. the Dean of Salisbury. By the Right. Hon. Sidney Herbert. (For private circulation.) 1849.

'Zealous and active parish priests,' says Mr. Sidney Herbert, 'promoted to a canonry, come up to their residences' (in the cathedral close) 'only too anxious to devote their three months' leisure to some good work or another, and find all their efforts rejected. They find that they can only interfere with, not discharge, any man's business. At the end of three months' residence they must withdraw from whatever they have undertaken. By the time they have learned their business they must give it up; by the time some one else has forgotten his, he must recommence it. Their assistance, not being permanent or continuous, is valueless; and, with every disposition to work, the members of the chapters are forced into a state of unsettled idleness. They saunter about their cathedral closes, a spectacle which delights the eyes of every enemy to the Church, and affords a point and an epigram for every attack on her discipline.'

There can indeed be little doubt that, in sound logic, the abolition of deans implies the abolition of canons also. The strength of the argument, as we have now stated it, depends, it is true, on the fact that canons, according to the present system, reside at their cathedrals only for three months of the year, while deans reside eight. And Lord Blandford certainly intended to save some few canons, by forbidding them to be non-resident. But, if the canons were thus to escape the argument *à fortiori*, that *à pari* was still fatal to them. If a resident dean must be useless, how could two resident canons be useful? Doubtless if Lord Blandford's Bill appears in the House again, its several clauses will be made more logically consecutive before it passes into an Act.

Meanwhile, the best friends of the chapters see, and their assailants see also, that, since the Bill has been so favourably entertained by the House, some great change must come; that the time for the maintenance of mere sinecure offices in the Church, such as deaneries and canonries have so long been, has gone by; that cathedral offices must either be all abolished, or all thoroughly reformed, so as to be mere sinecures no longer.

We confess we do not see the wisdom of the main feature in Lord Blandford's Bill—his project for the suppression of deans. If all that was wanted was to raise money for the extension of the Episcopate, we do not see why the deaneries should be especially selected for confiscation.\* Taken at the very worst,

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\* It is right to call attention to the very great sacrifice of Royal patronage made on the occasion of the last retrenchment of the cathedral members and revenues. Considering the paramount im-

the deans are twenty-nine sinecurists, all appointed by the Crown. A very considerable proportion of canons are appointed by the bishops. If cathedral offices, hitherto sinecures, can have some regular duty assigned to them, the Crown is quite capable of selecting proper persons to fill those in its gift. If they are to continue mere sinecures, it may be reasonably doubted whether bishops may be more safely trusted to appoint sinecurists than the Prime Minister. This may be a favourite view with the Episcopal Bench\*: we doubt whether it is in favour with any other class of Her Majesty's subjects. We hope Lord Blandford was not indebted to any of the bishops for suggesting that part of his Bill which abolishes the deans. Some of their lordships are supposed to have no great love or respect for the decanal office. Some of them may even prefer that the officers of the Church should be divided into themselves, on the one hand, seated on a lofty eminence, and on the other a world of poor incumbents and curates who look up to them with awe. One magnate of the bench is reported to have said, when asked, what is the use of deans? that he knew no use for them except to give dinners to the chapter. Another is said to have once expressed to the plain-spoken Vicar of Leeds his conviction that they were of no use at all. The vicar is reported to have answered, that he thought their chief use was to keep bishops in order. We incline to believe that there is some truth in the vicar's view. Besides, the bishops, whether they like it or no, ought not to stand, like the monarchy of Louis Philippe, face to face with a hungry democracy; there ought to be men below them who have some sort

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portance of maintaining the influence of the Crown in the National Church, Crown patronage ought never to be surrendered without an equivalent. Sidney Smith wrote in his Second Letter to Archdeacon Singleton (*Works*, London: 1851, p. 625.), 'One of the most foolish circumstances attending the destruction of Cathedral property is the great sacrifice of the patronage of the Crown. The Crown gives up eight prebends of Westminster; two at Worcester; 1500*l.* per annum at St. Paul's; two prebends at Bristol, and a great deal of other preferment all over the kingdom.' Lord Blandford would now have the Crown give up twenty-nine deaneries at a blow, in the hope of being able occasionally to found a new bishopric.

\* It is curious to observe how long the names of episcopal families remain connected with some cathedrals. An old lady at Lincoln, of the name of Reynolds, descendant of the bishop, used to boast that it had taken a hundred years to get the Reynoldses out of the church of Lincoln. It is too soon to predict when the lease to the Pretymans may be likely to expire.



of claim to be looked upon as their equals. In the gradation of ranks is the best defence of monarchy. Lord Blandford, we are sure, would have done better service to the Church and nation, if he had proposed not to abolish deans; but while he retained them with their present very moderate emoluments and dignity, to assign them some definite and important duties as heads of the cathedral bodies.\*

If the House of Commons and the public agreed with Lord Blandford in the hard thoughts he seemed to entertain of deans, it was because a strong feeling exists against offices supposed to be mere sinecures. It is not as deans, but as deans without duties, that these dignitaries are unpopular. The Bill contemplated that some distinct duties were to be assigned to the two canons, whom Lord Blandford proposed to retain: we do not see why this principle should not have been carried further, and why fitting duties should not be assigned to all the existing cathedral offices. Provided the performance of distinct duties be imposed on them, we believe the Church and nation have need of all the members of the cathedral staff: if they continue mere sinecurists, the opinion has become general, and cannot be resisted, that there is no need of any of them.

The present strong feeling against all sinecures in the Church may be an exaggerated sentiment. There may be a great deal to be said in favour of offices without any very definite duties, affording abundant time for learned leisure; and it may be owing to the existence of such offices in past times that the clergy of the Church of England have been able to do so much both for theological and for general literature. We may doubt, with the inimitable canon of St. Paul's, (reiterating the doubts of Burke) whether the property even of the wealthiest cathedral have not done more good to the nation, even when administered with all the worst evils of the old system, than it could have done had it been the private property of families. We may think that there was much reason in his question, when, in his Second Letter to Archdeacon Singleton, he asked:—

‘What harm does a prebend do in a politico-economical point of view? . . . . A long series of elected clergymen is rather more likely to produce valuable members of the community than a long series of begotten squires. Take, for instance, the Cathedral of Bristol, the whole estates of which are about

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\* It seems partial and unjust, and indicative of a foregone conclusion, that Lord Derby should have thought of issuing a Commission of Inquiry, in which his four bishops and three canons were not counterbalanced by the presence even of a single dean.

‘ equal to keeping a pack of fox-hounds. If this had been in  
 ‘ the hands of a country gentleman, instead of precentor, suc-  
 ‘ centor, dean and canons, and sexton, you would have had  
 ‘ huntsman, whipper-in, dog feeders, stoppers of earths; the old  
 ‘ squire full of foolish opinions and fermented liquids, and a  
 ‘ young gentleman of gloves, waistcoats, and pantaloons: and  
 ‘ how many generations might it be before the fortuitous con-  
 ‘ course of noodles could produce such a man as Professor Lee,  
 ‘ one of the prebendaries of Bristol and by far the most eminent  
 ‘ Oriental scholar in Europe? The same argument might be  
 ‘ applied to every cathedral in England. How many hundred  
 ‘ coveys of squires would it take to supply as much knowledge  
 ‘ as is condensed in the heads of Dr. Coplestone or Mr. Tate  
 ‘ of St. Paul’s? ’\*

We may think too that no good answer to this argument is found in pointing to a great number of foolish prebendaries and useless deans: that in preferment, as in nature, there is always great apparent waste, and if you have one really good appointment in six to offices, whether sinecures or laborious, this is almost as many as any system of patronage can secure you, as long as the human nature shared in common both by patrons and presentees is what it is.

But whatever may be the force of the arguments in favour of the old system, the time for urging them has gone by. And, moreover, we candidly confess our own belief, that the argument in favour of mere sinecures in the Church is not good. We believe the offices in question will be more likely to be filled by worthy and able men, if they have some definite duties attached to them. And, if these duties are not too laborious, abundant time will be left for learned leisure. Indeed, a literary man will do his literary work not one whit the less efficiently from having some practical business conjoined with it. At present every right-minded clergyman, residing at his cathedral without any very definite practical duties assigned to his office, considers it a point of conscience to seek such duties for himself; and a good deal of time and energy is usually lost in the search. Probably both his time and his power of working would be economised by some judicious arrangement by which he should know distinctly what it is that is expected of him. But, whether the argument for sinecures be good or bad, it is fairly exploded, *i. e.* hissed off the stage, and the nation will endure no more of them. They are gone in the State, and they will soon disappear in the Church also. Whether Lord Blandford’s Bill of last summer were wise

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\* Sidney Smith’s Works. London: 1851. P. 623.

or foolish, it will be found impossible now not to entertain some of its leading propositions. A thorough reform of cathedrals has become inevitable. The House of Commons is resolved on it; even the late Ministry, the chosen friend of the Church, the bulwark against democracy—by appointing a Commission, indicated its approbation of Lord Blandford's principles; the admirers of things as they are can hardly hope to be successful with such an array of Tories, Whigs and Radicals, high-churchmen, low-churchmen, and nochurchmen, all eager for innovation. The very Queen's speech has pronounced sentence against the present system. Deans and chapters may take breath for a month or two: they can scarcely have a longer breathing time. The alliance of last summer may break up, and Mr. Hume and Lord Blandford be ranged on hostile sides, but the matter has gone too far to be dropped now, and the cathedrals must have a root and branch reform.

Meanwhile, it will be the best policy of those who are alive to the importance of maintaining a learned and dignified clergy in the Church, to be considering what duties may be well assigned to cathedral officers—duties real and important, but not so laborious as to monopolise the time of all of them. The bishops in the present day are far too much occupied with the practical business of their office, to have much time for the quiet pursuit of learning. The parochial clergy are overwhelmed with continual calls of work. It will fare ill with the nation if anything be done to diminish the few quiet places now reserved for learned men: and the defence of truth against Romanism on the one hand and infidelity on the other, cannot with safety be left now-a-days to bishops and parish priests.

Not considering how large a sum of corporate property is at stake, how vast the amount of good, which we believe this property might do to the Church and nation, and the very small quantity of sense or practical acquaintance with the questions in hand, which is usually brought to bear on the discussions which arise on this subject, we confess we look to this promised reform, desirable as it is in itself, with no small degree of apprehension. Every quack has his nostrum by which cathedrals are to be doctored. One man wants more bishops, and must needs pay them out of the confiscated salaries of the deans. Another, impressed with the necessity of removing all temptations of riches from the clergy, would collect the whole cathedral revenues into one fund, and dole it out in parcels of 150*l.* a year to necessitous perpetual curates. Another sees the remedy for all the evils under which England groans in an indefinite multiplication of archdeacons, and supplying them each with a comfortable house,

which he may occasionally inhabit when it suits his convenience, in the cathedral city, and an income of 600*l.* a year. The imagination of another, who is a crack-brained medievalist, is fired with the hopes of reviving a *bonâ fide* monastery in the centre of each diocese. Another would turn each cathedral into a hospital for decayed parish priests. No sooner has a man a pet philanthropic project for which he wants public money, then he turns to the cathedrals as an inexhaustible mine of unappropriated wealth.

Now, this great diversity of opinion as to the best way of reforming cathedrals, and the proper duties to assign to them, suggests several thoughts. Certainly there must be something very wrong in the present system, if no one can tell, either what cathedrals are now doing for the public good, or what they ought to do. They cannot be doing much in this age of ours if no one can say what they are doing — if Mr. Horsman can assert that he has asked Sir Robert Inglis, for eight years, to tell him, and Sir Robert Inglis, even when thus pressed, remains inexorably silent. Again, the great diversity of opinion seems to show that there is no one ideal of all cathedrals which admits a very obvious or easy adaptation to the wants of the present age. And moreover, while reformers are thus at variance one with another, it is difficult to answer those who urge that the country is not quite ripe for legislation on a subject on which opinions are so various. No one seems to have any distinct principles on which to legislate. Perhaps this view of the matter justifies what has been considered a serious fault in the dealings of the Ecclesiastical Commission with the question. The late Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, when they reformed the chapters, did not assign duties to the various members, perhaps for the obvious reason that they did not see distinctly what duties to assign. Therefore they contented themselves with the easier task of taking possession of a portion of their revenues, and left the settlement of their duties to wiser heads.

Meanwhile, the questions involved in such reform as is now demanded, are certainly better understood than they were ten years ago. It has been in the hope of extracting from them some principles which may make legislation safer that we have turned to the several publications, the names of which are prefixed to this Article. Each sets forth some important truths, though in most of them there is much also which we cannot recommend. Mr. Barry's sensible 'Thoughts on the Renovation of Cathedral Institutions,' have been published since the introduction of Lord Blandford's Bill, and therefore bear distinctly

on the particular questions now at issue. We may be doing good service if we try now to sketch out the principles on which we think cathedrals ought to be reformed.

And first of all we will state plainly that we do not think the process of nibbling or paring away the revenues of the cathedrals can be called Reform. The incomes of some cathedral dignitaries were certainly under the old system far too large; but they are so no longer. The deanery of Durham is indeed still to be retained with an income of 3000*l.* a year; the deaneries of St. Paul's and Westminster have 2000*l.*, but these are the great deaneries; the others probably average below 1400*l.* None of them, except two of the Welsh deaneries, can be less than 1000*l.* a year; none except Christ Church more than 2000*l.* Several are simply 1000*l.* Compared with the incomes of other professions this will not be thought too much. A dean, if the office is to be retained at all, ought to have as much to live on as a county court judge. Or, to take an example from their own profession, there is no reason why deans, if they will do as much duty, should not be as liberally paid as Oxford Heads of Houses. Again, no canonry under the present reformed system (unless it be the canonries of Christ Church, Oxford) is above 1000*l.* a year; none in England below 500*l.*; few, we believe, exceed 600*l.* We cannot suppose that any reasonable man will grudge such incomes, provided those who receive them have real and important duties to perform. The great sin of deans and of the whole cathedral race, in the eyes of the public, is that they are sinecurists. As sinecurists they are clamoured against. If they continue mere sinecurists they will be destroyed. But if they have important duties assigned to them, and perform those duties, the public would not grudge them their very moderate emoluments. Mr. Sidney Herbert (Letter to the Dean of Salisbury, p. 16.) fairly expresses the common feeling on this subject in the following passage:—

'The Act of 1840 was drawn by persons who either ignored the fact of there being special duties to be performed by cathedral bodies, or who were quite insensible to their value and importance if performed. They found these bodies in an inert state, and their duties in abeyance. They should either have insisted on the duties being performed, or they should have abolished the office. They did neither. They accepted the non-performance of the duties, recognised and established the neglect, and merely reduced the numbers and the income. But a non-performance of duty is as much overpaid by 500*l.* as by 800*l.* a year.\*'

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\* When a cathedral dignitary under the present system is anxious

The nation in its present mood will not tolerate the enjoyment of any incomes at all by deans and canons, if they appear to do nothing for them. Whereas, if they have an intelligible sphere of action assigned to them, and honestly do what is thus required of them, no one will grudge them what they at present enjoy. It is but reasonable, then, to leave to future deans and canons their present incomes on the condition that they undertake such duties. A *sinccure*, in the legal and technical sense of the word, is simply an ecclesiastical office without cure of souls. It is not, of course, against *sinccures* in this sense that a protest is raised. No one ought to wish that all cathedral offices should have cure of souls attached to them. There are many great duties to be performed in the Church besides those of parish ministers. Some of such duties are best performed in the universities, many others naturally fall to the cathedrals.

The true idea of a cathedral seems to be this—that in the centre of every diocese there ought to be an Ecclesiastical Establishment, intimately connected with the bishop, which shall be at once a model place of worship and a model place of education for the whole diocese, and shall have attached to it a model almshouse for a certain number of aged persons reduced to undeserved poverty, and that the whole institution shall be placed under the superintendence of a body of learned clergy, enjoying sufficient means and sufficient leisure to enable them to follow undisturbed such duties as may make them the bishop's best advisers, and the most potent champions of religion and morality in the neighbourhood.

Other duties were contemplated as very important in a ruder age. When the monasteries suddenly disappeared, the charitable hospitality which they had exercised to rich and poor was sought to be kept alive in their modern representatives. Hence the Cathedral Statutes dwell very forcibly on the duty of hospitality.

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to undertake some regular duty, and seeks to have it attached to his office, he is likely to be met with this objection: It may be well for you to undertake such duties while in health and vigour, but what is to become of them when you are old and infirm? It may be right, in answer to this plea, to call attention to the 43rd Canon of 1603, which insists on the duty of deans and prebendaries to be assiduous in preaching, and provides, that 'in case they shall be sick or lawfully absent, they shall substitute such licensed preachers to supply their turns as by the bishop of the diocese shall be thought meet to preach in cathedral churches.' This seems to recognise the principle, that in case of old age, or other incapacity, deans and canons are bound to find (and of course adequately to remunerate) competent substitutes approved of by the bishop, to perform their duties.

We are by no means disposed to think lightly of this virtue, even when shown towards the rich, if it be exercised as a Christian grace, not made a mere occasion of fostering worldliness and vanity. The common hospitalities of a cathedral close, if they were only carried out in a right Christian spirit, might do much to raise the tone of society in the cathedral town and neighbourhood, and to keep alive good feeling among men of different social positions, and might thus assist in counteracting that heartless exclusiveness, which is the bane of English society. It is miserable to think how often the conventional follies established in cathedral precincts, binding even good men by rules which they have not the courage to break, have countenanced this very worldliness which is so opposed to true Christian hospitality. To exercise even towards the rich that hospitality of which the old statutes speak, is by no means unbecoming in Christian ministers even in our own days, while no grace more becomes them than that truer hospitality which extends its acts of kindness to the poor. A cathedral close, where dean and canons were to act up to the spirit of their statutes, would always be looked to by all the poor who live within sight of the cathedral tower, as a place where, however the heartless and busy world may pass them by, they are sure to find sympathy and friends. There is something very touching in the simplicity of those injunctions by which the Cathedral Statutes urge upon the dean and canons the maintenance of such kindly intercourse with all ranks. There need be no omission of duties like these,—the natural overflowings of kindness, by which the presence of a Christian household makes itself felt amongst its neighbours,—because the attention of the cathedral members is sought to be more distinctly directed, as their great business, to the other offices of their mission.

The purposes for which Henry VIII. endowed the cathedrals of the new foundation on the suppression of the monasteries are thus summed up in his own words:—‘That where ignorance and superstition once reigned the pure worship of God may flourish; that the holy Gospel of Christ may be zealously and piously preached; that, moreover, for the increase of Christian piety, the youth of our kingdom may be trained in sound learning, and the poor may be for ever relieved.’\*

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\* The cathedrals of the new foundation are Canterbury, Durham, and Winchester, having by their original constitution twelve canons each; Ely and Oxford having eight; Worcester, Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Norwich, Peterborough, and Rochester having six: Carlisle four. They are said (see Jebb's Choral Service, p. 74.) to have

In Mr. Jebb's work (pp. 38, 39, 40.) a clear account is given of the original officers of the cathedrals of the old foundation:

1. The Dean at the head.
2. The Precentor, to whom belonged the superintendence of the principal part of the Church Service.
3. The Chancellor (quite a distinct officer from the Chancellor of the Diocese), who was the secretary of the chapter, and had the custody of the library and the superintendence of the schools in connexion with the cathedral. In some instances he is said to have had the superintendence of all the schools in the city. In Exeter Cathedral a lectureship was attached to the chancellor's office, and the importance of such lectureships, when not attached to the chancellorship, was distinctly recognised elsewhere. Divinity lectures were established after the Reformation, at Lichfield and Hereford, to be read on Wednesdays and Fridays by persons chosen by the chapter. The divinity lecture was read daily at St. Paul's\* in Grindal's time, and all members of the Church were required to attend. In the Convocation of 1562, it was recommended that all members of chapters who do not preach should contribute to two preachers, and especially that the chancellor of the church do give the greatest portion, for that dignity is given for that office and end.†
4. The fourth officer was the Treasurer of the Church, who was not, as his name might seem to denote, the bursar of the chapter, but rather the sacrist, having duties assigned to him in the cathedral somewhat similar to those which churchwardens exercise in a parish church.
5. The Archdeacons, though superior in diocesan rank, seem to have held generally in the old cathedrals a place inferior to the officers mentioned above. These five were the chief dignitaries of the old cathedrals. They stood at the head of the whole body of prebendaries, whose number varied in the several English cathedrals of the old foundation from fifty downwards.‡ Of these dignitaries and

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been modelled on St. George's Chapel at Windsor, founded about 200 years before. Recent legislation, as is well known, has reduced the chapters of all the cathedrals, with rare exceptions, to a dean and four canons.

\* See the references to the original authorities in Mr. Jebb's book, pp. 64, 65.

† See as above, p. 41.

‡ 'The superior ministry of the more ancient cathedrals consisted of a dean and a large number of canons, who had the chief charge of the celebration of divine worship. The number of canons varied in different places: in some there were thirty, in others forty and even fifty (St. Paul's, Lincoln, Salisbury).' At the head of these canons stood the five dignitaries. All canons



prebendaries, the residentiaries, who have long been regarded as the sole members of the governing body of each cathedral, seem to have been originally but the delegates.\*

In the constitution of cathedrals on the 'new foundation' the distinct assignment of such duties as were anciently performed by the precentor, chancellor, and treasurer of the old Foundation, were not overlooked. We have a precentor, a schoolmaster, and a sacrist. These offices were, however, assigned, not to the members of the chapter, but to officers of the rank of minor canons. Yet the full performance of the duties was placed under the guardianship of the highest authority. The dean, besides his general superintendence of the whole body, is urged to see that Divine Service be duly celebrated, that sermons be preached, and the young profitably instructed, as well as that alms be distributed to the poor. Both dean and canons are urged to be 'instant in season and out of season' in preaching the Word of God.†

We are not departing, then, from the spirit in which cathedrals, both of the old and of the new foundation, were instituted, when we say, that they ought to be each a model to its diocese, in public worship and preaching, in their instruction of the young, and in their care of the poor. We fear it cannot be maintained, that they have generally come up either to the

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were originally bound to residence. But gradually a system was introduced by which residence devolved on a limited number only, and these residentiaries in time became the governing body. Rev. W. Selwyn on *Cathedral Reform*, part ii. p. 36. See also Jebb, p. 44.

\* See the proofs of this, Jebb, pp. 45, 46. Also Selwyn as above, pp. 45, 46.

† It may be well to point out here the legal difficulties in which the obligation to obey the statutes given by King Henry VIII. to cathedrals of the new foundation is involved. The Act, 6 Anne, c. 21., sets forth, that 'several doubts and questions have arisen and may hereafter arise in relation to the validity and force of the statutes of divers cathedrals and collegiate churches, founded by King Henry VIII. of famous memory,' and proceeds in consequence to enact, that in all such cathedral and collegiate churches, 'such statutes as have been usually received and practised in the government of the same respectively, since the late happy restoration of king Charles II., and to the observance whereof the deans and prebendaries, and other members of the said churches, have used to be sworn at their instalments or admissions, shall be and shall be taken and adjudged to be the statutes of the said churches respectively,' &c. &c. A reference to Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law* will show that this Act leaves it very uncertain what the obligation to obey the original statutes is. The present statutes of Canterbury are of Charles I.'s reign.

intentions of their founders, or to what the Church and nation has a right to expect from them. Things are somewhat improved of late compared with what they were twenty years ago, but there is still very great room for improvement. We have heard of an ardent admirer of the Church of England from America, who had long desired in his own land to be present at the service of one of our magnificent cathedrals, hurrying the very morning after he reached England to be present at the cathedral service. We can imagine such an one, full of the great ideal which he had conceived from what he had heard of the ancient Statutes, approaching with reverence the consecrated ground, surprised when he sees the dreary look of deserted prebendal houses and their smokeless chimneys, which give no signs of daily hospitality, — still thinking himself sure to find the church filled with devout churchmen, but chilled as he enters, even on a Sunday, by the coldness at once of the place, of the scanty congregation, and of the preacher. We can see him coming out disappointed and disheartened, inquiring as he comes out for the cathedral school, which he has pleased himself with supposing to be the centre of a sound Church education to all the diocese, and shocked to find it huddled into some obscure corner with a very few boys, receiving very second-rate instruction from a very inferior schoolmaster. But, ‘at all events,’ he says to himself, ‘these cathedrals, if they have ceased to be any thing else, are places of leisure for learned men;’ and he turns from the desolation in all other quarters to inquire for the chapter library. Despair, however, soon takes entire possession of him, when, after groping his way through ruinous passages, he comes to a dusty closet, where some few hundreds of worm-eaten folios, which look as if they had never been touched since the Reformation, divide with the cobwebs the possession of the rotten shelves.\*

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\* There are some cases in which cathedral libraries are real libraries and of use. The library of Durham is said to be worthy of the place. But we cannot resist giving publicity to what has reached us as having happened in one of the richest and best cared for of the cathedrals within the past year, a cathedral too in which the library is not allowed to be useless. A minor canon is said to have observed that the jackdaws flying over his garden at times carried in their beaks what seemed like rolls of paper. On one occasion he was fortunate enough to have one of these rolls dropped at his feet. He took it up, and was surprised when on examination it proved to be an ancient Anglo-Saxon MS. Inquiry was made as to the favourite haunts of the jackdaws; and it was found that they had obtained undisputed possession of a muniment room, in which sundry old

Such is the picture which very many of our cathedrals would have exhibited a few years ago: such, we fear, is the picture which some of them exhibit even now. Shame to cathedral dignitaries if anywhere such a state of things still lingers. The deadness of a former age has passed away from our parish churches: shame indeed if it still clings to the mouldering walls of these great establishments which ought to be each the model of its diocese; and shame still if all the zeal which has of late shown itself in cathedral bodies has gone no further than stone and lime, and painted windows, and ornaments of woodwork or of architecture, or has extended, at the best, but to improved organs and good singing; — if the real gold of zealous worship and faithful preaching, and careful instruction of the young, and overflowing deeds of charity has been neglected, while all men's zeal has been expended on what, beside these, is but wood, hay, stubble.

It is vain, however, to find fault with evils unless we can point out their remedy. Among members of cathedral bodies have been many of the most earnest ministers of the Church of England. They have often laboured assiduously in other spheres; what is it that has chilled their zeal where it was so much wanted? Many causes have contributed to this evil result. Some of the chief it is well here to note. An attention to the following points must form part of any effectual reform.

1. In the first place, corporations are very difficult to move. In all boards there is a wonderful *vis inertiae*. Any one member of a board is almost omnipotent for obstruction; if there be several zealous members who wish for change, the chances are that they will not quite agree in what they want; and the dead weight of the indolent, thrown into the scale alternately of each who wishes to restrain the particular movement advocated by another, will be able to prevent all movement whatever. Reading the Cathedral Statutes, one would suppose that deans were omnipotent: looking at the working of the statutes, as hemmed in and modified on every side by the law of the land, we shall find the dean, like his brethren of the chapter, powerless for movement, and only powerful to retard. No reform of the cathedrals will be effectual which does not transfer much of

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MSS. were preserved, and had got into the expensive habit of using these MSS. to line their nests. The Greek monks mentioned by Mr. Curzon were wiser than the canons of this cathedral, for they employed their MSS. for their own convenience and did not give them to the jackdaws, but used them instead of hassocks to defend their feet and knees from the damp stones.

responsibility from the corporation in chapter assembled to individuals, and give to each zealous dean and canon a distinct sphere in which he is free to act.

2. Again, it is a melancholy but certain truth, that great improvements cannot be effected without a liberal command of funds; and no scheme could be more unfavourable to public improvements than that so commonly adopted in cathedrals, by which it is made the pecuniary interest of every individual of the body to resist improvement. There can be no worse scheme of management than that by which the dean and canons are constituted the residuary legatees of the cathedral exchequer; so that whatever is not spent on public purposes goes, directly or indirectly, to augment their private incomes. We grant freely that great sums have been spent most liberally on public purposes by deans and chapters, in spite of this premium on illiberality. The dean and canons of Canterbury, *e. g.*, are said to have spent, within the last twenty years, on the restoration of their cathedral, upwards of 70,000*l.*, which they might, without any one being entitled legally to censure them, have divided among themselves. But it will not do to legislate as if men were perfect. It is impossible to suppose that, in a mixed body, where there is often diversity of opinion as to the propriety of adopting some proposed change, the scale will not often be turned in favour of inactivity by the knowledge that to be active will diminish the year's dividend. No reform of the cathedrals, then, will be of much real use which does not insist upon a marked distinction being established between the private income of the dean and canons and the money they are to spend on public purposes. Each cathedral must be bound to have a public fund, of which the chapter act, indeed, as the trustees, but in the residuum of which they have no personal interest. Ample funds must be reserved for schools, libraries, and repairs of the fabric, as well as for all purposes of charity of which the statutes speak.

3. The question next arises, Whence are these ample funds to be derived? In many cathedrals, according to the system on which the property is at present managed, there is only a bare remainder for public purposes, after the moderate incomes, secured by Act of Parliament to the dean and canons, have been paid. In the charges brought by Mr. Whiston against the several chapters, while he calls indignantly for a division of all the funds among the inferior officers of the cathedrals as well as the dean and canons, according to the improved value of money, the scantiness of the aggregate revenues, and their inadequacy, under such a change as he proposes, to meet the very reasonable requirements of the Act 3 & 4 Vict. c. 13., is over-

looked. The property of the cathedrals must be managed so as to produce a larger aggregate income, if it is, in the present state of society, to supply sufficient funds for all the great purposes contemplated by the founders.

Happily an Act was passed in 1851 which makes this better management now possible. The condition and tenure of cathedral property may now be entirely changed by the joint consent of the chapter, the lessees, and the Church Estates' Commissioners. This Act is in process of being made very extensively effective; and the result of the full working of the Act would be to realise large sums applicable to the wants of the Church. Let us suppose, for example, a cathedral of which the whole annual income, under the present system of management, is 8000*l*. After due regard has been had to the rights and reasonable expectations of lessees, according to the recommendations of the House of Lords' Committee on the subject, the full working of the Bill would probably raise the annual income derivable from the property of such cathedral by the church to 16,000*l*. As the Church Estates' Commissioners at present understand their duty, the 8000*l*. a-year thus gained would all be applied to the general fund of the Ecclesiastical Commission: but we can hardly think that, when a real Cathedral Reform is taken in hand, such an arrangement will be continued. Whoever undertakes to reform cathedrals ought to insist that the first application of this surplus of cathedral property be to further those objects for which the founders gave their estates, which objects are quite as important now, and quite as much called for, as they were when the cathedrals were founded. The first lien on the property ought certainly to be the adequate maintenance, not only of the church services and fabrics, but also of the schools and almsmen, according to the founder's wish. When all such parts of the institution are liberally cared for and improved, there will still be a considerable surplus for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to appropriate.

4. When ample public funds are thus secured, many great and useful changes may at once be introduced, which, without such funds, seem impossible. The first purpose of a cathedral doubtless is, to be a great place of worship. Now, by all means let choral services and all the adjuncts of a splendid worship have their full sway; but let no one suppose, when these have been all arranged with consummate art, that a real devout worship, acceptable to God, has been secured. Without something deeper than these, the noblest cathedral service will be but theatrical display. For our own parts, we are decidedly of opinion that public worship must always be somewhat cold,

unless the sympathy of some permanent connexion be established between those who minister and the people. We should protest loudly against any scheme to make cathedrals mere parish churches; but we are firmly convinced that, without some parochial bond, uniting the cathedral congregation and those who minister in it, cathedrals never can be real places of devout, hearty worship. So long as a cathedral congregation consists mainly of stray officers from the neighbouring garrison, and strangers who are passing a vacant Sunday at the principal inn, and the few musical amateurs of the town, whom probably none of the cathedral body except the organist know even to speak to, and a few old ladies, whose families have once had some official connexion with the close, added to a body of unruly school children, who are brought to the cathedral only because it is difficult to find room for them in any other church—and so long as all these fortuitously assembled worshippers have no personal religious intercourse with any of the clergy who officiate, we cannot have in our cathedrals such real, hearty worship as we find in a parish church. Let there be some one of the cathedral dignitaries who stands to a portion of the cathedral town in the relation of its pastor. Let the inhabitants of this district look to the cathedral as their especial church. By a little arrangement there will be room enough within its ample walls for the whole congregation of such habitual worshippers, as well as for the present fluctuating body.\* Let the inhabitants of this district know that they have a right to send for the dignitary we have spoken of, in order to cheer them in sickness, to baptize their children, to minister at their dying beds. Let this pastor-canon (call him by the old title of Precentor, from his connexion with the public worship, or by what name you please,) be, in fact, responsible for the cure of the souls of a large portion of those whose devotions it is his part to lead. Let him in this work have one of the minor canons as his curate. Let him preach to his people habitually, though assisted, according to some fixed cycle, by his brethren of the chapter. Let him, in fact, have the same interest and responsibility in the cathedral congregation which he would have elsewhere in a parish, and we shall soon have a change. It is an incidental advantage that such an arrangement, by attaching a district to the cathedral, will, in many cases, relieve the overburdened parochial ministers of a thickly-peopled town. The point now to be in-

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\* The various parts of the cathedral might surely be made of more use than at present. In the buildings attached to some of our greater cathedrals there is space enough to hold many thousands.

sisted on is, that, with such an arrangement, the cathedral may soon become what it ought to be — the model place of worship for the diocese. If this plan be adopted, both the pastor and his curate must, of course, be fairly remunerated for their laborious duties out of the cathedral funds.\*

5. Let the cathedral school be thoroughly cared for and extended. Let one of the canons (call him by the ancient name of Chancellor, or by what name you please,) become responsible for its proper management.

We owe thanks to Mr. Whiston for drawing attention to the very important place which the school occupied in the original constitution of the cathedrals of the new foundation. There are charges mixed up with his wide argument, to which his own experience as a governing member of an ancient corporation — a Senior Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, — must now tell him other establishments of the same antiquity are as much exposed as deans and chapters. Fellows of colleges, as our Article on University Reform last July† intimated, are certainly in the condition of persons living in glass-houses, when they throw stones at deans and canons because they augment their statutable salaries by the contrivance of a dividend. But still it is well that Mr. Whiston has drawn so much attention to the cathedral schools. The condition and improvement of these schools must be fully considered in any good reform. They must be all supplied with proper buildings, with proper salaries for their masters, and proper exhibitions to deserving boys.

There are few more pressing wants in this day than that of

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\* Connected with the present too common deadness of cathedral worship are many important questions of liturgical reform, into which we forbear to enter. We would only notice the beneficial effects which seem to have followed from the division of the present accumulated services of the Prayer Book, and their restoration to their ancient proportions as sanctioned by the Bishop of Worcester in Birmingham. We would also ask how it is that in colleges and cathedrals those very unsatisfactory state services for the 5th of November, King Charles the Martyr, &c. are still upheld, when the universal voice of all intelligent members of the Church of England unhesitatingly condemns them. The Cathedral Commission would do well to call the attention of Parliament to the fact, that it is by State authority that the services are maintained, and that an abrogation of them by Parliament would be welcomed as a deliverance by the Church.

† See Oxford University Commissioners' Report. — The account of the Colleges, *passim*. See also the remarks in the Cambridge University Commissioners' Report, p. 48., on the 40*l.* paid to the Regius Professors by Trinity College.

good schools for the middle class. Every cathedral ought to have such a school, thoroughly efficient and a model for the diocese. With this ought to be combined a training school for teachers, with its practising schools of children, extending education from the middle classes to the poor. These need in no way interfere with the full efficiency of the ancient classical grammar-school for the children of the upper classes. It is an extension, not any fundamental alteration, of the ancient cathedral grammar-schools, that is required. All these departments may well be worked harmoniously together under the same general superintendence. Each chorister might then be made sure of a good education, suited to his particular capacity, in the arrangements of these several schools; and an easy access might be opened for the promising children of the poorest to rise in life as high as their talents and industry entitle them. The cathedral schools might thus be the means of affording a continual supply of promising youths from the lower and middle classes to recruit the learned professions; and the cathedrals would thus justly become endeared to ranks from which they are now too much estranged. That most amiable man, as well as charming artist, the late Sir Augustus Calcott, retained through life a deep sense of the injustice done to choristers in cathedrals, the body to which in Westminster he once belonged.

And what more appropriate employment for a learned clergyman than to watch over such schools? The drudgery of daily teaching would devolve on others. Let the schoolmasters be the lieutenants to the canon who presides over education as his minor canon curate is to the pastor canon. The labours of such superintendence need not be more oppressive than those of an active Head of a House in the university, and may certainly leave ample leisure for a learned life.

6. Pastoral superintendence and general education thus provided for by two of the canons, there remain sufficient occupations for their brethren. We grant the full force of all that has lately been urged against a great multiplication of clerical colleges, where the young clergy of each diocese are to receive a distinctly professional education.\* We see the danger which may arise lest the Church be split up by such institutions into narrow cliques. It requires a very superior man indeed to gain possession of a great university, and lead all the rising generation of academics in his own track. There is always a free circu-

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\* See, *e. g.*, Mr. Barry's 'Thoughts on the Renovation of Cathedral Institutions,' p. 20. Cf. our own Article on the Report of the Oxford University Commission in July, p. 276.



lation of opinions in a great university — one able man is met by another who is his match. But it will not require a prodigy either of learning, or ability, or zeal, to become the pope of a cathedral close. Again, an exclusively professional education for clergymen is rightly considered to be the worst education they can receive. The Church and nation may well exclaim, Save us from a clergy educated by common-place teachers in a small priestly seminary! But still, granting and strongly maintaining the full force of such objections, we admit that places of distinctly professional training for the clergy will be wanted here and there. Young men who have received a good education elsewhere may often, with great benefit, spend a year before ordination under the tuition of some able divine or experienced parish minister at a distance from the temptations or interests of old scenes, and in an atmosphere less exclusively intellectual than that which prevails amongst the ablest students at a university. A cathedral town obviously affords a convenient site for such pastoral training. When such a college is instituted, let no one be admitted to it who does not give satisfactory proof that he has previously completed a good general education; and let the college be placed under the direct superintendence of the dean, who, being a great officer of the Church, appointed by the Prime Minister, may be supposed generally to be a person of some eminence, and will, on the whole, be less likely than any other, to represent the views of any narrow sect. In some cases, let one of the canons, if it is thought desirable, assist the dean in the instruction of such candidates for ordination, being appointed to the ancient cathedral office of theological lecturer. And under the safeguards we have indicated, we grant the establishment here and there of such colleges may be of great use.

7. The dean then would in some few cathedrals have regular duties as the head of such a pastoral college. In some others, where there is to be no pastoral college, it may be thought right that, instead of one of the canons, the dean himself, properly assisted, should undertake the direct superintendence of the Department of General Education. Nor will very important duties fail to devolve on him elsewhere. To him, in each cathedral will necessarily belong the whole superintendence of all parts of the complicated machine. He ought to have distinct functions assigned to him in preaching and lecturing. It would be well also that he should have some diocesan authority, and he might thus afford valuable assistance to the bishop. It is notorious how much the time of an active bishop is engrossed by matters which might as well be arranged by others. There is no reason why some portion of such duties should not be vested

in the dean. From the wants of the diocese, of the cathedral town, and the institution of which he is head, regular employment ought to be assigned to the dean, such as becomes his place, and still leaves him time for studious pursuits.\*

8. Mr. Selwyn writes (Part II. p. 52.):—

‘In the city where the Bishop holds his residence, the religion of our Lord and the ministrations of his Church should be manifested in their full vigour. The cathedral city should be “a city set upon an hill,” a centre of godliness, of light and learning, diffusing its beams on all the surrounding neighbourhood. I need not take any pains to prove that this description is in many cases far from a true picture of the present state of our cathedral cities. In many of them, the population has been suffered silently to outgrow the ministrations of the Church . . . A large portion of the inhabitants have grown up and are content to live without any religion at all, presenting the strange and awful spectacle of a heathen people in a Christian land. That such a state of things should exist in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bishop and his cathedral clergy is an anomaly productive of the worst consequences. That a large religious establishment with many members should be so powerless, or, to speak more gently, so weakly effective, for the spiritual welfare of those who dwell under its shade, is a most glaring offence both to the friends and enemies of the Church . . . . We cannot wonder, that where our religion is seen under such an aspect of weakness and inefficiency, many are led to doubt and to dis-

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\* Cranmer and Burnet (*Hist. of Reformation*, A.D. 1540) regretted that further advantage had not been taken of the foundation of the new bishoprics. Cranmer’s ‘Design was quite disappointed. For he had projected, that in every cathedral there should be provision made for Readers of Divinity and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of students to be exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in study and devotion; whom the bishop might transplant out of this nursery into all parts of his diocese; and thus every bishop should have had a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit; he saw great disorders among some prebendaries, and in a long letter—the original of which I have seen—he expressed his regret that these endowments went in such a channel. Yet now his power was not great at Court, and the other party ran down all his motions. But those who observed things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of prebendaries and of young clerks, bred up about cathedrals under the bishop’s eye, and the conduct and direction of the dean and prebendaries, had been one of the greatest blessings that could have befallen the Church, which, not being sufficiently provided of houses for the forming of the minds and manners of those who are to be received into Orders, has since felt the ill-effects of it very sensibly.’ (Vol. i. part. i. p. 602. ed. Oxford, 1829.) What a satire is this last sentence on our universities and their ecclesiastical pretensions!

believe its divine power.' And 'again,' Mr. Selwyn asks, p. 54., 'how can we (the members of the chapter) devote ourselves in peace of mind to prayer and study,—to thoughts and counsels for the general welfare of the Church, when we know that close at home, almost at our doors, the sick and dying are in need of our ministrations, the parochial ministry not being competent to the cure of one half the souls who are nominally committed to them?'

Till this evil is remedied, the cathedrals must be despised. A partial remedy will be found in the proposal made above to annex a district to each cathedral. It may be found desirable also, in some cathedral towns, to attach another stall to the incumbency of some poorly endowed city parish. This, however, ought to be done very sparingly. The superfluity of the improved cathedral property under the Act of 1851 will afford a much more suitable means for increasing the value of such incumbencies than can be found in the annexation of stalls. And here we would urge very strongly the claim of justice which such incumbencies in the gift of the cathedral bodies may advance to be considered first, before the funds derived from the improved cathedral property are scattered over the whole kingdom. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have acted wisely in pledging themselves, when tithes fall into their hands, to consider, before all other claims, the wants of the parishes from which the tithes arise. They will act still more wisely, and greatly conciliate good feeling towards the cathedrals, if they bind themselves in all cases, not of tithes only, but of other property also, to consider the wants of parishes in the cathedral towns and otherwise connected with the cathedrals, before they appropriate the surplus of the cathedral revenues to their general fund.\*

9. It will be most proper that, where stalls in any cathedral are in the gift of the bishop, one or two of them should be appropriated to archdeacons. The Crown indeed ought never to be called upon to surrender any of its stalls into the Bishops' hands without an equivalent. But arrangements for such an exchange of patronage between the Crown and the Bishops might easily be made, if the scheme much talked of lately be carried into effect, for a re-adjustment of all episcopal patronage by a general agreement among the members of the Bench. It will

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\* It ought to be generally known that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners annually distribute above 70,000*l.* in salaries to the incumbents of small livings. The Commission has so often of late been represented as a mere machine for building bishops' palaces, that this fact ought not to be overlooked.

be very right that the archdeacon should generally be a member of the chapter. There seems, however, no reason for his being a residentiary. In some respects he will better fulfil his duty if he has a parish in the country, and there resides. Unless, therefore, he be pastor of the cathedral district, or superintendent of the cathedral education, or divinity lecturer, we do not see why the rule of habitual residence, which ought to bind the canons generally, need apply to him. And as he will thus hold a living on which he is resident, he certainly ought not to receive from the chapter property equal payment with those canons who reside at the cathedral, and there work. He may well receive from his canonry 500*l.* a year, simply and directly as his archidiaconal salary, the present salaries of most archdeacons being far too small. The other canons who reside ought to have higher payments as the salary of their respective offices, since the nature of the duties proposed to be assigned to them, and their habitual residence at the cathedral, will preclude other sources of income. The duties of his office ought not to occupy the whole of an archdeacon's time; and it is more important for the right discharge of these duties, that he should keep up his practical acquaintance with parochial matters than that he should follow a learned life. By all means, then, let the archdeacon usually have care of a parish, and in it let him reside.

We have thus seen already that ample occupation may be found for all the members of each chapter, according to the particular circumstances of their several cathedrals, by annexing a district with cure of souls to each cathedral church; by requiring grammar-school, training school, middle school, and schools for the poor to be thoroughly organised in connexion with each cathedral, and superintended; by establishing in some few cases a College of Pastoral Theology; by occasionally annexing a city living to a stall, and by making the archdeacon a member of the chapter. In most cathedrals, it will be remembered, there are only a dean and four canons, among whom all these various duties have to be apportioned according to the particular wants of each cathedral town.

10. It is taken for granted that the rule of residence which now binds the deans, will apply in future to all canons who have duties assigned them in the cathedral. Others who have duties elsewhere, as archdeacons, or heads of colleges, or professors at Oxford or Cambridge\*, as we have already hinted, had

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\* We cannot but think it strange that the Greek Professorship at Cambridge should so recently have had a stall at Ely attached to it, and that thus all laymen are excluded from holding the post.

better be entirely released from the necessity of residence at the cathedral. Let them receive a portion of the cathedral dividend simply as their pay for duties elsewhere performed. Their houses, not wanted any longer for residence, will be of great use for some of the various educational or other purposes, which a thorough cathedral reform must promote. Let them take their turns in preaching, if this is thought desirable, in order to keep up their connexion with the cathedral; but otherwise, unless they are to work in it, let them not reside. They will only bring discredit on the whole body by continuing any particle of the old system of selecting the cathedral close as the place in which to pass their idle months. Henceforward let the rule be, that those canons who have distinct work assigned them in the cathedral, shall be habitually resident as the deans are at present; and that none shall be required to be resident but those who have such work. The habitually resident canons with the dean and minor canons will be amply sufficient to provide for the daily worship.

11. But if the working canons are thus to be resident like the deans, their salaries must be made sufficient to maintain a clergyman holding an important station without any other professional source of income. This may be done in part, as we have seen, by paying smaller salaries to the archdeacon canons, and other members of the chapter, whose work is at a distance, and a part of whose emolument is derived from some other source. Thus a portion of the corporate income may be set aside to increase the payments made to those who make the cathedral their home and their place of work. Lord Blandford, in his Bill (s. 39.), wisely assigned to his canons residentiary an annual income of 700*l*. The under-masters of a great public school usually receive not less than 1500*l* a-year. But these men, it may be said, have very laborious and incessant work. The unmarried tutors of Oxford, from fellowship and tutorship, receive some 500*l*. or 600*l*. a-year; those of Cambridge much more. Canons, usually married men, who are to give all their time to their cathedral, and who ought to look upon their work in connexion with it as the business of their lives, should not be placed in a position in which they will have to struggle with continual pecuniary embarrassments. It is not the manner of Englishmen to expect work to be done and to refuse to pay for it.

12. The common belief is, that at present a cathedral sermon is often—we might say generally—a very dull one. Arrangements ought to be made (the Bishops have it in their power to make them at once by the appointment of honorary canons,

preachers and the like) for enlisting the best preachers in the diocese in the service of the cathedral. In large towns there ought to be three sermons in the cathedral every Sunday. The pastor canon, assisted by his minor-canon curate, would preach habitually once in the day to his own people. The other residentiaries, including the dean, would preach according to a cycle, as at present; but to this established body the Bishops may at once add a large infusion of new blood from the whole diocese. Strange to say, at the very time when men began to think that books had superseded oral teaching, the desire of hearing sermons, as of lectures in matters of secular learning, has become greater than ever. Public speaking has become the most effectual engine of influencing men for good. To these sermons might well be added, on week-days, lectures as in old times, to strengthen men's minds in the great struggle likely soon to arise between Christianity and Infidelity. These the dean, canons, and others appointed by the bishop, would deliver.

13. With regard to minor canons, we find in Mr. Jebb's work the following indignant protest (p. 112.): —

'As the offices are no longer to be regarded as in any way diaconal as preparative to higher places in the Church . . . they (the minor canons) are permitted to struggle with all the hardships of married poverty; or, if they do obtain a competence, it is found in the accumulation of duties, which are in their nature incompatible. Indeed (for the truth must be spoken, and it is spoken with an indignant conviction of the fact) the vicars choral (minor canons) are looked upon as the drudges of the chapter, as an order of men inferior in caste, though really their equals in ecclesiastical order; for they are priests as much as the prebendaries, and are frequently their superiors in years, learning, piety, and accomplishments. The very offices they hold, so honourable and holy in themselves, subject them to be treated with a slight which ought not to be shown to the humblest door-keepers of God's house. Of course to this statement there are exceptions; but I appeal to general experience whether it is not just: and I further appeal to the charity of the English Church, whether such unchristian contumely, such meanness of secular pride, ought not to be put to open shame.'

We trust that this statement was somewhat of an exaggeration, even when it was written; and we trust that a better feeling has been at work since. But still there is no denying that the position of minor canons is a somewhat anomalous one. Recent legislation has secured them a salary of 150*l.* a-year at least. But 150*l.* a-year is small pay. We believe that its due position will best be secured to the office by regarding it, as much as possible, as a curacy; and adding to its present duties in the choir others in the cathedral district or in the several

educational institutions enumerated above. A curate is not supposed to be ill-treated by his rector if he receives 100*l.* a-year. But a curate is usually a young man, learning his profession, looking forward to a higher sphere. It will be well that a minor canonry also be regarded as but a temporary office for a young man. Recent legislation secures for minor canons, after they have served for a certain number of years, some claim on cathedral livings. This principle might well be carried further. Under a reformed cathedral system minor canons might have far better opportunities than in an ordinary curacy to prepare themselves for the duties of a higher sphere. They ought always, if possible, to have rooms within the cathedral precincts.

14. It is not necessary to speak further of the schoolmaster of the grammar-school, whose emoluments, we have already intimated, ought to be increased, and whose position would rise with the rising importance of the school.

15. With regard to the cathedral library. We have already spoken of the necessity for appropriating a sufficient fund to the purchase of books, in order that each cathedral may soon become possessed of a good collection. It is enough here to extract the following passage from Mr. Barry (p. 18.): —

‘Regulations should be made allowing the free use of books to the clergy and perhaps to the laity of the diocese. The formation of such libraries in every cathedral town would be a great boon to the clergy. None but men of large means can afford to buy all the books useful if not necessary to be read. Many an active mind has grown torpid from the want of the occasional use of works of information or reference. Access to a library is one great difference between living in London or at the Universities, and residing in the country.’

We may add, that a catalogue of each cathedral library should be printed and circulated.

16. Of the lay clerks, choristers, and almoners, we would say a few words. The choristers are, we hope, now, in general, properly educated. It ought to be the especial business of the dean, or of one of the canons, to see that they are well taught, and that they receive such advice and guidance as the peculiar temptations of their enforced attendance on Divine Service make very requisite. It would be well if they could always be boarded under due superintendence within the precincts. They might well be boarders in the training school.

The singing-men are now usually well paid. In well regulated cathedrals they are not allowed to eke out their salaries by frequenting balls and concerts. They are usually teachers of music, or follow some useful trade. Under a reformed system,

it would be well if they could be always persons among whom the pastor-canon might find his Scripture-readers and Sunday-school teachers, and the agents of his charities in the town.

The almsmen ought, according to the intention of the founder, always to receive what is enough to be of real use to them, instead of the yearly dole of shillings which, in many cases, has remained unchanged amid all the changes in the value of money for centuries. A body of almsmen may be held in abhorrence by political economists; but, good as political economy is, there are exceptions to its rules. We do not think that the sternest political economist could grudge a maintenance to King Henry the Eighth's poor bedesmen — 'men borne down by poverty, or overwhelmed by want, broken down and mutilated in the wars, or worn out by old age, or otherwise debilitated and reduced to want and misery; whose duty it shall be, as far as their infirmities allow, to be present daily in church at the time of Divine Service,' and to help in lighting and putting out the lamps, ringing the bells, and doing other useful duties connected with the Church. There is a touching respect shown to these old men in the founders' institution. It would be well that they should always have houses found for them near the cathedral. Their presence, with that of the children of the choir and school, makes the whole cathedral establishment, as described in the Statutes, resemble a large Christian family, with its head and members, including children servants, and its old dependents.

Truly, it is no romance or excited sentiment which makes us pronounce that our cathedrals might be a great blessing — a living protest for Christianity in its most comprehensive form, in each of our cathedral towns.

17. We subjoin one further extract from Mr. Barry (p. 16.):—

'Every cathedral in the kingdom should be as accessible to the public as the British Museum or the National Gallery.\* The poorest person, free of any charge whatever, should be permitted to inspect and admire every part of the building. Whatever there may be of elevation and solemnity in the internal architecture of these noble structures ought to be the common privilege of all. A national Church should throw open the doors of its cathedrals to the nation at large. The public will defend and appreciate what they enjoy

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\* It is well to remark here that there ought to be some central control for the preservation of the monuments and other antiquities in cathedrals. The fabrics will probably never again be allowed to go to ruin: public opinion may secure this, but there is absolutely no guarantee for the preservation of the smaller historical or archaeological curiosities with which our cathedrals abound.



freely and as a matter of right. The more frequent the visit of a stranger or the influx of the neighbourhood, the more necessary such liberality become. It is not surely too much to require that the servants of the Church should be entirely supported from the funds of the establishment, and not also, by the fees of casual visitors. It is not unreasonable to expect from them the civility of a railway porter, or of the attendants of the British Museum. The very reverse of this liberality and civility has generally been the case. It would not be easy to calculate the damage done to the Church in the opinion of the masses by the long-delayed and incomplete opening of St. Paul's, and by the frequent rudeness of vergers generally. These may appear small things, but they are important, as they give the Church itself a repulsive instead of an inviting aspect. They are not so much the fault of persons as the system itself. The harmless loitering on Sunday and the stolen glance are regarded by the attendants as so much deducted from their means of livelihood. There is some tendency to improvement in this respect, but it proceeds but slowly, and only in few places. Any effectual change must be imperative and universal. Cathedrals, like other public places, should be thrown open by Act of Parliament.

18. A very serious point remains. Much of what is said in the Report of the Oxford University Commission\* against oaths of obedience to college statutes applies with full force to the oaths taken in cathedrals. These oaths are solemn promises of obedience to rules, many of which are completely obsolete and of such a nature that it would be highly inexpedient to revive them, while the binding force of the whole code of the Founders' Statutes has been greatly modified by changed circumstances in the course of centuries, or by the injunctions of some conflicting authority, and many provisions are now even distinctly contrary to the law of the land. A cathedral dignitary, who considers the matter seriously, will probably say, that his oath to obey the Founders' Statutes means, that he binds himself to obey them so far as they have not been modified by direct Act of Parliament†, by the canons of the church, or by allowed and notorious practice—a practice which has long suffered many rules to go into such complete desuetude that it is now out of the power of the cathedral body to revive them without contravening the authoritative decisions of judges, or even Acts of Parliament passed on the tacit supposition that such rules had altogether ceased to be binding. Thus he who has taken the oath has great difficulty in saying whether it is to the letter or the spirit, or both or neither, that he considers himself bound. Meanwhile the words of the oath remain unaltered, simply

\* Pp. 146, 147.

† Cf. here note, p. 164. above.

promising obedience to the statutes as they stand written in the book. This is a great evil. Surely, as these many important limitations on the promise of obedience to the cathedral statutes are certainly implied in the oath, the oath ought either to be simply abolished or the limitations openly and distinctly expressed. The Church and Religion must suffer by the State maintaining in sacred places a system so likely to give reasonable scandal and so difficult satisfactorily to explain.

These then are the principal heads of alteration in the present system of our cathedrals, to which we think a wise reform ought to have respect. There are two warnings which ought to be given to the Commission and the Legislature as to the mode of effecting such reforms.

1. It will never do to leave the settlement of such reforms as we have pointed out to the several corporations to arrange for themselves. From some unfortunate idiosyncrasy, corporations are powerless for self-reform. Legislation for cathedrals has hitherto been confined too much to legislation on the subject of their revenues. There must now be definite legislation on their duties. We do not pretend to say how this may best be effected. The House of Commons is certainly not very well qualified for a patient and calm investigation of the various questions which such a reform implies. But Parliament must, of course, determine whether great changes are required, and must settle what is the best mode in which a new scheme for the regulation of cathedrals is to be put in force. There must be a definitive settlement now by some authority from without as to what the duties are which each cathedral is henceforward to perform. We trust the Commission which Lord Derby issued will do its work faithfully, and present to the nation a well-considered scheme for regulating duties as well as revenues.

2. It would be most unwise to insist that, in the reform now contemplated, all cathedrals should be squared alike. Each will be found on calm inquiry to have its own peculiar duties according to the circumstances of the town and diocese in which it is placed. A calm and wise consideration of all these peculiar circumstances will be required before we can legislate aright. St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey are in the centre of the teeming capital. Their business is obvious: by preaching, by schools, by encouraging every good institution, to labour that they may christianise the dense masses of heathenism that darken the approaches to their precincts. Christ Church and Ely are appendages to Oxford and Cambridge. Durham has already struck out for itself its proper sphere as the university of the north. We see not why new universities of the same kind

should not be added, as, for example, at Canterbury, where there is already a Missionary College. Wells has already gained some reputation for its School of Pastoral Theology. Many cathedrals in quiet country towns, like Lichfield, are simply to be looked upon as the centres of their respective dioceses, while others must have additional busy work, since a hard manufacturing people is springing up around them. A distinct sphere will certainly be found for the activity of each. Each must in its own peculiar way be made a centre of Christian teaching; and all, we trust, will be made places in which we may be sure to find learned men.

That cathedrals ought to be places for learned men will not, we trust, be forgotten in any reform which is attempted. There is a great rage among persons zealous in religion to multiply a hard-worked parochial clergy. This is all well. But we must urge once more, in conclusion, that a parochial clergy without learning will not reform the age.

We must renew our protest;—certainly this age wants quiet places for learned men. It certainly wants in every district what the cathedrals may supply—something to counteract its absorbing, money making, bustling interests. The quiet cultivation of sacred learning may do much to regenerate the age. If it be true that infidelity stalks abroad throughout the land, this evil, we repeat, can never be met, either among rich or poor, by an over-worked parochial clergy. No dislike of sinecures must lead us to forget this. According to the suggestions given above, in each of the twenty-nine cathedrals the dean and one canon, at least, might have ample time secured for learned leisure; and, whatever duties are laid on chapters, this important point ought studiously to be kept in view.

It may be true that those who have held the patronage of stalls hitherto have made many bad appointments, but we trust a better spirit is arising. Our parochial clergy were, a few years ago, as inefficient as our cathedral sinecurists; but they have awakened. Let distinct duties be required of cathedral dignitaries, and they will awaken too. Bishops and Prime Ministers will not dare to appoint persons utterly unfit to perform these duties. If after a fair trial it be found that there is no improvement, experience will seem then to warrant that sentence of annihilation may be pronounced. But we hope better things, and are sanguine enough to look for ages of fresh exertion from what is now certainly the most dead and useless portion of the Church.

- ART. VI.—1. *A Letter to the Marquess of Tweeddale.* By Major-General BRIGGS, Madras Army. 1842.
2. *The War in Affghanistan.* By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE. 2 vols. 1851.
3. *History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde.* By Lieutenant-General Sir WILLIAM NAPIER, K.C.B. 1851.
4. *Remarks on the Affairs of India.* By JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq. 1852.
5. *Report from the Select Committee on our Indian Territories.* 1852.

WE have no intention of criticising the merits, literary or otherwise, of the works which, in their titles, stand at the head of this Article. They are full of interest, every one of them; not more on account of the importance of the subjects to which they refer, than because they are suggestive to such as read them attentively of very grave reflections. Who can doubt that for the last twelve or thirteen years the existence of the British empire in the East has been hanging continually in the balance? Who can flatter himself that the scales have even now subsided into their proper places, and that all danger is past? Had the native powers better understood one another, and the disaffected within our own provinces been more energetic in their councils, the disasters in Affghanistan might have lighted up a blaze from one end of India to another, which we should have found it difficult if not impossible to extinguish. Had Burmah been ready and the Punjab further advanced, the march of Lord Gough upon Gwaliôr would have been the signal for an inburst through Arracan, and across the Sutlej, and so onwards to Delhi and Calcutta. Had the Sikhs been aware that our cavalry were fleeing from the field, how many of the gallant men who stood to their arms amid heaps of dead outside the lines of Ferozeshur would have survived to speak of their escapes and their daring? And then, with Hardinge and Gough and their stout army annihilated, what was there to prevent a general rising of the whole Asiatic population, and the consequent expulsion of the English from their land? Nor are other and scarcely less alarming truths forced upon our notice by these publications. It is impossible to deny that we are indebted for the continuance of our supremacy in the East, quite as much to

the favours of fortune as to the skill of our leaders and the bravery of our troops. Was not the advance of the enemy upon Moodkee made known to us only by the falling of their round shot about our ears? Does it not appear that, in the judgment of Sir Charles Napier at least, the famous flank-movement from Loodianah, which is supposed to have averted defeat, was an operation contrary to all the laws of strategics, and perfectly impracticable except in the face of a very rude enemy? How came 30,000 Sikhs to lie idly in their encampment within a few hours' march of Ferozeshur all the time that the battle was raging? And earlier still, when the Sikhs were beginning to threaten, and the whole army of Scinde had been prostrated with sickness,—when Napier himself lay exhausted at Suckur, and his disputes with the Bombay government were at the bitterest,—what was it that stopped the hill hordes from pouring down into the plain and taking vengeance for the defeats of Meeanee and Hyderabad? Far be it from us to undervalue that of which Sir William Napier is justly proud—the terror of his brother's name. We believe that it was as potent as a naturally partial historian represents it to have been; and we know as well as he does how potent is such a spell among the tribes of central Asia. But even the terror of a name cannot altogether account for a state of rest so opportune among a people proverbially prone to indulge the passion of revenge, and singularly expert in obtaining information. No; we must unquestionably refer our deliverances, for such they were, to some influence beyond the compass of human ability. For, speak of the affair as we will, we were on fifty different occasions at the mercy of our enemies. Where were the proofs of attachment to our cause when 40,000 men were enabled to arrive within cannon shot of our outposts without one native out of all whom we professed to take under our protection coming in to tell us of their advance? Nor is this all. When the day of trial arrives, we do not find, as in former years, that every part of our army is to be trusted. The official despatches which describe recent great battles, with the lists of killed and wounded that accompany them, tell a tale as alarming as it is novel. We miss the forwardness in strife which used to characterise the Sepoys of other days, and cannot discover that they any where paid the penalty of their daring. The English regiments go to their work with a will; and the face of the plain is covered with their dead; but their dark-complexioned comrades appear to fall off from them; for though their slain be comparatively few, whole battalions seem to dis-

solve themselves. And worse still; our Sepoys have taken to stipulate for terms when operations against an enemy are projected, and refuse to march forward unless their propositions be agreed to. Now all these are features absolutely new in Anglo-Indian history; and therefore, perhaps, as well as because of their immense importance, we cannot but give to them the chief share of our attention. How are they to be accounted for?

It appears to us that among the many subjects connected with Indian administration which must occupy ere long the attention of the Legislature, there is not one which calls for more prompt and searching inquiry than the state, as regards its discipline, organisation, and general efficiency of Her Majesty's native army. We express ourselves thus, because, without meaning to deny that British rule has proved, upon the whole, advantageous to the agricultural population of the empire, it would be ridiculous to pretend that even they are so keenly alive to the fact as honestly and in a fervent spirit to desire the continuance of our presence among them. They may be thankful,—we dare say they are,—for the protection from external violence and plunder which is afforded to them. They cannot but contrast favourably, if they consider and contrast at all, their own condition in this respect with that of the Ryots in the best governed of the native States with which they happen to be acquainted. And in regard to the administration of law and justice, the machine, though still far from what it ought to be, is more smooth and regular in its movements than it was forty or fifty years ago. Still the utmost that can be predicated even of the Ryots, considered as subjects of the English Crown, is that they seldom, if ever, trouble themselves with discussing the merits of the system under which they live; being content to do as their fathers did before them, and satisfied so long as life and property are safe. But it is not so with any of the classes above the mere cultivators: quite otherwise. They see in the English Government a power which, however evenly it may profess to hold the scales between man and man, entertains no sympathy for them or for the traditions of their ancestry. They may acquire fortunes by trade; they may build ships and obtain the honour of knighthood; and whatever they earn by honest industry they feel that they will be permitted to keep: but all beyond this is a blank; and they are fully alive to its dreariness. There are no such avenues to advancement opened to them as stirred the ambition and stimulated the exertions of their forefathers. They cannot attain in the civil service of the State to a station more elevated than that of an ill-paid rural

magistrate, or a clerk in one of the public offices. Even the status of a practising attorney in the Courts of Law seems to be denied to them, though the decision of the judge who settled the question was manifestly delivered under a painful sense of its iniquity. And as to the army, we shall have occasion presently to explain, that it offers no prizes for which it would be worth while for a native gentleman to strive. Now people so circumstanced cannot be loyal in any sense of the term. They may submit to their fate with more or less of resignation; either because they see no chance of escape from it, or through the influence of that fatalism which enters largely into the faith of all the religionists of the East. But it is impossible that they can nourish the slightest feeling of love for the government which thus grinds them down, far less be prepared to make sacrifices of any kind in defence of it. Nor do they. By the native gentry of India,—and it is a great mistake to suppose that India has not its gentry of ancient lineage and proud reminiscences,—the rule of the English is regarded not only without favour, but with settled detestation. There is not one among them all but would rejoice to see it overthrown to-morrow.

Again, the complete antagonism which exists in manners, customs, and religion; the differences in their domestic habits, in their speech, in their very costume, interpose between the British rulers and their Asiatic subjects a gulf of severance, which neither time nor the degree of intimacy which here and there arises out of it, will ever be able to bridge over. We may be as ostentatiously tender as we will of Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices; we may be ready to hear the complaints of outraged individuals, and prompt to give redress where we believe them to be well-grounded, but we can never hope to reconcile either the one class of persons or the other to the daily contemplation of scenes which utterly revolt them.

What Brahmin can look, except with horror, on persons who habitually slaughter and devour the flesh of the sacred cow? What Mahomedan but must regard with scorn the free intermixture of the sexes in the social life of their Christian masters? The Hindoo, religious even to the grossest superstition; the Mussulman, devout and decorous in his very crimes, alike turn away with horror from men, who live, according to their notions, without God in the world, and glory in their shame. In a word, it is idle to talk of the contentment of the people of British India with the particular form of government which we have established among them. They submit to it, because they cannot help themselves,—the masses with the same degree of apathy which caused

their co-religionists to submit to the government of the Ameers in Scinde, and to that of the Sikh Sirdars in the Punjab. But no living soul entertains the slightest predilection for us or for our government, while all who may be crossed by it in their schemes of personal or family ambition execrate, while they endure, what they feel to be the wrong.

That we are taking no prejudiced view of this important matter, nor broaching opinions that lack authority on which to rest, a very little research on the part of our readers will enable them to ascertain. The statements adduced here have been held and promulgated by almost every man of note who has made India and its institutions the subject of his inquiries. Open Mountstuart's Elphinstone's able History, and you will find the same tone pervading every page. He speaks of the people whom we thus slight and keep down as having attained to a high degree of civilisation and prosperity before the march of Alexander across the Oxus. He describes them as retaining these advantages in the midst of endless wars, revolutions, and schemes of conquest, till we arrived upon the stage. And he attributes the circumstance to their admirable municipal institutions, which survived every change of dynasty except the last. 'Dynasty upon dynasty,' he says, quoting from Sir Charles Metcalfe, 'tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution,—Hindoo, Pagan, Moghul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the changes and revolutions they have suffered; and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to their enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.' Again: 'The main evil of our system is, the degraded state in which we hold the natives. We suppose them to be superstitious, ignorant, prone to falsehood, and corrupt. In our well-meaning zeal for their welfare, we shudder at the idea of committing to men so depraved any share in the administration of their own country. We exclude them from every situation of trust and emolument; we confine them to the lowest offices, with scarcely a bare subsistence; and even these are left in their hands from necessity, because Europeans are utterly incapable of filling them. We treat them as an inferior race of beings. Men, who under a native government might have held the first dignities of the State, who, but for us, might have been governors of provinces, are regarded as little better than menial-



'servants, are often no better paid, and scarcely permitted to sit in our presence. We reduce them to this abject state, and then look upon them with disdain as men unworthy of high station. Under most of the Mahomedan princes of India, the Hindoos were eligible to all the civil offices of Government, and they frequently possessed a more important share in them than their conquerors.'

The above passage Mr. Elphinstone quotes from a paper by the late Sir Thomas Munro. The following sentiment is his own, and it occurs in his well-known letter to Mr. Villiers:— 'Under a native government, independent of the mutual adaptation of the institutions and the people, there is a connecting chain throughout society, and a free communication between its different parts. Notwithstanding the distinctions of caste, there is no country where men rise with more ease from the lowest rank to the highest. The first nabob of Oude was a petty merchant; the first Peishwa, a village accountant; the ancestors of Holkar were goatherds; and those of Scindiah, slaves. All these and many other instances took place within the last century. Promotion from among the common people to all the ranks of civil and military employment, short of sovereignty, are of daily occurrence under native states; and this keeps up the spirit of the people, and, in that respect, partially supplies the place of popular institutions. The free intercourse of different ranks, also, keeps up a sort of circulation and diffusion of such knowledge and such sentiments as exist in society. Under us, on the contrary, the community is divided into two perfectly distinct and definite bodies, of which the one is torpid and inactive, while all the power seems concentrated in the other.'

That these sentiments were put on record many years ago, and that some slight improvement has been effected since in the arrangements of our civil service, we are quite ready to admit. The continued remonstrances of such statesmen as Munro, Elphinstone, and Malcolm, could not be disregarded for ever; and in Lord William Bentinck India at last found a Governor-General able and willing to act upon the principles which they recommended. But even he soon discovered that there was a countervailing weight elsewhere, which neither his vigour nor his perseverance could overcome; and hence the reforms which he introduced scarcely went farther than to make more glaring than ever the iniquity of the system against which they were directed. It appears that throughout the provinces of Bengal, comprising a population of forty millions and upwards, there

are, at this moment, but 105 natives employed under Government at salaries which do not fall short of 30*l.* a month; whereas of Europeans, salaried through all the various stages, from 600*l.* up to 10,000*l.* a year, there are in public employment, within the same limits, not fewer than 626. Was ever people so governed satisfied with their rulers? Nor is this all. While the working of our system has had the obvious tendency to produce the very vices which are assumed to be the causes of it, an influence more overwhelming than either prejudice or greed has forced us to transact almost all our real business through the people whom we affect to distrust. The natives do the work on miserable wages, the Europeans draw large salaries and monopolise the credit. Hear Lord Metcalfe — too early lost to his country — on this subject: — ‘The difficulties of procuring effectual European superintendence, whether originating in climate, difference of habits, language, and other circumstances, are so numerous and overwhelming, that it is worth while to consider whether there is not a fair prospect of the duty being done by other means, not only cheaper, but more effectually. It is well known that in some districts almost the whole business has been done by natives, though their European employers have enjoyed the credit; and it is absurd to suppose that the former should be less able to do well when working on their own responsibility. The deplorable system under which the advantages are reaped by one, while the labour is performed by another, has been too long the bane of the country. It is the cause of the inefficiency of the European, and the corruption of the native; and, so long as it is upheld, there can be but little amendment in either party.’

The time has not yet come for dealing as fully as the case deserves with the important questions involved in these statements. The whole machinery of Anglo-Indian government is once more upon its trial; and the evidence as yet collected, though in some respects of considerable value, is not sufficient to warrant a verdict, either of condemnation or acquittal. More, we presume, will soon follow; but, in the meanwhile, enough has been elicited to prove that matters cannot be permitted to go on exactly as they do now. Whence does it come to pass that, in direct opposition to an Act of Parliament, the Company is still able to draw so broad a line of distinction between its own covenanted servants and the rest of the Indian community? The statute which renewed the charter in 1833 contains a clause to provide that no man shall be debarred from office on account of his colour or his religion. And the ablest

judges of the intentions of the Legislature have declared that every post, under the highest,—collectorships, magistracies, even seats in the Supreme Council itself,—were thereby thrown open for competition to *all* the Queen's subjects in Asia, from whatever stock descended. 'India,' said Lord William Bentinck, fifteen years ago, 'in order to become an attached dependency of the British Crown, must be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the 800 or 1000 individuals who go there to make their fortunes.' But how stand the facts of the case? The execution of the law was left to the Court of Directors, and they ruled, in the very teeth of this enactment, that none except covenanted servants of the Company, nominated by themselves, should be competent to hold certain offices; and the consequence is, to use the words of Lord William Bentinck, in his evidence before the committee of 1837, that, 'not only is the civil administration of India entirely in the hands of foreigners, but that the holders of this monopoly, the patrons of these foreign agents, are those who exercise the directing power at home; that this directing power is exclusively paid by patronage; that the value of this patronage depends exactly upon the degree in which both the honours and emoluments of the State are engrossed by their clients, to the exclusion of the natives. There exists,' he continues, 'in consequence, on the part of the home authorities, an interest in the administration precisely similar to what formerly prevailed as to commerce; that is, directly opposed to the welfare of India.'

Whatever may be the conclusion to which we shall be driven by the force of evidence as yet to be adduced, in regard to the wisdom of retaining, either modified or otherwise, both a Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street, and a Board of Control in Cannon Row, no impartial man can doubt that such an exercise of power by the former of these bodies as is here described and condemned, is not more at variance with the letter of the statute law, than it is in contradiction to the principles of moral right and public justice. It may keep open, for a few more years, the avenues to wealth for a limited number of Englishmen in a distant land; but it does so in defiance of an Act of the Imperial Legislature, and at the expense of crying wrong to the native population of India. 'There is one great question to which we should look,' says Sir Thomas Munro, 'in all our arrangements:—What is to be the final result on the character of the people? Is it to be raised, or is it to be lowered? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power, and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in cha-

'racter lower than at present? Or are we to endeavour to  
 'raise their character? It ought undoubtedly to be our aim to  
 'raise the minds of the natives, and to take care that whenever  
 'our connexion with India ceases, it do not appear that the only  
 'fruit of our dominion had been to leave the people more abject  
 'and less able to govern themselves than when we found them.  
 'It would certainly be more desirable that we should be expelled  
 'from the country altogether, than that the result of our system  
 'of government should be such an abasement of a whole people.  
 'In proportion as we exclude them from the higher offices, and a  
 'share in the management of public affairs, we lessen their inter-  
 'est in the concerns of the community, and degrade their cha-  
 'racter. If we make a summary comparison of the advantages  
 'and disadvantages which have accrued to the natives from our  
 'government, the result, I fear, will hardly be so much in our  
 'favour as it ought to have been. They are more secure from  
 'the calamities both of foreign war and internal commotions;  
 'their persons and property are more secure from violence; they  
 'cannot be wantonly punished, or their property seized, by per-  
 'sons in power; and their taxation is, on the whole, lighter.  
 'But, on the other hand, they have no share in making laws for  
 'themselves, little in administering them, except in very sub-  
 'ordinate offices; they can rise to no high station, civil or mili-  
 'tary; they are everywhere regarded as an inferior race, and  
 'often rather as vassals or servants than as the ancient owners  
 'and masters of the country. It is not enough that we confer  
 'upon the natives the benefits of just laws and moderate tax-  
 'ation, unless we endeavour to raise their character; but, un-  
 'der a foreign government, there are so many causes which  
 'tend to depress it, that it is not easy to prevent it from sink-  
 'ing. It is an old observation, that he who loses his liberty,  
 'loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of indi-  
 'viduals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in one  
 'case, than in the other to have property at the disposal of a  
 'foreign government in which we have no share. The enslaved  
 'nation loses the privileges of a nation, as the slave does that of  
 'a free man. It loses the privilege of taxing itself, of making  
 'its own laws, of having any share in their administration, or in  
 'the general government of the country. British India has none  
 'of these privileges: it has not that of being ruled by a despot  
 'of its own; for, to a nation which has lost its liberty, it is still  
 'a privilege to have its countrymen, and not foreigners, as its  
 'rulers. Nations always take a part with their government,  
 'whether free or despotic, against foreigners. Against an in-

‘vasion of foreigners, the national character is always engaged, and in such a cause the people often contend as strenuously in the defence of a despotism as of a free government. It is not the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but subjugation to a foreign one, that destroys national character, and extinguishes national spirit. When a people cease to have a national character to maintain, they lose the mainspring of whatever is laudable, both in public and in private life, and the private sinks with the public character. This is true of every nation, as well as of India. It is true of our own. Let Britain be subjugated by a foreign power to-morrow; let the people be excluded from all share in the government, from public honours, from every office of high trust and emolument, let them, in every situation, be considered as unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge, and all their literature, sacred and profane, will not save them from becoming, in another century or two, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race.’

These are words of wisdom, put upon record by one who, better, perhaps, than any servant of the Company, understood the subject which he was discussing. Nor was he, while thus reasoning, blind to the well-nigh universal degradation of the people whose cause he pleaded. No one knew better than he that ‘the inhabitants of the Company’s dominions are the most abject race in India;’ no one was more keenly and bitterly aware of the causes which had produced such a result. For even the wretched satisfaction of seeing the strangers who seek their shores for the purpose of growing rich at the public expense, settle down, and become, by degrees, one of themselves, is denied them. Other conquerors had overrun their territories before, assumed supreme power, and dispensed patronage; but they did so upon the spot, and excluded no man, of whatever race descended, from a share in it. We send out our youth by shoals from England to amass wealth and exercise power for a season; each batch returning to England, when it has satisfied its own wishes, only that it may be succeeded by another. What bond of good feeling can exist between the hundred and twenty millions whom we thus govern and the few thousands of white-faced men whom we appoint to plunder while they profess to govern and protect them.

It was the knowledge of facts like these,—it was the natural dread of stretching too far a system of management so thoroughly rotten,—which led all our ablest Indian statesmen, from the days of Clive downwards, to deprecate the extension, under any circumstances whatever, of British empire in the East. It was the constant pressure from without,—the continual

arrival of young men from England, for whom employment in the civil or military service must be found,—which forced them, one after another, into the adoption of a policy which all equally condemned. No doubt occasions arose, when, being driven to defend ourselves against foreign aggression, we could not otherwise cover the expenses of the war than by appropriating the whole or a portion of the enemy's territories. But it is too much to assume, as popular writers are in the habit of doing, that *all* our wars in India have been defensive in the first instance, or that each addition made to our territorial empire there has been made upon compulsion. There is no end to the instances in which our allies have been *compelled* or *cajoled*, in times of prosperity and peace, into ceding to us tracts of country which we should have done better, perhaps, to leave in their hands. Such was the transaction in 1800, between Lord Wellesley and the Nizam, when the latter made over to the Company provinces producing an annual income of 650,000*l.* in lieu of a subsidy for troops, the cost of maintaining which was calculated at 400,000*l.* Such was the nature of his lordship's dealing, in 1801, with the Nabob of Oude, who was glad to yield up the half of his dominions, after being threatened with a seizure of the whole. So also, in 1802, the Nabob of Arcot, being *an infant*, was forced to surrender the whole of his territory, in consideration of an annual pension. And in the same year, and by a similar process, the petty principalities of Tanjore, Surat, and Furrukabad, passed under our rule, yet Lord Wellesley, though a more enterprising Governor than any that had preceded him since Hastings, was no friend, any more than his illustrious brother, to the policy of excessive aggrandisement. Nor have either our proceedings, or the theory which they controvert, undergone any material change in the progress of time. In 1831, we possessed ourselves, without scruple, of the dominions of our ally the Rajah of Mysore, and have kept them ever since. Between 1840 and 1847, we confiscated to our own use the principalities of Sattara, Coleba, and Mandavie, upon the plea that the thrones were vacant, the last incumbents having died without lawful heirs. And finally, in 1848, we took possession of the territories and treasures of our *infant* ally and ward, Dhuleeb Singh of Lahore,—in consequence of an insurrection which occurred in his country, while we were exercising uncontrolled authority there, and to which the child neither was, nor could be, an assenting party. These acts may have been, in themselves, politic. That they were forced upon us by circumstances over which we had no control, is a convenient, but it is by no means a self-evident,

theory. Indeed, the very author of the latest wrong, if wrong it shall prove to be, does not so much as pretend to shelter himself under any plea of the sort. He speaks out like a man. What to him are the declarations of Parliament, uttered long ago, and never recalled. It may still be, in the opinion of the House of Commons, as it was sixty years ago, 'repugnant to the interests and honour of England' to pursue schemes of territorial aggrandisement in the East. Lord Dalhousie thinks otherwise; and not only seizes upon the Punjab, but avows his determination to extend the dominions of England, whenever and wherever a convenient opportunity of doing so shall offer. 'I take this fitting opportunity,' he says, 'of recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue, as may from time to time present themselves.'

If this reasoning be sound,—and we ourselves cannot detect a flaw in it,—the reader, we think, will agree with us in the opinion, that year by year, as we become masters of a wider extent of territory in the East, we are year by year reducing the nature of our hold upon the empire to that of mere force. Wherever our authority reaches, all the established institutions of the country, all the influence of the native princes and governments, their legitimate occupations and places in society, crumble to pieces under it. We repress feuds, it is true—we take away the power of doing arbitrary acts from individuals—we equalise taxation, and proclaim the supremacy of law, but we do not increase thereby the loyalty, far less the gratitude or the affection, of a single class,—we had almost said, of a solitary individual. 'I am decidedly of opinion,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'that the tranquillity, not to say the security, of our vast oriental possessions is involved in the preservation of the native principalities which are dependent upon us for protection. I am further convinced, that though our revenue may increase, the permanence of our power will be hazarded in proportion as the territories of native princes and chiefs fall under our direct rule. . . . Every means should be used to avert what I should consider as one of the greatest calamities, in a political point of view, that could arise to our empire; viz. the whole of India becoming subject to our direct rule.' 'It appears to me,' says Mr. Elphinstone, 'to be our interest, as well as our duty, to use every means to preserve the allied governments. The period of our downfall in India will probably be hastened by every increase of our territory and

'subjects.' 'I consider the extinction of a native state,' says Sir Henry Russell, 'as a nail driven into our own coffin.' Does any body distrust the wisdom of these vaticinations? Let him consider for a moment what follows immediately on the deposition of a native prince, in the single matter of employment for large and important sections of the community! We do not tolerate feudal rights, nor any thing akin to them, within the limits of our empire. We have no desire to increase our army more than may be absolutely necessary for the occasions of the moment. No sooner, therefore, is a cession effected, than down goes the state of scores of insubordinate chieftains, down comes the royal establishment, with all its paraphernalia of wuzzeers, dewans, guards, and soldiery. What is to become of these people? We open no doors of exertion to their energies. 'They cannot dig, to beg they are 'ashamed.' They either pass into other principalities still nominally independent, carrying with them feelings of implacable rancour towards us, or they wander about the provinces, sometimes in bands, when they become robbers, or singly, when they not unfrequently perish. It was calculated, that after the overthrow of Tippoo Saib and the Mahrattas, not fewer than 500,000 persons, belonging to the military classes alone, became vagabonds and plunderers. And we need not tell such of our readers as concern themselves with the aspect of public affairs in the Punjab, that the whole face of that province is covered, at this moment, with men who, having no settled occupation, are ripe for any thing that may occur; more especially, for any project of hostility towards ourselves.

It is clear, then, whatever we may have accustomed ourselves to fancy, that we retain no hold upon India except by the sword. Our government is the government of the stranger, and nothing more. It is so designated by the people who submit to it; and unless thoroughly recast, it must continue to deserve the appellation to the end of time. Indeed, we may go further. The whole bent of our legislation, even where it most professes to seek the good of the people of the country, pursues with the greatest earnestness objects which have no value whatever in their eyes. 'We might 'read,' says Mr. Sullivan, 'all the Acts of Parliament which 'relate to India, without knowing from them that such a 'people exist. Take as examples the three last Charter 'Acts. The Act passed in 1793 provides that a proportion of 'the estimated surplus of the revenue shall be appropriated 'towards the payment of the national debt of England; and 'another proportion of the assumed surplus be applied to in-



'crease the dividends of the proprietors of East India Stock. The Act of 1813 provides for the support of Anglican bishops and archdeacons out of the Indian revenues, and for giving additional allowances to governors and other English functionaries. The Act of 1833 adds to the number of bishops and archdeacons, and to the number of European members of Council. It provides for the appointment of a law commission, composed of Europeans, involving an additional charge in the aggregate of at least 50,000*l.* a year for European agents, and it throws all the debts and liabilities of the East India Company, including an annuity of 660,000*l.* a year to the proprietors of that Company, on the revenue of India. The only allusion to the people of India to be found in these Acts, and that inferentially, is confined to two clauses; one of which enacts, that whenever India shall have a surplus revenue, 10,000*l.* a year shall be set apart for native collegiate establishments; the other, that no man shall be debarred from office by reason of his caste and religion.' Now we do not object to the appointment of bishops and archdeacons, or the adoption of any other course which shall hold out some sure prospect of extending to the people of India, by legitimate means, the pure faith of the Gospel. Neither is the policy of necessity wrong which provides for the appointment of a law commission, even though it be composed exclusively of Europeans. But it is surely not to 'govern India for its own sake,' or 'to render her an attached dependency of Great Britain,' that any portion of the debt of England should be saddled upon her, or her people taxed, beyond what they are able to bear, in order that the dividends of the proprietors of East India Stock may be increased. The people of India are proverbially patient under taxation, up to a certain point. But undoubtedly they would bear the burden with greater cheerfulness if they saw the funds thence arising applied, even in part, to the development of the resources of their own country, and still more if members of their own body, bone of their own bone, and flesh of their own flesh, were allowed in the spirit of the law, as it stands, to have some voice, as well in the imposition of the taxes, as in the control and general management of the revenues when collected.

The growth of our Indian empire, looking first to the period when it may be said to have taken root, and next to the enormous extent of territory and population which it now comprises, may indeed be said to constitute one of the wonders of the world. In 1757, not quite a hundred years ago, England, besides being mistress of a few factories on the coasts of Malabar

and Coromandel, exercised sovereignty over 4882 square miles of territory which she had acquired from the Nabob of Bengal. In 1793, the date of Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement, upwards of 200,000 square miles of territory, with a population little short of 40,000,000, acknowledged her supremacy. The former had grown in 1813, when the Charter was renewed, to about 320,000 square miles, the latter to 60,000,000, which again were increased, in 1833, to 462,000 square miles, peopled by at least 100,000,000 of natives. At this day, the surface extent of land, actually contributing to the Indian treasury, and managed by covenanted servants of the Company, falls little short of 600,000 square miles; while the population will be placed under rather than above the mark, if we assume that it reaches 120,000,000. But this is not all. Between Cape Comorin and the Himalaya Mountains, and from Bombay to Arracan, there is not a principality, state, or province, but is more or less connected with the British empire by treaties admissive of the superiority of the stranger. Thus, northward of the peninsula, and extending to the centre, we find Cashmere, Cis-Sutledge, Nepaul, — the north-east frontier states, Rajpootana, Oude, Bundelcund, — the south-west frontier states, Berar, Sangoor, Malwa and Hyderabad, with other less important principalities; to the south lie Mysore, the Orissa Jaghires, Travancore, &c., and to the west, Cutch, Guzzerat, and various petty chieftainships besides. All these, presenting a surface extent of upwards of 690,000 square miles, and comprising a population which has been taken at 52,000,000 of souls, are, for every practical purpose, at the absolute disposal of the British Government. Some of them are connected with it by subsidiary treaties; that is to say, they supply funds for the maintenance of a given number of troops, which the British Government disciplines and officers; others pay tribute, and undertake, in case of war, to swell our armies with contingents, of which the strength is fixed; while the residue accepting our protection hold themselves bound, when called upon, to co-operate with us in any contest into which we may enter. In a word, we have become, far more extensively than could be predicated of the most powerful Mahomedan emperors, lords paramount of India, having vassals under us, whose aggregate military establishments show a muster-roll, in round numbers, of about 400,000 armed men.

It would be idle to lament over a contingency which, however fraught with danger, is complete, and cannot be reversed. It would be equally so to persuade ourselves that this growth in the extent of our territorial dominions indicates a corresponding

growth of power, accepting the latter term in the only sense which a wise statesman would apply to it. Were the kingdoms which we have overrun and annexed inhabited by races cognate with ourselves, we might hope, in the course of time, to become one with them. It is true that this is not the work of a day. The French population of Lower Canada, though for well nigh a hundred years bound by ties of allegiance to the British Crown, are still a distinct people in their habits, tastes, and creed, from their English conquerors. And in spite of the legislative union of the two provinces, we cannot say that as yet tokens of a different order of things are rife. But the national characteristics which stand between them and us are the merest bagatelles, when compared with the insurmountable barriers that present themselves to anything like an amalgamation of Englishmen with the Hindoo and Mohammedan natives of British India. Moreover, as has elsewhere been shown, it is, and always has been, the bent and object of our policy to prevent the natives of India from acquiring an interest in the well-being of the government under which they live. What then is each enlargement of the area and population of our eastern empire, except an extension of sources of anxiety and a serious addition made to the difficulties, already numerous enough, that stand in the way of the maintenance of our superiority? Are we richer than we were sixty years ago? Speaking comparatively, the case is otherwise; in 1792 the public debt of India amounted to no more than one year's purchase of the public revenue; whereas now it exceeds two years' purchase. Are we more at our ease as regards either foreign war or domestic trouble? Surely not. Our frontiers now touch, wherever they touch any neighbours at all, upon tribes fiercer, more warlike, and more jealous of our encroachments than any with whom we have as yet had to deal; while within ourselves, though there may seem to be tranquillity, it is but the tranquillity of the ocean during a calm. Look back upon the events of the last eighteen years, and say whether in these you can discover any tokens either of indemnity for the past or of security against the future.

In the year 1835 the advanced frontier of British India towards the north, rested upon the Sutlej, one of the branches or tributaries to the mighty Indus. Over the navigation of that great river we asserted no claim. Anxious, indeed, many of our Governors-General had been to obtain, through that channel, access to the trade of central Asia; but none of them had aimed at more than the establishment of commercial treaties with the native chiefs, who owned the soil on each of its banks. The Sikhs, under Runjeet Singh, were undisturbed

lords of the Punjab, and the Ameers governed Scinde according to their own sense of propriety; and it was considered good policy to keep them there, because they stood between us and the advance, if such an enterprise should ever be seriously contemplated, of either Russian or French troops, through Persia, upon our dominions. Moreover, India was supposed to be, and doubtless was, in an unusually flourishing condition. 'The 'country,' says Mr. Kaye, 'was in a state of profound tranquillity — the treasury was overflowing — the quietest ruler was 'likely to be the best — there was abundant work to be done, 'but it was all of a pacific character.' It was under such circumstances that the late Lord Auckland acceded to the chief management of affairs. What was the disposition of that nobleman? — what were his qualifications for so important a post? We shall quote again from Mr. Kaye, partly because his statements appear to be perfectly just — much more because they are of value, as coming from one who has not shown himself particularly sparing of censure on the general policy of the man whom he thus delineates: — 'In entrusting that work to Lord 'Auckland, the Ministry thought that they entrusted it to safe 'hands. The new Governor-General had every thing to learn; 'but he was a man of methodical habits of business, apt in the 'acquisition of knowledge, with no overweening confidence in 'himself, and no arrogant contempt of others. His ambition 'was all of the most laudable kind — it was an ambition to do 'good. When he declared at the farewell banquet given to him 'by the Directors of the East India Company, that "he looked ' "with exultation to the new prospects opening out before ' "him, affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow ' "creatures — of promoting education and knowledge — of im- ' "proving the administration of justice in India — of extending ' "the blessings of good government and happiness to millions ' "in India" — it was felt by all who knew him that the words 'were uttered in grave sincerity, and expressed the genuine 'aspirations of the man.'

It has long been the practice — and probably it will long continue — to commit the government of the Indian empire to men who, whatever may be their qualifications in other respects, cannot but carry out to their important post the most profound ignorance on every subject of which a knowledge seems to be necessary for the right discharge of its duties. Lord Auckland was not in this respect one whit less qualified than others to bear the burden which his friends in office laid upon him. And according to the measure of the ability which God had given him, he is described as bearing it well. 'The early days of

'his government,' says Mr. Kaye, 'did not disappoint the expectations of those who had looked for a pains-taking, labourious administrator — zealous in the prosecution of measures calculated to develop the resources of the country and to advance the happiness of the people. It appeared, indeed, that with something less of the uncompromising energy of Lord William Bentinck, but with an equal purity of benevolence, he was treading in the footsteps of his predecessor. The promotion of native education and the expansion of the industrial resources of the country, were pursuits far more congenial to his nature than the assembling of armies and the invasion of empires. He had no taste for the din and confusion of the camp — no appetite for foreign conquest. Quiet and unobtrusive in his manners, of a somewhat cold and impassive temperament, and altogether of a reserved and retiring nature, he was not one to court excitement or to desire notoriety. He would fain have passed his allotted years of office in the prosecution of those small measures of domestic reform which individually attract little attention, but in the aggregate affect mightily the happiness of the people. He belonged, indeed, to that respectable class of Governors whose merits are not sufficiently prominent to demand ample recognition by their contemporaries, but whose noiseless, unapplauded achievements entitle them to the praise of the historian and the gratitude of after ages.'

Such a man assuming at such a crisis the chief management of affairs in a country of which 'the treasury was overflowing,' and where 'tranquillity was profound,' was very little likely, in the common course of things, to plunge into wars. But what actually took place? Reports came in of ambitious movements through Persia by the Russians, in districts far beyond the utmost limits of our most distant political intercourse. A Persian army was laying siege to Herat, and Persians and Russians were expected, on the fall of that place, to march across the Hindoo Coosh, and to break through Afghanistan and the Punjab, into the fertile plains of Agra. Was this probable? and if it were, what ground of alarm could there be to us, secure, as popular authorities pronounced that we were, in the devoted attachment of our immediate subjects, and in the alliance of the states that were mixed up with them? A government which is supported by a strong and well-disciplined army, and which knows that every civilian capable of bearing arms is ready to support the regular troops if need arise, can afford to laugh at threats of danger, especially if they be uttered at a distance of many hundred miles from the frontier, with chains of inhospitable

mountains between. Was this the feeling of Lord Auckland and his advisers, or could it be? Quite otherwise. British India shook at once from one extremity to the other. 'The remoteness of the countries,' says Mr. Kaye, 'in which these incidents were passing, might have reconciled an Anglo-Indian statesman to dangers of a character so vague and an origin so distant; but the result of all these distracting rumours was an after-growth of new perils springing up almost at our very doors. The native states on our own borders were beginning to evince signs of feverish unrest. From the hills of Nepaul and the jungles of Burmah came mutterings of threatened invasion, which compelled the British Government to look well to their lines of frontier. Even in our own provinces these rumours of mighty movements in the countries of the north-west disquieted the native mind; there was an uneasy, restless feeling among all classes, scarcely amounting to actual disaffection, and perhaps best to be described as a state of ignorant expectancy—a looking outwards in the belief of some coming change, the nature of which no one clearly understood. Among our Mussulman subjects, the feeling was somewhat akin to that which had unsettled their minds at the time when the rumoured advent of Zemaun Shah made them look for the speedy restoration of Mahomedan supremacy in Hindostan. In their eyes, indeed, the movement beyond the Afghan frontier took the shape of a Mahomedan invasion, and it was believed that countless thousands of true believers were about to pour themselves over the plains of the Punjab and Hindostan, and to wrest all the country between the Indus and the sea from the hands of the infidel usurpers. The Mahomedan journals teemed, at this time, with utterances of undisguised sedition. There was a decline in the value of public securities; and it went openly from mouth to mouth, in the streets and the bazaars, that the Company's Raj was nearly at an end.'

Contrast this state of feeling with the spirit which prevailed at that critical period in the History of the World, when the Turks, masters of Eastern Europe and of Central Asia, poured their swarms into the Punjab, and prepared to strike for the Mogul Empire in like manner. Then every nabob, raja, and poligar, from one extremity of India to another, mustered his troops, at the emperor's bidding, and prepared to take the field. There was no backwardness on the part of the chiefs; there was every readiness among the people, to be marched against the common enemy: for, however prone each subordinate ruler might be to withhold tribute and service in time of peace, he was

quite as much interested as the head of the empire in repelling a foreign invader. But where are the chiefs — where their followers, to whom, under like circumstances, we could apply? They are swept from the face of the earth; and in their room has sprung up a population either perfectly indifferent or, where the Mahomedan element prevails, eagerly desirous of change, let it come from what quarter it may. In a word, we have made ourselves masters of the largest and most populous empire in the world, — China, perhaps, excepted, — and we maintain ourselves by the weight of a large regular army, and by that alone. How is this army composed?

According to the latest returns, there are now serving in India, — of Queen's troops, officers included, 29,480; of European troops in the service of the Company, 19,928; of native troops, 240,121. This gives us a grand total of 289,529 regular soldiers; of whom 2569 are engineers, 16,440 artillery, 34,984 cavalry, 229,406 infantry, and the residue medical men, warrant officers, and veterans. To this must be added the contingents of certain native states, which, being commanded by British officers, are available, under treaties, for British purposes. Of these the united strength appears to be 32,311 men. Thus we keep our hold upon the provinces through the respect that is paid to the swords, musketry, and cannon of upwards of three hundred thousand disciplined troops, supported by corps of irregulars, which increase or diminish according to the exigencies of the moment.

It will be seen from this abstract that, large as the Indian army is, the proportion of soldiers to the peaceful population of our eastern empire is far below that of the most favoured of the great military Powers in Europe. In France the regular army, exclusive of troops in Algeria, amounts to about 300,000 men; the population does not exceed 37,000,000. In Prussia we have 200,000 soldiers to 15,000,000 inhabitants. Austria exhibits, inclusive of her frontier regiments, 400,000 troops, with a population of 35,000,000. Russia, with her 50,000,000 of people, supports about 600,000 soldiers. The population of British India cannot be taken at less than 120,000,000, and the army little, if at all, exceeds 300,000 men.

Again, the composition of the Anglo-Indian army presents to the eye of the philosophical inquirer one of the most extraordinary spectacles on which it can any where rest. Out of the entire disciplined force which we keep on foot and trust, not quite a sixth part consists of Europeans; — all the rest are natives of India of every caste and from every province, Hindoos and Mahomedans taken indiscriminately, and governed by our

articles of war. In other words, we make India enslave herself, and rivet the yoke when she has put it on; for we arm a small percentage of the population in each district when we have subdued it, and keep thereby the large majority in subjection. Now it is very obvious that such an experiment must, under the most favourable circumstances, be attended with some risk; and so keenly alive are many thoughtful men to the extent of the danger, that they can think of no other means of meeting it than by making a large addition to the European portion of the army. But this is clearly out of the question. A European soldier is too costly a machine to be multiplied in India unnecessarily; and the remoteness of the sources whence the Indian Government must fetch him, renders a supply of the material in the time of need both tedious and uncertain. The experiment may be perilous therefore, but it is unavoidable, unless we be prepared to withdraw from the country altogether; and it becomes much more than perilous if we fail to connect the native soldier with ourselves by the strong tie of personal interest. Is it quite certain that we have succeeded in so attaching him? That he loved our service and was proud of our uniform sixty years ago, no reader of history can doubt. For him there was no loyalty except to the Government which paid him his wages, and treated him in other respects well. We did both, and he was ready to fight for us against his own father; but can we assert the same thing of him now, and to the same extent? Why then do we hear of whole regiments turning their backs in the day of battle? How is it that mutinies—events never known till the present century came in—are now so frequent? And in what sense shall we read the general orders of a late commander-in-chief, which seem to describe the army of Bengal, at least, as in a state of almost total disorganisation? These are very alarming signs of the times, to say the least of them; for if the native army be indeed disaffected, nay more, if the *esprit de corps* in any of its portions be destroyed or seriously weakened, it is not too much to say, that unless a remedy be applied, the days of our Indian Empire are numbered. Does any body imagine that it is by the 50,000 English soldiers now in India that we retain military occupation of the country? By no means. Were the native regiments merely to disband themselves and return to their homes, our hold upon the country would not continue three months. And this once lost, not all the available resources of England, were they turned exclusively to that one object, would suffice to recover it. Let us see then what the changes may be which are supposed to have operated not without ill effect upon the *morale*



of the Indian army, and then we shall be better able to suggest a remedy, if, indeed, a remedy be needed.

We learn from Orme, the faithful though diffuse chronicler of our early wars in India, that in 1746, at the siege of Cuddalore, the French brought into the field, for the first time, a body of native troops armed and drilled after the manner of Europeans. The English felt the weight of this battalion, and resolved to raise one in like manner, which they did towards the close of the same year. And so important were the services rendered by the Sepoy corps in the military operations which terminated in the capture of Madras, that others speedily followed. These, led on by Clive and his contemporaries, proved themselves equal to every emergency. The defence of Arcot, the action at Volconda, with other affairs too numerous to mention, established for them a character such as left their commanders nothing to desire, and placed an inexhaustible *dépôt* for recruiting at the disposal of the Company. Nor was the example thus set at Madras slow in being followed elsewhere. After the recovery of Calcutta, Sepoy battalions were embodied both in Bengal and Bombay, and side by side with their Madras and European comrades they won the battle of Plassey, and laid the foundations of that power which is now paramount in India.

The constitution of the native army at the period of which we now write was very different from that which it has since assumed. It consisted then exclusively of infantry, who, though drilled after the European fashion, worked both in peace and war under chiefs connected with the men by ties of consanguinity and clientship. Occasionally, indeed, though not always, there was attached to a battalion a European officer, well versed in the native languages, and capable of appreciating the native character. But his duties were rather those of a commissioner or field-deputy than of a commandant; he explained to the native chief the orders of the general, but took no part at all in the arrangements necessary for carrying them into effect. The services performed by Sepoy battalions so managed have been described in the official records of the day as most effective; and the names of Mahommed Yusuf, Jemal Sahib, and others, fill a page in history scarcely less memorable than that which sets forth the exploits of our own Ford, Calliaud, and Coote.

The first marked change in the organisation of the native army occurred in the year 1766, when all the battalions were raised to a uniform strength of a thousand men a-piece, and had permanently attached to each of them one European captain, with two European lieutenants.

The duties of these gentlemen, however, scarcely, if at all, interfered with those of the native officers. The captain became to his battalion what the brigadier used to be to his brigade; he gave orders, through his European adjutants in the field and in quarters, which the native commandant carried into effect. But with respect to the internal economy of the battalion, that was still conducted under the native commandant, by one subadar, or native captain, with three jemadars, or native lieutenants, in each company. Hence, though European superintendence might be more widely diffused, it was no where exercised so as to lower the position or wound the feelings of the native officers. They still felt that their rank in society was an elevated one, and were still regarded by the non-commissioned officers and men as their natural superiors. It was about this time, or rather two years subsequently, that a corps of cavalry, divided into troops, was first raised at Madras. It consisted of horsemen, who had originally served in the army of the Nabob of Arcot, and amounted in 1780, when the war with Hyder Ali broke out, to 2000 sabres. ‘Sir John Malcolm’ (we quote from a letter to the Marquess of Tweeddale, by Lieutenant-General Briggs) ‘has passed a very high and merited eulogium on ‘this excellent body of troops, and has given examples of the ‘distinguished character of many of the native officers, all of ‘whom had entered the service of the Nabob, and were in it ‘when the corps was transferred to the Company. The native ‘officers were gentlemen of family and education, and realised ‘the expectation which might be formed of persons of that class. ‘It is at this period the late Sir John Malcolm seems to think ‘that the native army of Madras had attained its highest state of ‘efficiency. The chivalrous conduct of its native officers, the ‘attachment of the men to their leaders, their patience under ‘fatigue and hunger, their devotion to their European officers ‘and their fidelity to the state when imprisoned and cruelly ‘treated by the ruler of Mysore,—all tend to throw a lustre ‘over the character of these faithful soldiers.’ Nor was the case different in the other presidencies. Bombay in 1780 brought fifteen battalions into the field, raised, organised, and officered like those at Madras, while Bengal advanced from nineteen to twenty-one, adding them to the six troops of native cavalry, six battalions of European infantry, and six companies of European artillery, which she had previously embodied.

It is worthy of remark, that so long as the native armies retained this constitution the battalions got their officers from the native gentry of the provinces, all of whom entered the service as privates, though they rarely continued in that grade more

than two or three years at the most. These brought with them their retainers,—every man born and reared on their own lands,—and not unfrequently filled their ranks with Pariars and persons of the lowest caste. Nor did the slightest inconvenience arise from this. Off duty, the Brahmin or Rajpoot could not come into contact with the Sudra, far less touch the Paria, or eat of food which he had dressed; on duty, they rubbed shoulders freely, and were honestly attached to one another. In fact, to use the words of General Briggs, the native army 'consisted then of two classes, of which all armies to be effective must be and have been composed, —one class derived from the better order of society, accustomed to command the services of domestics and underlings, and the other class drawn from the lowest grades, who are from infancy habituated to obedience, and taught to respect the upper class on whom they are dependent.' Meanwhile all young gentlemen sent out as cadets from England joined the European regiments. With these they served till, by the acquisition of the native languages, and by other marks of general intelligence, they attracted the notice of the Government, when one by one they were drafted off into native corps, none being permitted to join a Sepoy battalion until there was good reason to believe that he had qualified himself for the new class of duties thence arising.

It was about 1784 that this wise practice began to be broken in upon. Heretofore promotion went on through the whole line, now it was thought necessary, by way of putting the King's and the Company's services more upon a footing of equality, that promotion up to a certain point should be regimental. In 1781 the rank of major had been introduced, and battalions were divided so as to form two respectively. Hence while each continued to have a captain at its head, the whole, under the designation of a regiment, fell to the charge of a major. But this half measure was not found to answer, and in 1783 it was abandoned. There came in, moreover, an innovation whereby to each company a European subaltern was allotted in command; a serious matter even when guarded by all the checks of which it was susceptible. For though the subalterns thus disposed of were carefully selected, and the feelings of the subadars spared as much as possible, the native gentleman could no longer disguise from himself or from his men that his shadow was growing less. He supported himself, however, tolerably well till the tide which had begun to set in against him acquired greater force. In 1790, and again in 1796, the European element became still stronger, and then, and not till then, the spirit of the native sank within him. Sir John Mal-

colm in his Political History of India, speaking of the native army during the war with Tippoo from 1790 to 1793, says, 'Though improved in discipline, it had become in some degree 'a secondary one, and the pride of those who composed it was 'lowered.' Worse effects followed upon the changes which ensued in 1796. Then 'the whole form of the army was changed. 'Instead of a single battalion commanded by a captain who 'was selected from the Company's European regiments, and a 'subaltern to each company, regiments were formed of two 'battalions, to which officers were appointed of the same rank 'and nearly of the same number, as to one battalion in the service of His Majesty.'

Many and great evils followed this change, not the least telling of which lay here: that it was no longer possible to select European officers for Sepoy commands; but that as vacancies occurred, raw lads fresh from England, with all their inexperience and inborn prejudices in full flower, were brought forward to supply them. Such boys could hardly avoid coming into constant and painful collision with the native officers, whom they affected to look down upon because their complexions were dark, and did not understand, because they were ignorant of every language spoken among men except their own. But, defective as it was, the duplex arrangement had so far the advantage over that which now prevails, that it was competent to the authorities to select from *both* battalions, for the battalion about to be employed in war, the European officers who were known to be best acquainted with the native character and habits. And such selections—imperfect of course when compared with those which they superseded—were continually made. But in 1824 battalions were again re-united, without any increase to the numbers of European officers, nor any distinction drawn between the wants of the several arms of the service. Hence a regiment of infantry, with its ten companies, retained its colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, five captains, eight lieutenants, and five ensigns. A regiment of cavalry, with its six troops, was equally well supplied; and a battalion of artillery, which consists of only four companies, did not fall short in its complement. It too showed a muster-roll of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, eight lieutenants, and five ensigns, all being Englishmen by birth.

The effect produced by these changes upon the native officers, and ultimately upon the service at large, has been deplorable. The former losing all influence and authority in their corps, soon began to degenerate; indeed, the race may be said to have changed its nature altogether. Formerly you had the *élite* of

the native gentry in your ranks; now no native gentleman ever thinks of putting on the uniform of the regular army. It would be marvellous if he did; for length of service furnishes, and has long furnished, the only claim for advancement to a commission; and it takes a soldier from twenty to thirty years to earn his subadar's epaulets. Formerly every native officer was an educated gentleman. He could keep his company's accounts, write out orders and despatches, and not unfrequently acted as interpreter, where his European comrades would have been otherwise at fault. All this is changed now. The soldiers of India are the most unlettered men in the country, and the officers, taken from the same class, do not, in this respect, go ahead of the privates.

'In the year 1831,' says General Briggs, 'the Commander-in-Chief of Madras was induced to call for a return of the education in the native army; and the following result of that inquiry shows how much it is neglected, and from how low an origin the native army is derived—a conclusion, however, which should not excite our astonishment, when we reflect on the small pay which the Sepoy receives. Education is very general among the people of India; all those forming the middle classes are early instructed to read and write; and few even of the personal domestics of Europeans are so uninstructed as not to be able to keep an account.

'An abstract of the return exhibits the following state of the educated:—

Cavalry and Horse Artillery	726	can read at all out of	4,966
Foot Artillery and Infantry	7,226	" "	39,988
Sepoy Recruit Establishment	280	" "	4,321

'The original return exhibits two very remarkable circumstances which merit notice. These are, first, that in one regiment of cavalry, and in the horse brigade of the artillery, there is not a single native officer or havildar-major (serjeant-major) who can read; and the same occurs in the case of all the subadars of two other regiments of cavalry; so that out of eight regiments of cavalry and two of horse artillery, there are four corps in which no subadar, or native captain, can read. The second, is the very small portion of the Sepoy recruits that can read, and for whose education regimental schools exist. These admirable institutions consist of thirty sons of deceased Sepoys above seven, and forty above twelve years of age, in each regiment, who receive half-pay, and are trained till of an age to enter the army.'

General Briggs speaks here of the Madras army as it was in 1831, with which a service of forty years made him thoroughly acquainted. We beg to assure him that his estimate, *mutatis mutandis*, will serve quite as well for the armies of Bengal and Bombay, and for the Madras army in 1852. We doubt,

indeed, whether, in the former force at least, the standard be not even lower than he has put it, though the following facts convey but a melancholy impression of the *morale*, not less than of the intellectual state of the service to which he belongs:—

‘From a review of the native courts martial I find that between the years 1800 and 1830, there were 331 native officers of the Madras army brought to trial on the following charges:—

Drunkenness on duty	-	-	-	-	137
Insubordination	-	-	-	-	29
Mutiny and sedition, with the intention of murdering the officers	-	-	-	-	46
Robbery, usury, speculation	-	-	-	-	26
Perjury and subornation of evidence	-	-	-	-	5
Absent without leave	-	-	-	-	3
Robbery, burglary, theft	-	-	-	-	16
Assaults and frays	-	-	-	-	12’

Considering that this estimate covers a space of thirty years we should not be startled by the conclusion to which it leads, were we dealing with the non-commissioned officers and privates of any army in the world. One per cent. of criminals is not a large average, but the reverse, in a general armed force. Nor are the crimes here specified different from those which we might expect to find brought home to the individuals composing it. But when one per cent. in a body of officers is proved to have committed atrocities like these, we naturally ask ourselves, can they be taken from the class in society whom previous habits have qualified for situations of trust? ‘In considering this part of the subject,’ continues the General, ‘we can arrive but at one conclusion; namely, that the race of native officers who so distinguished themselves under Clive and Lawrence, under Coote and Cornwallis, under Harris and Wellington, no longer remain in our regular army.’

We perfectly agree with the General. The native veterans on whom the blow first fell struggled, as they best could, against outraged self-respect. It was very bitter for them to find, that even the practice of selection ceased to be observed; and that, covered it might be with honourable wounds, they were subjected to the caprices of striplings from England, many of whom had not been born when they entered the service. They endured the wrong, as became them; but they took care, instead of inviting their sons, or younger brothers, or nephews, to enlist, to warn them against it. Hence the native officers, at all the Presidencies, as compared with their predecessors, have dwindled into a low and degenerate race, in no degree superior, as respects intellect, conduct, or education, to the

havildars or serjeants, from among whom they are taken. And to add to the catalogue of their faults, they are in nine cases out of ten inefficient through age; and incapable, were they ever so much disposed, to support the position of gentlemen through poverty. The pay of a sepoy is, we believe, five pence half-penny a day, out of which he is obliged to find his linen and the materials for keeping his arms and accoutrements in order. It takes him, on an average, from five to seven years to become a naeg or corporal, about ten more to reach the grade of havildar or serjeant, and twenty, or it may be thirty, in all, to earn his first commission, when his pay is raised to one shilling and four pence a day. In his turn he becomes a subadar or captain, with pay at the rate of half a crown per diem; and, finally, if he live, and his constitution does not fail altogether, he may become subadar major, with five shillings a day. The average age of the native subalterns in the Company's service has been taken, we believe, at forty-five, of the captains at fifty-five, and of the majors at sixty-five, or from that to seventy.

A consideration of these facts leads to one of two conclusions; first, that if the Indian Government did well in throwing so large a portion of the European element into their Sepoy regiments, they erred in not making that element larger; next, that if it was right to deprive the native officer of all real authority and patronage, it was wrong to continue the class of native commissioned officers at all. As the case now stands, the whole of these persons, from the subadar major down to the junior jemadar, are positively in the way. The most exalted of them all—the black-faced major—cannot take command of the battalion as long as there is a white-faced ensign or serjeant-major, or, we suspect, a white-faced serjeant on the ground. And as to his influence in quarters nobody, we presume, would pretend to say that it is greater than that of a havildar or a naeg. Hence the inability of these people to repress the mutinous spirit which has too often shown itself of late in our Sepoy regiments; and of which, previously to the reorganisation of the army in 1796, there is not one instance upon record. Hence, too, the comparative good or bad behaviour of Sepoy corps, in the enemy's presence, according as they are led into the field by an adequate or inadequate number of European officers. Observe that we do not charge the native officers, as a body, with promoting a spirit of insubordination or with setting an example of misconduct in battle. The Hindoo portion of them, at least, have never, we believe, been known to join in a mutiny; of the Mahomedans we cannot say as much. And in regard to courage, or its opposite, both classes stand

pretty much upon a level with the non-commissioned officers — certainly not a hair's breadth above them. But in the present case it does not appear, either that their authority is of weight enough to extinguish a flame, or that in any recent instance they have been able to give the European commandant notice of the mischief that was brewing. The only fair inference to be drawn, therefore, is, that the commissioned rank just raises them to a sufficient height above their former comrades to deprive them of the hail-fellow-well-met confidence which private soldiers repose in one another, without creating for them in the class from which they have been taken the deference which leads a tenant to make a confidant of his landlord, or a poor man to seek advice, when in difficulties, from a gentleman whom he knows and respects.

It was a great mistake when we took to officering our Sepoy battalions and companies with Europeans, to retain any native as a commissioned officer at all. His nominal position is an insult to him. It brings with it neither power nor pecuniary gain; it has ceased to be an object of ambition to the class of persons whose services could be of any value; and forasmuch as the rules of the profession render the prize, such as it is, unattainable, except in the decline of life, it is no sooner won than the fortunate individual takes steps to retire upon a pension. Nor is this all. Except for the mockery of the native commission, Government would admit the necessity of giving to the Indian army an adequate strength of officers; which, under existing circumstances, it certainly has not. Will any body pretend to say that an English battalion, eight hundred strong, has, upon our present peace establishment, too many officers attached to it? And if eight hundred Englishmen, speaking the same language with their officers, and standing towards them in the relation which General Briggs has so well described, cannot be made effective, as a regiment, with fewer than thirty-three battalion officers, exclusive of the staff, how can it be supposed that eight hundred Sepoys, a mixed mass of Hindoos and Mohamedans, speaking different languages, trained up to different habits, and altogether aliens, in customs and in thought, on every important subject, are to be rightly managed by twenty-two officers? But are there really twenty battalion officers present with any native regiment in India? By no means. Such is the demand for European service on the general staff of the army, and so trying the effect of an Indian climate on European constitutions, that not only is this not the case, even in a solitary instance, but that, in a vast variety of instances, less than one half of the regimental officers in the Company's



service ever do duty with their corps. Nor is it to be forgotten that even as regards regimental duty, no provision is made in the Company's service for staff employment. The adjutant, the quartermaster, and the paymaster, are all selected from among the battalion officers, thus leaving available for Company duty, supposing all to be present, barely fifteen. Even fifteen, however, is far above the mark. We have not at hand the latest official returns explanatory of the strength and distribution of European officers belonging to the armies of India; but an article in an early number of the '*Calcutta Review*' sets forth the details of the service as they stood in 1844: and as nothing has occurred since to alter the principle on which the army works, we do not see why we should refuse to make use of our contemporary's tables here. It appears, then, that nine years ago, the Company's regular native army,—cavalry, infantry, and artillery,—consisted of 212,500 men; that to these were nominally attached 4,481 officers; that the general staff and the command of irregular corps, absorbed not fewer than 2229; leaving exactly 2253 officers to take charge, in field and in quarters, of 212,000 men. This will give an average of something less than 1 officer to every 93 men; a proportion which all who are conversant with the subject will pronounce to be wholly inadequate, and which, as we learn, drew from Marshal Soult, when he was here, on the occasion of Her Majesty's coronation, expressions of astonishment that discipline could be preserved in the Indian army at all.

Again: inadequate as this complement is, the experience of the last eight years has shown that the progress of war, even for a few months, renders it far more so. We have heard of regiments, both in Afghanistan and the Punjab, going into action without being able to show so much as one European officer at the head of each company. We believe that there were occasions when three or four Europeans at the most took their places in the line. Can we expect, looking to the class of natives now dignified with the title of commissioned officers, that regiments composed like those of our Indian army, and so commanded, should behave otherwise than ill? We should not like to see the best regiment under the Crown led into action without having at least one officer per company to show the way. And yet there is affectation of surprise and regret when a Sepoy battalion, under the command of a lieutenant, becomes unmanageable and insubordinate.

Again: there has sprung up, within the last twenty or thirty years, particularly in Bengal, a notion that men of high caste make better soldiers than men of low caste; and that it will not

do to parade together persons who in common life cannot hold familiar intercourse with one another. More or less the same prejudice prevails elsewhere; but we believe it to be as mistaken as it is mischievous. The high caste man is the slave of a thousand scruples, which do not affect the mind of the low caste man. He cannot eat this, and he will not drink that; to pass the sea in ships is contrary to his religion, and as to working in the trenches, it was shown, at the siege of Mooltan, that to so deep a degradation he never will submit. The Paria is oppressed with no such weaknesses. He will go wherever he is ordered, and do whatever he is desired; and, under fire, exhibits as much coolness and courage as the proudest Raj-put of them all. And in the older and, we must be permitted to say, the better times of the native army, a very large proportion of its regiments belonged to this order.

‘The Sepoys,’ says General Briggs, ‘who fought the battles of Clive and Coote, who contributed to the humiliation of Tippoo in 1792 and to his downfall in 1799, and who gained laurels under the Duke of Wellington in the campaign of 1803-4, were, like the Bombay army, of a mixed class. The infantry was composed of Pariars, Pullers, and other low cultivators of the Carnatic, and of the Northern Circars, with some few Mahomedans. The cavalry were wholly Mahomedan. In the year 1806, the epoch of the Vellore Mutiny, Government, on what ground does not appear, forbade any recruit to be enlisted for the Madras army of the low caste tribes, and advantage was taken of that order to discharge all those for which such excuse could be found. An old Raj-put Subadar, whose company I commanded for some years, and for whom I entertained great esteem, considered the measure highly impolitic. “These men,” he said, “have ever been faithful, obedient, and brave; and the day will come when you will confess how much higher qualities they possess, as good soldiers, than the Mahomedans, whom it is now the fashion to bring forward.”’

The day predicted by General Briggs’ friend has come. Of all the troops in the Company’s service, there are none so little to be depended upon as the regular cavalry, and it is composed exclusively of Mahomedans. The best regiments in the service are the Madras Pioneers, recently converted into Sappers and Miners, the Bombay Native Infantry, and the Gourkas. They are all recruited mainly from among low caste tribes, and, when properly led, will go any where and do any thing.

Again: we have too much got into the practice of raising an army suddenly when war occurs, or appears to threaten, and as suddenly reducing it when the danger blows over. It is a most unwise proceeding; for he takes but a short-sighted view of the moral uses of the native army who supposes that it operates

solely upon the fears of the people of British India to keep them in subjection. Of the 250,000 men composing our Sepoy force, there are probably not 10,000 unmarried. Most of them have families; and all these, as well as the followers of our camps, and hangers-on about cantonments, are interested in the welfare of the government on which they depend for subsistence. Indeed, it is from these persons, scattered over the whole surface of the empire, that our Government receives all its information of plots and conspiracies as soon as they are formed; they act as a sort of detective police, and may at all times be depended upon. But if, in the prosecution of a short-sighted economy, we take to enlisting men, and by-and-by discharging them without pensions or other provision against want, we shall not only lose the support of them and of their relatives, but we shall convert every one of them into a conspirator. Let the reader call to mind how fatally the absence of such motives of attachment on the part of the people of Afghanistan told against us. A whole nation conspired for the destruction of the force which had conquered it. Yet the leaders of the force knew nothing of the matter, till the blow fell. The Government of India will act judiciously if it avoid giving an opportunity, by a too frequent discharge of its native soldiers unpensioned, for the formation of similar plots against its continuance in districts nearer home.

We have not half exhausted this part of our subject, to deal fairly by which would, indeed, require more than double the space now at our disposal; and there are various points besides, more or less connected with it, on which we cannot pretend to touch at all. There is the commissariat of India, for example, which, especially as it affects the means of transport for our armies, appears to us to be as defective as any thing can well be. There is also the armament of our native troops, their clothing, and their equipment, especially of the horse. See how unsuited it is, as well to the physical strength of the men as to the nature of the climate. What is it which renders the regular cavalry of British India in so marked a degree inefficient? Because you mount the trooper on an English saddle, impede his movements with your tight-fitting English uniform, and put into his hands a sabre so heavy that he is unable properly to wield it. And look at your Sepoy or infantry man,—buttoned up to the throat in a woollen jacket of brick-dust hue, and expected to make play with a musket, fabricated in Birmingham, after the model of such weapons as a stalwart grenadier of the 87th Irish Fusiliers is just able to manage. All these things require looking into; and we strongly advise when the Com-

mittee on Indian Affairs come to this part of their subject, that they fail not to examine Sir Charles Napier, having first of all carefully read and digested his pamphlet on the 'Baggage of an Indian Army.' But we are constrained, for the present, to pass them by; for it will never do to bring forward a bill of indictment against either an individual or an institution without making, at least, some suggestions for the amelioration of the evils complained of; and even these — not being forgetful that of all subjects that of Indian administration is, to the majority of Englishmen, the most distasteful — we must endeavour to make as brief as shall be consistent with perspicuity.

The points which we have established against the military administration of British India seem to be three: —

First. That the comparative inefficiency of the native army of India is attributable mainly to the want of an adequate corps of officers, who shall command and obtain the confidence of their men.

Second. That the general condition of the native commissioned officers, their false position in the corps, and the low state of their education, renders them all but useless, if not positively inconvenient, to the service.

Third. That if we desire to retain India, upon which our only real hold is through the native army, steps must be taken without delay to correct those evils.

As to the other subjects, glanced at rather than discussed, — such as the wisdom of recruiting from classes different from those in which we now seek our soldiers, the providing a better-organised baggage-train, and general commissariat, — these involve questions which, though not without their importance, may safely be left to answer themselves. It will be enough for our present purpose if we deal with points more salient.

It appears to us then, that there are two courses open to the Indian Government, by following either of which the armed force of the country may be placed on such a footing as shall render it at all times trustworthy in quarters, and perfectly efficient in the day of battle. Either they may go back to the state of things which prevailed prior to the regulations of 1796, or they must raise the strength of their European regimental officers to the same level with that of the Queen's service. In point of economy the former course holds out many and very obvious advantages, for it is the pay of the European officers, regimental as well as staff, which renders the maintenance of the native army so costly: and though Government must be prepared, if it expect native gentlemen to serve in the ranks, to remunerate them on a scale considerably above that which has

been fixed for the present race of subadars and jemadars, still the total outlay on their account would be more than met by the diminution of expense which would attend the reduction of European officers. But before this course be either recommended or adopted, one or two grave questions must be answered. In the first place, are there left within the Company's provinces, native gentlemen of sufficient standing and education to undertake so important a charge; and in the next place, assuming that such persons exist, should we be justified, looking to the altered state of the empire, in trusting them? Our own honest belief is, that such persons are still to be found; and we see no reason to assume that they might not be trusted. Look at the irregular corps. They are by far the most efficient, whether as horse or foot, in the native army. Yet they have seldom more than two, and sometimes only one, European officer attached to each. And as to courage, there never was a greater libel upon human nature, than that which assumes that the people of India are naturally cowards. They were no cowards who met us at Assaye, at Dieg, at Mchedpoor, Sitabaldy, Maharajpobr, the battles of the Sutlej, and at Chillianwallah. We defeated them, on each occasion, no doubt, because of our superior discipline; but it was at a sacrifice of life quite as great, in proportion to the numbers engaged, as occurred at any of the fiercest European battles during the late war. Compare the slaughter which occurred at every one of them, with the loss sustained by the victors at Waterloo, and it will be found to stand thus:—At Waterloo, the Duke lost in the proportion of 1 to 6. The Indian returns show the following ratios:—

					British Loss.
1803. Assaye	-	-	-	-	1 to 3
1804. Dieg	-	-	-	-	1 to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1817. Mchedpoor	-	-	-	-	1 to 6
1817. Sitabaldy	-	-	-	-	1 to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1818. Korygaum	-	-	-	-	1 to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1845. Maharajpoor	-	-	-	-	1 to 6
1846. Battles of the Sutlej	-	-	-	-	1 to 5
1848. Chillianwallah	-	-	-	-	1 to 7

Here is no proof of cowardice on the part of the defeated, whose loss, in every affair, except perhaps the last, greatly exceeded our own. Why should we assume that because they serve the Queen of England, Indian gentlemen will not lead, and Indian soldiers follow, as gallantly as when both are in arms against her. Are not the exploits of Skinner's Horse fresh in the memory of every reader of history? Have the terms in which

Sir Harry Smith spoke of the Sermore and Gourka battalions been forgotten? And did not Sir Charles Napier convert the robber population of Upper Scinde into as effective a corps of irregulars as ever took the field? We cannot say that either the style or the matter of Sir William Napier's 'Administration of Scinde' greatly delights us. The accomplished author has contrived to disfigure a not uninteresting narrative, by a more than ordinary indulgence in the luxury of vituperation and hard names. Yet he has done no more than justice to his brother in the following passage, which we quote as strongly confirming the opinions expressed throughout this paper.

'While the regeneration of the poorer classes was thus urged forward, the just claims of the high-born people of the land were not overlooked. Though a conquered race, Sir Charles Napier regarded them only as English subjects; and resolved to open for them all places of trust and dignity, without objection to colour or religion, demanding only qualification. Mohamed Tora, one of the greatest serdars who fought at Meance, was made a magistrate at his own request, the appointment being justified thus:—"The nobles of Scinde must have the road of ambition opened to them, or they will not have their rights, in the honourable sense of my proclamation; that is, if they qualify themselves for the offices demanded. But in questions of general interest like this, even qualifications should not be required before enjoyment,—we must give first, we must turn out afterwards for incapacity. The class-right will be thus acknowledged, while the man is removed; and if one Beloochee gentleman becomes a magistrate, many will qualify themselves. I want to go beyond this, if the Indian system will allow me; but that system—a rotten fabric of expedients for the supporting of robbery,—is equally destitute of humanity and knowledge of human nature, and will, I suppose, certainly debar the Scindian gentleman of the rights possessed by Englishmen. I will, however, give them all I can. The Beloochee gentleman may likely enough abuse his power for ten years to come; but we who have conquered the country can surely keep half a dozen such persons in order; and the great men of the land must have a door open for their ambition, their virtues, and their industry, or they will become rebellious or vile; I know not which is worst; but the government which produces either is a detestable tyranny."

There is sound philosophy in this, albeit the sentiment be strongly worded; and it is in the spirit of the same philosophy that we certainly should not object to the attempt, judiciously made, to introduce to public employment, both military and civil, Indian gentlemen, wherever they might show themselves qualified. Why should we hesitate to place more Mahomed Yufs, or Bhavany Sings, at the head of our battalions if we can find them,—subject, of course, to the general

control of European officers, carefully selected? Are they more likely to betray their trust than the chiefs whom we employ with our irregular corps; or gentlemen like Mohun Lal, who in the civil department of the army proved himself so useful and so trustworthy in Affghanistan? General Briggs, at least, and the late General Caulfield seem to apprehend no danger; indeed the former goes somewhat further than in the present stage of the business we feel quite disposed to go with him; for he sketches his plan in detail, and recommends it for adoption. But in the summing up of his argument we acquiesce heartily. 'In such case young men of family might be received into the army as volunteers, with an understanding, that according to their merits and standing they should succeed to commissions. No volunteer should be eligible to his commission before he had served at least two years as a private, one as a corporal or naeg, and one as a serjeant-major or havildar-major of his company.'

It is not our business to go into the details of a plan, of the principle of which alone we are ready to express our approval. Should the Indian Government judge it expedient to revert in whole or in part to the military organisation of 1780, ways and means of doing so, without inflicting wrong upon any one, can easily be found. Should the prejudice against placing natives in offices of trust, prevail to bar the door to their advancement in the army, there is no alternative left except largely to increase the number of European officers. For apart from the evils that every where follow the attempt to preserve discipline in armed bodies with inadequate means, there is this special drawback to the Indian system, that none except the least intelligent officers in the service remain with their regiments. Indeed, employment on the staff becomes an object of ambition to every well-disposed cadet from the hour of his landing in the country; and he seldom fails, with ordinary diligence and talent to qualify himself after a few years, and to win the prize. Meanwhile the idle, the stupid, the dissolute, and the ignorant remain with their colours; and even of these the numbers become, through casualties of various kinds, often so small, that the regiment cannot show, upon a peaceful parade, one European officer per company. This is a state of things which must at any cost be put a stop to; and every day, while it diffuses the native army over a wider space of territory, renders the application of some remedy to so fatal an error more urgent.

The expense of rightly supplying the army of India with European officers, will be in the end very great. There is no disputing that fact. And another measure, not wholly free

from risk, must keep pace with it, namely, the abolition of the class of commissioned native officers; but this latter step need not, any more than the former, be taken precipitately; and a slight degree of caution will suffice, in our own opinion, to rob it of all its terrors. For the position of a jemadar or subadar is not coveted by any natives of India above the humblest in point of birth and station; and even these seek it much more on account of the pension which it secures, than because it opens a door of advancement for them in the world. The discharged subadar, when he goes back to his village, relapses into the social place from which by enlistment he had escaped. He sits down in his unfurnished hut, a ryot,—better to do in the world than some of his neighbours, but still only a ryot. The havildar, who on the retirement of the subadar, expected to succeed to the epaulettes, will be quite satisfied if you give him in the meanwhile the pay, and assure him of a jemadar's pension by-and-by. Thus in time, and after no very great lapse of time, the race will die out. Nor need you push on your increase of Europeans one whit more rapidly than space shall by these means be found for them. We will engage to say that such a measure as this would give offence to no class of our Indian subjects. It might and probably would establish the custom of recruiting from low-caste tribes exclusively; for the low-caste man, as he does not in civil life indulge in ambitious longings, so he enlists for the sake of the pay, and with little or no view to promotion. And he is, for this as well as for other reasons, better suited than the high-caste man to serve in such an army as ours. But it would attract no attention whatever in circles which would be likely to make a bad use of their knowledge, for against them the military service of their rulers is already barred. The measure therefore would be at least safe, though we confess that it could not be made economical or generous.

Again: care must be taken under such a change of circumstances to attach officers permanently to the corps which they first enter. The native soldier is susceptible of strong attachment to his officer, provided the latter understand him, and deal liberally with his prejudices. But the native soldier, under the present order of things, has no time to become acquainted with any except the refuse of his European officers. All the rest are taken away from him for service on the staff, or to fill civil offices which would be far more effectively filled by the native gentry of the district. This state of things must be altered. The Indian officer must learn to look again, as he looked fifty years ago, to his regiment as his home; and he will then think



it worth his while to become personally acquainted with the characters of his men, and to conciliate their good will by fair dealing. Meanwhile such a corps as that of the *Etat Major* in the French service may be formed; for admission into which all shall be allowed to compete; but from which, and from no other source, candidates for staff employment shall be chosen. This will still, to a certain extent, deprive the line of the *élite* of its officers; but at least it will render staff situations even more than they are now the rewards of transcendent merit, while it leaves with regiments enough both of *personnel* and of talent to manage them adequately in the field or in quarters. And finally, care must be taken to render superannuation, both in the Company's and in the Queen's service, compulsory. All the improvements in minor matters, which the wit of man can devise, will not render an army effective which has only worn-out old men at its head. And the days are not, we fear, distant, when the importance of this truth will be forced upon us.

We have completed the task which we had set for ourselves. It is for the Indian Government, and the general public, to judge of the manner of its performance. For in respect to the groundwork on which our argument rests, we defy the whole body of Proprietors, with the Court of Directors and the Board of Control at their back, to controvert it. We have won an enormous empire with the sword, which is growing continually larger. We have established a system of civil administration there which protects the peasant, and disgusts all the classes above him. If we could exterminate these classes, or stop education, and reduce 120,000,000 of people to the social condition of cultivators of the soil, then with our army even weaker in point of numbers than it is, we might be safe; for it is not among the peasant classes in any country that seditions and rebellions originate. But this we cannot do; and with a large body of discontented gentry everywhere, and whole clusters of native princes and chiefs interspersed through our dominions, it is idle to say that the continuance of our sovereignty depends, from one day to another, on anything except the army. Now the army is admitted by all competent judges to be very far in many respects from what it ought to be. We too are of this opinion. We have pointed out where some of the gravest defects lie, and suggested a remedy. Others must act as to them shall appear expedient in the matter.

ART. VII.—1. *Des Intérêts Catholiques au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par le Comte de MONTALEMBERT. 2d edit. Paris: 1852.

2. *De la Liberté et de l'Avenir de la République Française.* Par M. RENDU, Evêque d'Auvergne. Paris: 1849.

**M**OST of M. de Montalembert's writings and speeches are superior to the Essay before us in liveliness and richness of expression and in originality of thought and illustration. A certain tone of apology chills the fervour of his rhetoric, and his impetuous nature is restrained by a consciousness that the truths he is uttering are unwelcome to those before whom he has prostrated his remarkable mind, and to whose service he has devoted the fairest years of his political life. It is not indeed the young enthusiast, who in the 'Ami de la Religion' preached a theocracy founded on republicanism, that appears once more on the scene, but it is the mature politician still instinct with some sense of the worth of civil liberty, and confirmed by experience in his views of the danger and degradation incident to the cause of religion when it becomes the servile acolyte of the civil power. Such a protest at such a moment of French history deserves some notice for its own sake, and for us the interest is increased, when its author is in the first rank of the orators whom the constitutional government of France has brought forth, and the son of an English mother.

The immediate provocation to the work has doubtless been the adulation with which the Church in France has hailed the destruction of political liberty. Of that event we will not now speak further than to say, that the reception which it has met with from the press and public feeling of this country, is one of which no man has a right to complain. We are constitutionalists, or, to use the new French slang, parliamentarists, not by choice of opinion, but by historical necessity; we connect this matter in our minds with the gravest questions of human progress and moral responsibility: we recognise in such institutions something above material prosperity, or private security, or public order: we have won and sustained them by the sacrifice of a national dynasty, by revolution and civil war, and by the continual and contented submission of every separate class or interest to the will of the majority, after fair fight and honourable surrender. It is thus that the capability of enjoying representative institutions enters so largely into the calculation of the amount of respect we bear to foreign nations, and the consideration we attach to them; it is thus the abandonment of

such privileges, whether forced or voluntary, on the part of the most advanced and powerful nation of continental Europe, has inevitably struck us with dismay. No Frenchman, who knows our way of thinking on these points, can owe us any grudge for appreciating his liberties more than he seems to do himself, and refusing to listen to justifications which in our own case we should disdain to acknowledge. M. de Montalembert says well, that in treating such a political question as the establishment of despotic authority, the character of the person who happens at any particular moment to wield it, is hardly a legitimate incident in the discussion; and when the Russian emperor Alexander called himself a 'lucky accident,' he pronounced the severest condemnation of the system of which he formed a part.

In alluding to the conduct of the Gallican Church in the late establishment of absolute power in France, we ought perhaps to specify the hierarchy, for there is no evidence that the suppression of liberty has been acceptable to the lower ranks of the clergy. The *curés*, who as a body were regarded with much suspicion even by the government of Louis Philippe, have taken no prominent part in the affair; and it is not improbable that the consequences of their repugnance to the servility of their superiors may form a portion of M. de Montalembert's anxiety on the subject. If an honest *curé* has any Jacobinism latent in him, the sycophancy of his superiors would naturally tend to excite it. 'The Elect of God,' 'The Messiah of the 2d of 'December,' 'The Star from the East,' are phrases which every man of true piety would reject with disgust; and the civil power, addressing the father of France, to 'give us our daily bread' and forgive our trespasses' against him, might well provoke the minister of religion even more than the citizen. If it has failed to do so, M. de Montalembert's protest is indeed uttered in vain.

The connexion of the royal and sacerdotal powers in France is an interesting chapter in history; and it is undeniable that the sovereigns have always had the best of it. All the advantages and independence, won at the council of Basle for the Gallican Church, were sacrificed by Francis I. for the immense accession of ecclesiastical patronage conferred on the Crown, and the Gallican liberties became nothing more than the substitution of the authority of the State for that of Rome. The Prince de Condé's well-known assertion, that 'if Louis XIV. would 'only declare himself Protestant, all the French clergy would 'follow him,' and measures like the excommunications of actors and actresses for the purpose of preventing the Grand Monarque

from exhibiting himself on the stage, are but specimens of the relation of the State to the Church in the days of Bossuet and Fénelon. These two names, indeed, typify both the dominant sentiment and the honourable exception; and while in the conduct of many prelates of to-day we recognise the natural successors of the great bishop and orator who pronounced all attempts to check absolute power to be 'un vain tourment,' and who abruptly closes his 'universal history' at the moment when the Church participates in the triumph of Charlemagne, so in the pages before us we would hope to welcome the wiser judgment and larger heart of the author of *Telemachus* — a work now too exclusively confined to the school-room, and whose influence over political opinions in France has seldom been justly appreciated. Those who derided the '*Telemacomanie*' and its effects probably understood them far better than we do. But that the supporters of these purer theories were always a minority among the French clergy, is indeed too manifest; and how little the tone of the government in its relations to the Church was changed even by the events of the Revolution and the Empire, is strongly illustrated by the extract which M. de Montalembert candidly cites from the official dispatch of the Duc de Laval-Montmorency, Ambassador at Rome, on the subject of the French cardinals who were about to take part in the conclave of 1823.

'The French Cardinals should be sent, without communication with any one whatever, without recommendations, one might venture to say without individual consciences, as far as that word implies a vanity occupied with personal considerations rather than with the interests of the King. Each of them, deeply penetrated with the sense of the duty he owes to his Sovereign, should consent to err with him, if he should chance to err, and should use every effort to bring about such objects as the King may desire, objects which appeal to their conscientious feelings, in their character of prelates placed in the conclave by the King, and who would not have been there without the King.'\*

Surely, no language more derogatory to the independence of the Church could have been devised; and yet its author was a most devout Catholic, and the sovereign he represented a man of strong religious sentiments and of higher views than the brothers of his race.

To a Protestant accustomed to attach spiritual ideas to spiritual things, the principle asserted and defended by M. de Montalembert, that a moderate and well-ordered liberty is fa-

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\* Artaud, *Histoire de Leon XII.* tom. i. p. 146, 146.

favourable to the religious development of a nation, seems almost a truism, and beyond discussion. Indeed, the inference would rather be, that the form of religion which required such unholy aid, and which could exist with such a base alliance, was itself essentially defective. The transition from this aspect of the question into the general controversy against the principles of Roman Catholicism is so easy, that we are content with merely pointing to it; but there is another principle involved in the argument, which is almost equally self-evident, and which does not provoke this objection. In all forms and shapes of the Christian religion, certain moral and intellectual developments are required to make a man susceptible of the sense of its requirements and obligations. The Roman Catholic system, in its wonderful adaptation to the inferior faculties and desires of mankind, can exist, and even flourish, with a far less expansion of these powers than is elsewhere necessary; but it is, on the face of it, paradoxical to assert that even this can be aided and encouraged by the extraneous pressure of a wilful and merely human authority. The worst teachers of passive obedience do not predicate that kings are infallible, and, of all religious influences, a power that assumes itself to be infallible can, with the least consistency, inculcate implicit submission to a fallible rule. M. de Montalembert is therefore both philosophically and historically right in defining the doctrine of the excellence of absolute power as having been both a sign and a consequence of the decline of the influence of the Church. To those who appeal to mediæval history in contradiction of this view, M. de Montalembert effectively replies:—

‘I strongly suspect our present admirers of the feudal system and the middle ages of understanding them very little, for I remark that they eulogise them with about as little discrimination as distinguished the criticism of a former period. They seem to look on the kings of these times as having been in general men of a saintly character, devoted to good works, surrounded with respectful and obedient subjects, whose eagerness to execute faithfully their commands was only equalled by their docility. Nothing is less like the truth. Through the whole of the middle ages the struggle between good and evil was continual and fierce. Two powers, essentially inimical, fill with their strife the annals of the middle ages, like the opposing currents which unite under the walls of Constantinople from the north and south, and in their collision and confusion fill the Bosphorus with the struggles and dangers of the navigation. Too soon the strength of evil predominated, and the pure and sacred stream of vitality which flowed from the Roman catacombs, and which, during many ages, had covered the face of Europe with the flood of Christian genius and enthusiasm, was infected and driven back towards its

source. But by the side of the moral spirit which governed the middle ages till their very end, and which was nothing more nor less than Catholicism, there was a political spirit very distinct in character, which, under an aristocratic form, constituted a vast system of guaranties and restrictions imposed on hereditary or elective sovereigns. The clergy, the feudal nobility, the commercial, municipal, and rural corporations, the numberless traditional usages and privileges, kept the supreme authority enlaced in inextricable bonds. The abuses of power no doubt were frequent; but the notion of the confiscation of all powers by one, the personification of all the rights of society in one man, the abdication of all individual will for the advantage of one dominant will—this was indeed unknown, and would have been deemed impossible.

How, then, are we to reconcile the pretensions of the Roman Church with its general leanings, in more modern times, to despotic power? May not some solution be found in the weakness of that Church, which compels it to look for protection to powers it once itself limited and defied; and still more in the close analogy of those mental conditions which incline a portion of mankind to a contented submission to irresponsible authority? Rare indeed is that temper which on the one hand leans to spiritual despotism, and on the other asserts its right to freedom,—which, in the path of civil life, demands neither crutch nor barrier, and, in the higher walks of moral being, cannot advance a step without support and direction. And this natural connexion of ideas is of course confirmed by the political action of the Church itself. In those countries where the Church of Rome exercises political sovereignty, has the slightest amount of political liberty been allowed to exist? Does any one now believe that the liberal designs of Pio Nono ever embraced anything better than a just and benevolent absolutism? and do not all the organs of the Papacy, even in this country, insist on the essential incompatibility of the temporal power of the Pope and constitutional forms of government? We are by no means sure, that in the rarefied air of the Roman Church, this book itself may not have a scent of heresy: we should not be astonished to see the pages we are reviewing in the Index.

But it may be said that we are enlarging the conclusions of M. de Montalembert beyond his intentions, and that the limitations of the benefits of constitutional government here expressed and implied, are at least as important as the admissions. 'We only demand representative government,' says he, 'we only desire it, we only respect it, there where it has succeeded, where it has lasted, where it has consistently and honourably maintained itself;'—a concession of which the antagonists of

M. de Montalembert will take due advantage. They may not unjustly decline to take him as the judge of these results in almost every country of Continental Europe. To those who have faith in representative institutions as the main element in the education of a people, as the safe outlet of disturbing influences, as the guardian of the political, and thus of the moral conscience of a nation, the difficulties incident to their establishment and continuance are necessary conditions of their vitality, and often evidences of their public usefulness. But the faint and tepid excuses of M. de Montalembert for the faults of parliaments, even within his own narrow bounds, would hardly resist the logic that would argue from the duty of spiritual submission to the sinfulness of temporal resistance. The violence and perfidies of absolute sovereigns against the Church are, in themselves, no proof that parliaments might not be equally unscrupulous. If the absolute Kings of Spain and Portugal expelled the Jesuits, the constitutional Queen of Spain sanctioned the appropriation to the State of something like a fourth of the whole land of Spain, the property of the Church, and the abolition of the 'religious' life as a legal *status* in the community; while the constitutional sovereign of Portugal has done much the same. M. de Montalembert would get off, on the ground that the Peninsula is not one of the countries where the constitutional system has succeeded, but others might point to these very acts as proofs of its success.

And this avoidance of the real difficulties of the argument will, we fear, induce most readers to believe that, after all, the question with M. de Montalembert is, not whether constitutional government is in itself a good to mankind and liberty a benefit to religion, but whether, by adroit management, the Roman Church may not get more out of a parliamentary than out of an absolute authority. If he believes that in a condition of religious equality and free discussion the Roman Catholic religion will ultimately triumph, he has a full right to demand, even for that special object, a system of political and religious liberty, and no consistent Protestant can demur to his desire. But he only prefers limited to absolute government, because the latter has been a frequent and successful rival of the powers and pretensions of the Church, while the former leaves, or may, a fuller play to spiritual usurpation and moral despotism, then his commendations of liberty are a snare and a delusion. The Roman Church has always claimed for herself the right of drawing the line between secular and religious affairs, and the pretensions of its ideal theocracy always remain unhumiliated amid the repulses and degradations of centuries. It is therefore to be

justly inferred, that if she regards a constitutional government as a rival, she will strive to injure and embarrass it to the advantage of her own supremacy; but if, on the contrary, she is willing to abdicate political claims, and to confine her influence within moral limits, then, in truth, she is a gainer by liberty, inasmuch as she accepts a just position, which no fair opponent can refuse her. In the United States, separated from the political and historical associations, which fill so large a space of modern European history, surrounded by influences that check individual and corporate assumptions, the Roman Church takes its due place among the teachers of the community, and receives, in turn, a cordial acceptance from other religious bodies and from the State in general, which it has not yet obtained in any Protestant country of the old world. The truth is, that in America the Papacy is really a spiritual institution, a centre of unity in faith, but not an intruder into political or domestic life; and while a great example has there been given to mankind that the Roman Catholic religion does not only exist, but flourish, without that intermixture of temporal and political interests, which in Europe contaminate its moral power, it becomes more than ever certain that its adaptation to liberal institutions can only be sincere where its exclusion from political action is complete, and where it is contained by public opinion within the proper sphere of religious action.

‘I know well,’ says our writer, ‘that in these days, unlike former times, political liberty everywhere draws religious liberty along with it; but I would fain persuade myself that Catholicism has as little to fear from the one as the other. I have no hesitation in saying that if the liberty of error and evil could be suppressed, it would be a duty to suppress it. But experience proves that in our modern society this cannot be thoroughly effected without equally smothering the liberty of good, without confiding absolute power to governments that may be incapable or unworthy of the task. Liberty of conscience, that principle so long invoked by the enemies of religion, now turns to its advantage. Of course it would be extravagant (*insensé*) to announce it in countries where it does not exist, and where no one claims it; but where it once exists, where it has once been registered in the laws, let us beware how we efface it, for it becomes the defender of the faith and the rampart of the Church.’

The author proceeds to prove that Protestants have persecuted as well as Catholics, and deduces that the Reformation only triumphed in England, in Holland, and in Germany by means of fierce oppression and cruel penalties. We would desire to refer him to the temperate and merciful methods by which Protestantism was successfully crushed in Spain, or Bohemia



reclaimed to the faith. He regards it as a 'marvellous secret of 'divine mercy, that in these days *le libre examen* only turns to 'the advantage of the truth,'—a proposition in which a Protestant would conceive the wonder to be the other way; but when he goes on to speak of 'heresy sheltering herself' under 'severe legal restrictions or the terrors of revolutionary violence,' we can only point to the Madiais pining in the prisons of the Grand Duke of Florence, to the exile of Count Guicciardini, to the refusal of the government of Spain to allow the funeral service to be read over a Protestant grave, and, above all, to the lamentable violences by which a portion of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland are trying the sympathy and interests of the Liberal party in this country, and in inducing the largest-minded men to feel somewhat like a friend of ours, who says, 'that he lives in continual dread of waking some morning with 'the conviction that, after all, Lord Eldon was in the right.'

The restriction of the right of liberty of conscience to places where it exists already, is of a piece with the limitation of constitutional governments to nations where they have worked well; nor do the Catholic authorities, whom the writer cites in support of his principles, do much more. In a letter to the Bishop of Orleans (dated July 1852), the Bishop of Moulins writes: 'I will simply (*naïvement*) own, even though I may 'pass for the owner of ideas already exploded, that I do love 'liberty; I love it too much when it supports, not to endure it 'when it opposes me.' '*Nobles paroles*,' says M. de Montalembert: but we rather accede to the *naïveté* of the venerable prelate, and conceive that the sentence would run just as well if 'absolutism' were substituted for 'liberty.'

Very different is the tone of the discourse of M. Rendu, Bishop of Auvergne, a work of honest purpose and hearty faith. He makes no apologies for liberty, but accepts it as the only field in which religious truth can worthily assert itself, and, pointing, as we have done, across the Atlantic, with no unjust pride, asks whether his religion cannot coexist with free institutions. We should be glad to see this specimen of sound controversy translated into every tongue in which the Roman doctrine is taught, if only to show that a Catholic Bishop can vindicate the principle of 'religious liberty,' defining religious liberty to comprehend 'the liberty of conscience, the liberty of worship, and the 'liberty of proselytising;' and demanding full liberty of instruction, 'by the 'pen and the press, by preaching and 'example.' Would that those liberties were more enjoyed in countries where the Roman Catholic Church is dominant, and would that the clergy would accept and act up to these defi-

nitions, both as for and against themselves, wherever religious toleration is the principle of the law, and where they might make it the principle of society !

There is another aspect of M. de Montalembert's character which is so prominent in his political life, that it must enter into any estimate of his real love of freedom. He is a lover of minorities, an implacable enemy of triumphant causes of all kinds, and finding constitutional government very low in estimation in France at this moment, he comes forward as its advocate. There was no politician in France who less valued constitutional liberty when France had it than himself: to no administration in the time of Louis Philippe did he ever give his cordial adhesion, but always contented himself with that amount of support which enabled him to exercise considerable influence in ecclesiastical appointments, especially under M. Guizot, who highly appreciated his oratorical faculty. At the same time he directed his fiercest eloquence against the policy of Lord Palmerston, which was then, as always, founded on the extension of constitutional principles, and which has never ceased to identify English interests with the reasonable and well-ordered freedom of all other nations. But when the Republic became the established order of things, the men and forms of the preceding system rose in his esteem to a high elevation, and he was proportionally unmerciful and unjust to what succeeded them. His position at that moment was one of much responsibility, for his parliamentary experience gave him high rank among so many new men. The moment was now come when the principles which he had maintained in his youth, and which had brought him as a criminal before the bar of the Chamber of Peers, might be put into practice, and when he might consistently advocate at once the liberties of the Church and of mankind. But the same Assembly which contained as representative of Paris the ancient preceptor of the young enthusiast, M. de Lamennais, witnessed the unceasing attempts of M. de Montalembert to vilify the Republic and, through the Republic, the people who endured it: no speaker more assisted the anti-socialist panic, and thus more played into the hands of those who have used it so sagaciously for their own purposes. And when that odious political contradiction, the imposition of a detested temporal government on the Roman people by a French republican army, had succeeded in alienating from the rulers of France the sympathy of all liberal-minded men, he called for 'un expédition de Rome à l'intérieur,' which could mean nothing more than an abrogation of the first principles of national independence, and an utter abasement of all popular

rights. He perhaps hardly anticipated how much of his prayer would be speedily granted, although, when it did come, he was still sufficiently under the influence of the same opinions to incur the unhappy notoriety of being the one distinguished orator of the old Chamber of Deputies who consented to transfer his services to the Legislative Chamber of the then approaching and now consummated Empire.

But no sooner do we find him there, than the same disturbing elements which had made this able man so useless, or worse, in former deliberative assemblies, again drove him into opposition; and now this essay not only isolates him again from a political system, but from a large portion of the fellow-religionists, whose homage has hitherto surrounded him, and who looked on him as their uncompromising and even unscrupulous advocate.

M. de Montalembert permits himself to indulge in the hope, that the remnant of the forms of constitutional government preserved under the Empire, will be the nucleus of further liberties, and instances periods in English history when parliamentary institutions had as little internal vitality. Such analogies really mean nothing in the face of altered circumstances and the progress of mankind. But where a power has not in its origin trusted itself to popular discussion and criticism, every hour of its existence increases the difficulty of the experiment. Whether, however, some such result occurs or no, it is equally true that if there is a nation on the globe which requires this comparatively safe outlet for popular excitement, for nervous impatience, for all the oscillations of hope and fear, it is the people of France; and Europe cannot feel herself secure from some outburst of the moment, now that these forces are merely repressed by that authority, which may be compelled, in its own defence, to direct upon others the violence and passion that would otherwise threaten its own existence.

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ART. VIII. — *Legends of the Madonna, as represented in the Fine Arts. Forming the Third Series of Sacred and Legendary Art.* By MRS. JAMESON. London: 1852.

THE recent sale of Marshal Soult's collection of paintings has familiarised most of our readers, at least by name, with the celebrated picture by Murillo, called 'Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception.' The title, however, conveys to the English reader but little information as to the subject represented by the painting. Nor is the meaning more intelligible to the generality of those persons who have seen either the

painting itself or an engraving after it. It represents a female figure with 'grave sweet eyes and golden hair,' and beautiful features. Her hands are crossed on her bosom as if in prayer. She is supported on clouds. From her head, as from a sun, radiate streams of light, under her feet are visible the horns of the crescent moon. Beneath the clouds is seen the outline of the globe, on the surface of which a serpent is gliding along. To those conversant with the mysteries of religious art the picture has a meaning which the uninitiated cannot penetrate. The Virgin is here represented not only as 'Maria purissima sin pecado concebida,' but as the second Eve, whose seed was to bruise the head of the serpent. The painter has endowed her with the attributes of the woman of the Apocalypse, 'clothed with the sun, having the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars.'

Could we in all cases read the thoughts which lie beneath the surface of pictures, veiled in the emblematical and allegorical language of the old painters, how much greater would be the interest felt in Italian Art! What deep significance would be found attached to accessories which the idle spectator ascribes to the fancy or imagination of the painter! Even the situation in which the picture is placed 'can a tale unfold.' In the Madonnas set up at the corners of streets, over the doors of houses, or gates of gardens, or in the colossal figures of the Virgin, whose ample robe, supported on either side, throws its protecting shade round men, women, and children, the student of religious art sees 'Our Lady of Succour,' 'Notre dame de bon secours,' 'La Madonna di Misericordia.' The Virgin is here in the character of Protectress. In the Virgin reading he sees the Mater Sapientiae, the Virgo Sapientissima. In the coronation of the Virgin, he beholds the type of the Church triumphant. When she wears the crown or holds the sceptre, she is adored as Regina Caeli; when attended by adoring angels, as Regina Angelorum. 'When she is merely veiled, with folded hands, and in her features all the beauty, maiden purity, and sweetness which the artist could render, she is simply the 'Blessed Virgin, the Madonna, the *Santa Maria Vergine*.'

But how is the English visitor in Italy to understand these symbolical meanings and the traditionary legends of the old painters? Mrs. Jameson will inform us; and our best thanks are due to her for another beautiful volume elucidating religious art, which forms the third series of 'Sacred and Legendary Art.' The subject of the new work is 'The Legends of the 'Madonna;' and it is impossible that they could have found a better interpreter than Mrs. Jameson. The work is divided into

two parts, namely, Devotional and Historical subjects, and is preceded by a long introduction, which contains an account of the rise and progress of the worship of the Madonna. In this the authoress traces the first worship of the Virgin to at least the very commencement of the fifth century; she shows that the earliest effigies and pictures of her were considered as symbols of faith, and not as mere representations. She notices the fury of the Iconoclasts under Leo the Isaurian and his successors, which resulted in the final triumph of image worship; the Nestorian heresy, which denied to the Virgin the title of 'Theotokos' (Mother of God); the introduction, after the Crusades, of the Apocryphal gospels; the compilation of the Golden Legend, the influence of Dante, the Council of Constance, and the Condemnation of Huss, all of which contributed to the establishment of the worship of the Virgin.

The real cause of the prevalence of worship of the Madonna for more than ten centuries is a question which has seldom been fairly discussed. The one party is strongly prejudiced in its favour; the other is as strongly opposed to it. We give Mrs. Jameson much credit for the able and novel manner which she has treated this subject of contention. Although considered chiefly in an artistical point of view, she remarks upon the softening influence which the worship of the Madonna exercised over the Christian world. Everywhere, she tells us, the Art-treasures of the Middle Ages suggest one prevalent idea—'it is that of an impersonation in the feminine character of beneficence, purity, and power, standing between an offended Deity and poor, sinning, suffering humanity, and clothed in the visible form of Mary, the Mother of our Lord.' Even through the obscure myths of antiquity she finds dimly shadowed forth this prevalent idea of 'a mother-goddess, chaste, beautiful, and benign.'

'As in the oldest Hebrew rites and Pagan superstitions men traced the promise of a coming Messiah,—as the deliverers and kings of the Old Testament, and even the demigods of heathendom, became accepted types of the person of Christ,—so the Eve of the Mosaic history, the Astarte of the Assyrians, —

' "The mooned Ashtaroth, queen and mother both," —

the Isis nursing Horus of the Egyptians, the Demeter and Aphrodite of the Greeks, the Scythian Freya, have been considered by some writers as types of a Divine maternity, foreshadowing the Virgin Mother of Christ. Others will have it that these scattered, dim, mistaken, often gross and perverted, ideas which were afterwards gathered into the pure, dignified, tender image of the Madonna, were but as the voice of a mighty prophecy, sounded through all the gene-

rations of men, even from the beginning of time, of the coming moral regeneration and complete and harmonious development of the whole human race, by the establishment on a higher basis of what has been called 'the feminine element' in society. And let me speak for myself. In the perpetual iteration of that beautiful image of *THE WOMAN* highly blessed, — *there*, where others only saw pictures or statues, I have seen this great hope standing like a spirit beside the visible form; in the fervent worship once universally given to that gracious presence, I have beheld an acknowledgment of a higher as well as gentler power than that of the strong hand and the might that makes the right, and in every earnest votary one who, as he knelt, was in this sense pious beyond the reach of his own thought, and "devout beyond the meaning of his will." (Pp. 19, 20.)

Mrs. Jameson then shows how, in the early ages of the Christianity, the Virgin was endowed with the attributes of Ceres and of the Diana of the Ephesians; and how, with Christianity, new ideas of the moral and religious responsibility of Woman entered the world.

'With Christianity came the want of a new type of womanly perfection, combining all the attributes of the ancient female divinities with others altogether new. Christ, as the model-man, united the virtues of the two sexes, till the idea that there are essentially masculine and feminine virtues intruded itself on the higher Christian conception, and seems to have necessitated the female type.' (P. 21.)

To the reverence felt towards the mother-goddess, chivalry added fresh honours. The title of 'Our Lady' was given to the Virgin because 'she was the lady of all hearts, whose 'colours all were proud to wear.' The great religious communities enrolled themselves as her votaries. The 'Serviti,' or 'Esclaves de Marie,' we learn from Mrs. Jameson, devoted themselves in her name, as 'Our Lady of Mercy,' to acts of charity. The Cistercians, she tells us, 'wore white in honour 'of her purity, the Servi, black, in respect for her sorrows.' The Franciscans were the champions of the Immaculate Conception, and the Dominicans introduced the 'Rosary.' It may be necessary to explain that by the 'Rosary,' is understood a cycle of devotional subjects consisting of fifteen mysteries, for a complete explanation of which we must refer our readers to Mrs. Jameson's book, p. lxi.

The Apocryphal Gospels and the Golden Legend, by introducing new traditions concerning the Virgin, gave not only a fresh impulse to the general veneration for her, but supplied new themes for artists. Dante also lent his powerful influence to promote the honour of her whom he apostrophises as 'Ennobler of thy Nature!' and the enthusiasm and religious vene-

ration for the Madonna continually increased, until it reached its culminating point about the time of Raphael.

Mrs. Jameson then tells us how art maintained its spiritual character until the revival of classical literature in the fifteenth century infused into it a new element, — the love of the beautiful; and the traditional features of the Madonna, expressive of 'that divine and contemplative grace which theologians and poets had associated with the queenly, the maternal, and the 'bridal character of Mary,' gave place to portraits of living persons, frequently of those whose reputation was not equal to their rank, and whose worldly beauty was but a poor substitute for the lofty yet tender expression given to the portraits of the Virgin by the painters who flourished during the religious era of Art. It was for preaching against these impieties that Savonarola lost his life. 'He exclaimed,' observes Mrs. Jameson, 'against the profaneness of those who represented the meek mother of Christ in gorgeous apparel, with the head unveiled, and under the features of women too well and too publicly known. He emphatically declared that if the painters knew, as well as he did, the influence of such pictures in perverting simple minds, they would hold their own works in horror and detestation. Savonarola yielded to none in orthodox reverence for the Madonna; but he desired that she should be represented in an orthodox manner. He perished at the stake, but not till after he had made a bonfire of the offensive effigies; he perished — persecuted to death by the Borgia family.'

The good seed sown by Savonarola did not, however, fall on barren ground; his influence is apparent in the works of the greatest Florentine painters of the day, and Raphael gave him a place in his grand fresco of the 'Teologia' among the doctors and teachers of the Church.

In the sixteenth century the reign of faith was superseded by the reign of taste, and the mythological personages of antiquity occupied conjointly with the mysteries of religion the pencils of the artists. Spiritual art became extinct, and theological art arose in its stead, while the 'Naturalisti' still perpetuated the profaneness against which Savonarola had inveighed, and which Salvator Rosa rebuked in vain in his satires. The Madonnas of the time were nearly all portraits. The handsome wives of Rubens and Albano appear constantly in their pictures, Domenichino painted his daughter, while Allori and Vandyck gave to the pure and spotless Madonna the features of their mistresses.

While, on the one hand, the representations of the Madonna degenerated into mere portraits of living persons; on the other

they assumed the characteristics of an idol. Instead of the orthodox red and blue drapery and veil, the Virgin was decked with worldly ornaments, and her embroidered robes, which partook of the fashion of the day, suggested constantly the supreme power of the Church, and of its papal head, if they failed to raise the thoughts to heaven. The full-length Madonnas of the Spanish school of the Louvre, with their enormous fardingales decorated like a jewelled mitre, which they resembled in shape, could only have originated in a country where religious pictures were under the direction and guardianship of the Church, and where a familiar of the Inquisition might be said to be master of the robes to the Virgin.

From her sketch of the influences which modified in a general way the pictures of the Madonna, Mrs. Jameson turns to consider the personal attributes which have been given to the Virgin by the different schools of painting. 'We have,' she says, 'the stern awful quietude of the old mosaics; the hard lifelessness of the degenerate Greek; the pensive sentiment of the Siena, and stately elegance of the Florentine Madonnas; the intellectual Milanese, with their large foreheads, and thoughtful eyes, the tender refined mysticism of the Umbrian; the sumptuous loveliness of the Venetian; the quaint characteristic simplicity of the early German, so stamped with their nationality, that I never looked round me in a room full of German girls without thinking of Albert Durer's Virgins; the intense life-like feeling of the Spanish; the prosaic, portrait-like nature of the Flemish schools.' These diversities suggest the question whether there was no common type from which the varieties originated. The old tradition that St. Luke the Evangelist was a painter, and that the earliest portrait of the Virgin was ascribed to him, is then discussed, and Mrs. Jameson urges that as his gospel is the authority for the few authentic particulars respecting the life of the Virgin, 'so he may, in the figurative sense, be said to have *painted* that portrait of her which has since been received as the perfect type of womanhood.'

With regard to the personal appearance of the Virgin, there is some difficulty in reconciling traditional descriptions with existing representations, we do not say *portraits*, because we speak of pictures which were executed at different periods, in various countries, and by many artists; nor do we think that Mrs. Jameson's own account is exactly consistent with the evidence she produces or with tradition. Making every allowance for the variety of dispositions in the artists who portrayed the Madonna, each of whom had of course his own peculiar impres-



sions respecting her personal appearance — and for the different circumstances and different characters in which she was represented, whether as Queen of Heaven, Mother of God, the Madonna of Mercy, or any of the other forms under which she was adored, and which might give rise to peculiar pictorial treatment, still there are certain general characteristics, derived from tradition, which we should expect to find observed by painters. We shall transcribe Mrs. Jameson's description of the person of the Virgin, extracted from the history of Nicephorus Callistus, on the authority of Epiphanius, who himself had derived it from more ancient authority. 'She was of middle stature; her face oval, her eyes brilliant, and of an olive tint, her eyebrows arched and black, her hair was of a pale brown, her complexion fair as wheat. She spoke little, but she spoke freely and affably; she was not troubled in her speech, but grave, courteous, tranquil. Her dress was without ornament, and in her deportment was nothing lax or feeble.' Mrs. Jameson mentions the general belief, in which she apparently concurs, that the Saviour resembled his Mother in person; for, she observes, 'it is argued, Christ had no earthly father, therefore, he could only have derived his earthly lineaments from his mother. All the legends assume that the resemblance between the son and the mother must have been perfect. Dante alludes to this belief:—

'Riguarda ormai nella faccia ch' a Cristo  
Più s' assomiglia.'

'Now raise thy view  
Unto the visage most resembling Christ.'

Let us now see how far this description of the Virgin agrees with the traditional account of the person of the Saviour. Kugler, in his *Handbook of Italian Painting* (edited by Sir C. L. Eastlake) gives two descriptions; the first is from the letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate, originally written about the end of the third century, but not found until the eleventh; the second, by John of Damascus, dates from the eighth century. In the former Christ is described a 'man of stately form, dignified in appearance, with a countenance that inspired veneration, and which those who look upon it may love as well as fear. His hair curling, rather dark and glossy, flows down upon his shoulders, and is parted in the middle after the manner of the Nazarenes. The forehead is smooth and very serene; the countenance without line or spot, of a pleasant complexion, moderately ruddy. The nose and mouth faultless, the beard thick and reddish like the hair, not long, but divided, the eyes bright and of varying colour.' John of Damascus

describes Jesus as 'of stately growth, with eyebrows joined together; beautiful eyes, large nose, curling hair; somewhat stooped; in the bloom of life; his beard black; his complexion olive, like that of his mother, with long fingers,' &c.

On comparing these two descriptions, it is easy to see that the one is European in character, while the other is decidedly Asiatic. Eyebrows joined together are considered by the Persians as a great beauty, while the large nose, the olive complexion, and the dark hair and beard, remind one of the oriental stock whence the Saviour derived his descent. And here it may be observed that Humboldt considers the inhabitants of that part of Asia which the Scripture teaches us was the cradle of the human race, as the most perfect in the world, as well with regard to their physical as to their mental endowment. It was from this stock that the Saviour was descended through his mother. The auburn hair and beard, and the ruddy complexion mentioned by Lentulus, are of the European, and we think we may say, of the Greek type. The account by Epiphanius of the person of the Virgin is also European in its character. It tallies better with that contained in the letter of Lentulus than with that of John of Damascus. If, however, the description of Epiphanius be correct, how comes it that the most ancient effigies of the Madonna, as well Italian as Byzantine, are invariably dark in colour? Much of this dark colour, we know, is to be attributed to the effect of time; but we also know that Cimabue's fair Madonnas were, when they first appeared, considered as innovations. And Cimabue's Madonnas, and Giotto's\* also, are fair still; while that painted long after by Squarcione (of which Mrs. Jameson gives a woodcut, p. 129.) in the Lazara palace at Padua, is as dark in colour as the others are fair. Whether this dark colour be the effect of time or of design, we cannot determine. Mrs. Jameson evidently favours the fair type; for this she has certainly the sanction of the great masters of art, and she expresses her dissent from those who, because some of the Greek pictures and carved images had become black through extreme age, agreed that the Virgin herself must have been of a very dark complexion, and who in favour of this idea quotes the text from the Canticles: 'I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem.' Whether, however, they acquired their black tint by age, or whether the dark colour was originally given by the painter, there is no doubt that as Mrs. Jameson says, the Madonnas of the old Byzantine type were held in peculiar veneration.

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\* See also *Handbook of Painting (Italy)*, edited by Eastlake, p. 45. n. first edition.

'This arose,' she observes, 'from the fact, always to be borne in mind, that the most ancient artistic figure of the Madonna was a purely theological symbol; apparently the moral type was too nearly allied to the human and the real to satisfy faith. It is the ugly dark-favoured ancient Greek Madonnas such as this, which had all, along the credit of being miraculous; "And to this day," says Kugler, "the Neapolitan lemonade-seller will allow no other than a formal Greek Madonna with olive-green complexion and veiled head, to be set up in his booth." It is the same in Russia. Such pictures, in which there is no attempt at representation, real or ideal, and which surely have a sort of imaginary sanctity and power, are not so much idols as mere *fetishes*. The most lovely Madonna by Raphael or Titian would not have the same effect. Guido, who himself painted lovely Virgins, went every Saturday to pray before the little black "Madonna della Guardia," and as we are assured, held this old eastern relic in devout veneration.' (P. xxxvi.)

On looking over the account of the attributes and accessories introduced into the pictures of the 'Virgin and Child,' we find it mentioned, that in a painting by Baroccio the infant Saviour is made to hold up a bird before a cat; upon which Mrs. Jameson observes, 'so completely were the original symbolism and all the religious proprieties of art at this time set aside.' What would our authoress have said if she had seen the 'Annunciation of Aliense' in the Seminario at Venice, in which Moschini (History of Painting in Padua) says a cat is introduced in the act of making a spring at the Holy Spirit, which is represented under the form of a dove! Where could have been the religious feeling which ought to have guided the hand of the artist, or which permitted the exhibition of so irreverent and material a treatment of this subject? The difficulty of distinguishing the symbol from the object of veneration, and the tendency of the one to degenerate into the other, has been felt at all times. It was the consciousness of this danger which led to the destruction of works of art by the Iconoclasts, and which at a later period determined the rigid Protestants to exclude pictures and sculpture from their places of worship. Our incapacity to express what is immaterial by what is material—as, for example, the imperfect representation of the descent of the Holy Spirit in the visible and tangible form of a dove,—leads in some cases to image worship, in others to infidelity.

It is curious to trace in this work the progress of Mariolatry. Mrs. Jameson has considered the subject purely in an artistic point of view, and has contented herself with stating facts, without making any comments on this subject of dispute between Roman Catholic and Protestant. We do not, however, consider ourselves precluded from making a few remarks which occur to us from the perusal of the work, and especially we would call

the attention of the reader to the manner in which the attributes of the Saviour are given by the Roman Catholics to the Virgin. The Saviour, during the Middle Ages, was invested with a stern character, and was supposed to be animated by a sentiment of vengeance. 'Christ himself,' says Mrs. Jameson, speaking of this period, 'is less a judge than an avenger,' while the office of Mediator, which the New Testament assigns to the Saviour, is given by her worshippers to the Virgin:— 'Maria filio suo pro Ecclesia supplicat.' Again, she is styled 'The Star of Jacob,' 'The Root of Jesse,'—terms which are considered by Protestants as applicable to the Saviour only. The words 'I am the door, by me if any man enter in he shall be saved,' are also applied to her. She is, moreover, the 'Spouse' of the Canticles, the 'King's Daughter,' of the Psalms, 'all glorious within,' whose clothing is of wrought gold.' She is 'the woman clothed with the sun,' described in the Apocalypse, 'having the moon beneath her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.' She is also invested with the character of Heavenly Wisdom, and to her have been applied the magnificent passages of the Book of Proverbs, 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old. I was set up from everlasting, or ever the earth was. . . . Then I was by Him as one brought up with Him, and I was daily his delight, rejoicing alway before him.'

The historical subjects occupy the latter half of the book; the New Testament furnishes the only authentic notices of the Life of the Virgin—the traditionary and legendary scenes are derived from the Apocryphal gospels current in the Middle Ages, and from a Greek legendary poem once, Mrs. Jameson says, attributed to St. John the Evangelist, but supposed to be the work of a certain Greek named Meliton, who lived in the ninth century, and who 'has merely dressed up in a more fanciful form ancient traditions of the Church.' Some knowledge of these legends is absolutely essential to the student of Italian Art. The work is illustrated by reference to the most celebrated pictures, by numerous woodcuts, and by upwards of sixty etchings, the latter by the hand of Mrs. Jameson. We recommend this beautiful and instructive volume to the perusal of our readers.

ART. IX. — 1. *The Morality of Public Men: A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby.* London: 1852. Pp. 48.

2. *How should an Income Tax be levied?* Considered in a Letter to the Right Hon. B. Disraeli, M. P., Chancellor of the Exchequer. By J. G. HUBBARD, Esq. London: 1852. Pp. 55.

THE meeting of the new Parliament took place on the 4th of November last, and on the 11th, after the usual delay necessary for the swearing in of members, the Queen's Speech was delivered. It had been announced by Lord Derby in the previous Session, that the new Parliament would be assembled before the end of the year, in order that the principles to be adopted for our future commercial and financial policy might be discussed and decided, when the results of the elections would be known, and the prevailing opinion of the country would have been expressed through its representatives. The question of Free Trade occupied the largest share of attention at the elections, and, more than any other, decided the choice of candidates. By yielding to the Free-trade current in the towns, and by blowing up the embers of Protectionist agitation in the counties, the Government contrived to swell their minority until it amounted to nearly half the House of Commons; but the means by which this result was obtained were fatal to the integrity of their party. The Derbyite ranks thus recruited contained many Free Traders; and it was evident that when Parliament met, all real struggle about the practical recognition of the Free-trade principle was at an end.\* The national jury had heard the evidence and the

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\* In his speech on Mr. Villiers's motion, Nov. 23., Mr. Disraeli said, 'I have shown the House that, acting on these two principles, first, that we should not disturb that legislation unless the working classes were permanently suffering; secondly, that we would by remedial legislation alleviate and mitigate as much as possible any just claims for relief placed before us,—claims which I have shown that the leaders of almost all parties have attempted to alleviate, we came to a dissolution of Parliament. The dissolution took place in July. The moment the elections were terminated, it was the duty of Her Majesty's Government to form a definitive and conclusive opinion with respect to the feeling of the people on this question, of attempting to abrogate the repeal of the laws of 1846 and 1849, which admitted the importation of corn, the importation of sugar, and the free navigation of the country. There could be, and there was, no question in the minds of Her Majesty's Ministers with respect to the result of that election. There was no doubt that there was not only not a prepon-

arguments of counsel on both sides; they had received the judge's charge; they had retired to deliberate; and they had agreed upon their verdict. All that now remained to be done was that the verdict should be delivered in open court, and that judgment should be given accordingly. This was, in fact, the process for which Parliament met in November last, and for which Lord Derby and his colleagues had to prepare themselves, however little agreeable it might be to their feelings, after the circuitous, insincere, and indefensible course which they had held.\*

Before the meeting of Parliament, Lord Derby's Cabinet had decided to abandon altogether the system of protective duties, and, in the measures which they were about to propose, to adopt those principles, both commercial and financial, which are considered as characteristic of the Free-trade system. Having formed this decision, their proper course clearly was to embody it in the Queen's Speech. This was the most solemn and authentic manner in which the intentions of the Government could be announced; and though it might not be usual to make confessions of faith in royal speeches, yet such occasions as the present, fortunately, are of rare occurrence. There had been a new party created, and a parliamentary opposition maintained for six years, upon the single principle of Protection. A Government of Protectionists had been formed; Parliament had been dissolved in order that the question should be decided by the country; and a new Parliament had met in order to deliver their verdict upon it. In these circumstances, a plain and unequivocal declaration, through the Queen's Speech, of the intentions of the Government, such as we have since ascertained them to have been, would have removed all uncertainty, and precluded all debate on the subject. If, however, the Government did not think fit to announce their change of policy, and to read their

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'derating majority in favour of a change in the laws passed in those years, or even of modifying them in any degree; but that there was a decisive opinion on the part of the country that that settlement should not be disturbed.' (*Times' Report.*)

\* Mr. Disraeli occupied a considerable portion of his speech on Mr. Villiers's motion, by an argument intended to prove that the Protectionists had never been Protectionists. It is true, that more far-sighted or less sincere than the rest of his party, he abstained from the extreme language which they held; but if any body doubts that Lord Derby was, in the fullest sense of the word, a Protectionist, we advise him to read the pamphlet first named at the head of our Article, equally distinguished by the accuracy of its facts, the force and pungency of its style, and the elevation of its moral tone.

recantation, in the Queen's Speech, then the next best course was that the Queen's Speech should have been wholly silent on the subject, and that Lord Derby in one House of Parliament, and Mr. Disraeli in the other, should each, on the first night of the Session, have made, in concert, an authentic and complete declaration of the policy of the Government; similar to that which was actually made by Lord Derby in the House of Lords. The Government, however, did not adopt either of these straightforward, and (as we should have thought) obvious courses. They preferred a third and more tortuous line, which consisted in introducing into the Queen's Speech the following paragraph:—

'It gives me pleasure to be enabled, by the blessing of Providence, to congratulate you on the generally improved condition of the country, and especially of the industrious classes. If you should be of opinion that recent legislation, in contributing, *with other causes*, to this happy result, has at the same time *inflicted unavoidable injury* on certain important interests, I recommend you dispassionately to consider how far it may be practicable; equitably, *to mitigate that injury*, and to enable the industry of the country *to meet successfully* that unrestricted competition to which Parliament, in its wisdom, has decided that it should be subjected.'

Nobody, acquainted with the actual position of affairs, who reads this paragraph, can doubt that its ambiguity is studied. It was as much intended to have a double handle, one for each side of the House, as the ancient oracles were intended to have a double construction, in order to suit either a lucky or an unlucky event. This design of a double adaptation was indeed candidly admitted in debate by Mr. Walpole. The paragraph affirms nothing, except the general improvement of the country. Its principal member is put in a hypothetical form; 'which expresses no opinion, and refers the decision to Parliament; but refers it in an unintelligible and unpractical manner. As Mr. Sidney Herbert remarked, it is equivalent to saying: 'If you think that Free Trade has done mischief, which you don't, you will adopt certain measures, which you won't.' To insert such a paragraph in the Queen's Speech, on such a question, at such a moment, after a long series of autumn cabinets, was, in our opinion, trifling with public business, with Parliament, and with the country. Moreover, as we shall see presently, the course which this paragraph recommends, or rather indicates, was not that which Ministers subsequently pursued in proposing their Budget.

. This equivocal passage could not be expected to satisfy the

Free-trade party as to the intentions of the Government; and, accordingly, on the first night of the Session, Mr. C. Villiers, the long-tried advocate of Corn-law repeal,—who had, in former Sessions, fought an uphill fight against Protection, when that policy was still maintained by a large majority of the House,—gave notice that he should, on a future day, move a resolution affirmative of the benefits produced by the recent Free-trade legislation. This notice having been given, the Address on the Queen's Speech was agreed to without a division; and the main question which Parliament had met to decide was reserved for ulterior discussion.

The proposal of a distinct declaration on the subject of Free Trade having thus been forced on the Opposition by the equivocal language of the Queen's Speech, Mr. Villiers, on the 23rd of November, moved a resolution in which the good effects of the Free-trade measures were affirmed, and which pledged the House to the adoption of that policy. This motion was debated for three nights with great ability, particularly on the opposition side of the House: but the debate was protracted beyond its natural length by the objection of the Government to certain words in the resolution, and by their declaration that if it was carried in the proposed form, they would resign. This announcement gave rise to the interposition of Lord Palmerston, who, as an intermediate course, proposed a resolution which had been prepared by Sir James Graham in concert with Lord John Russell, and had been assented to by Mr. Gladstone, but which was substantially identical with that moved by Mr. Villiers. To this resolution the Government did not object; and indeed Lord Derby had previously advised his friends to accept it, at a meeting of them summoned by him in Downing Street. The division took place upon the choice between the two resolutions proposed respectively by Mr. Villiers and Lord Palmerston: their effect, as affirmative of the Free-trade policy, being similar; but the former contained words to which the Ministers objected, and which entailed their resignation, whereas the latter did not. The result was that 256 voted for Mr. Villiers's resolution, and 336 against it; whereupon the House divided upon Lord Palmerston's amendment, which was adopted by the overwhelming majority of 468 to 53. In the first division the Peelite party, with Sir James Graham and several Liberals, voted in the majority; a course which certainly indicated no eagerness to turn the Ministers out of office, and afforded no evidence of an 'unprincipled coalition' for the purpose of defeating the Government. That party which had proposed and carried the Repeal of the Corn Law in 1846, were surely the last persons who



could be charged with faction in affirming that it was 'wise, just, and beneficial.' They might, with perfect propriety, have supported these 'odious epithets,' as they were called by Mr. Disraeli. If, therefore, they abstained from voting for Mr. Villiers's resolution, it could only have been from a desire to avoid a course which the Government treated as hostile and harsh. If any 'coalition' or 'combination' existed on this occasion, it was rather in favour of the Government than against it. And although Lord Derby, after he had resigned office, complained of not being supported by the Peelite party, that party had nevertheless been considered by him as distinct from his own, and its junction with the Derbyites on this division was, for the moment, a 'coalition' of independent sections of the House. We presume, that when Lord Derby's Secretary of the Treasury stood against Mr. Cardwell at Liverpool, when Derbyite candidates opposed Mr. Gladstone, Sir G. Clerk, and Lord Mahon, the Government did not treat the Peelites as their friends, or seek to obtain their political support.

The following are the words of Lord Palmerston's resolution, carried by 468 to 53 votes, — which will show that the system of Free Trade, as opposed to Protection, was unequivocally adopted by the House of Commons, and acquiesced in by the Protectionist Government.

'That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and especially of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for the purposes of Protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people.

'That it is the opinion of this House, that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will, without inflicting injury on any important interest, best enable the industry of the country to bear its burthens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people.

'That this House will be ready to take into consideration any measures, consistent with these principles, which, in pursuance of Her Majesty's gracious Speech and recommendation, may be laid before it.'

This resolution, it will be observed, recognises in the amplest manner the success of the Free-trade policy with respect to the past, and looks forward to its extension with respect to the future. Moreover, by expressing the readiness of the House to take into consideration measures in accordance with the principles of Free Trade, it implicitly signifies the unwillingness of

the House to take into consideration measures not in accordance with these principles.

With this division terminated the first act of the sessional drama; with the second act, on which we now enter, Lord Derby's Ministry comes to a conclusion.

On the first night of the Session Mr. Disraeli announced that the financial plan of the Government was prepared, and that he would bring it forward on an early day. Much anxiety was expressed by the Government to be permitted to produce their financial measures, and the motion of Mr. Villiers was treated by them as factious and obstructive, because it retarded the advent of the Budget, and, even for a few days, withheld this great boon from the expectant public.\* The House, however, who remembered that the Government had declared that their financial measures would depend on the event of the elections,—that they had no fixed principles, but that their policy was a sliding-scale, which would fluctuate according to the votes of the new House,—that if there was a majority for Free Trade, they would propose a Free-trade Budget, but if there was a majority for Protection they would propose a Protectionist Budget;—the House, we say, remembering that the policy of Ministers was to be governed, not by their own opinions, but by the comparative numbers of the newly-elected House, thought it wise and necessary that the House should authentically declare its adoption of a certain policy, and that the Government should subscribe to it, before the financial measures were introduced. As soon, therefore, as Mr. Villiers's motion was disposed of, the moment so ardently desired by Ministers had arrived, and

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\* In his speech on Mr. Villiers's motion (Nov. 23.), Mr. Disraeli said, 'We pledged ourselves that there should be an autumn meeting, in order that the House might have an opportunity of ascertaining the policy of the Government. The Parliament is now assembled for that purpose. I pledged myself, if an opportunity offered, to bring forward measures which I think the altered circumstances of the country require. Previous to my election I communicated frankly my views to my constituents, by telling them, as I always did, that the assimilation of our financial to our commercial system, would ultimately prove the policy by which general contentment would be given to the country. *I am ready to fulfil this last pledge*; and the measures which the Government has prepared would have been brought forward but for this—I must call it—vexatious motion. These measures are founded on the assumption that Unrestricted Competition, or, to use the more popular phrase, Free Trade, is the principle of our commercial system.' See some similar remarks in Lord Derby's speech in the House of Lords on Nov. 22.

the all-important Budget was opened. The debate upon this motion terminated on the 26th of November: on the 3rd of December Mr. Disraeli made his financial statement to the House. This statement was elaborate, wide-ranging, and diffuse in expression: its delivery occupied no less than five hours and a quarter. The matter and thought, however, bore no proportion to the quantity of words: as a speech, it was inferior to his financial statement of the previous Session, which was lucid, concise, and full of interesting facts. His object, in making this verbose oration, seems to have been to magnify the importance of his Budget, by a long-continued flourish of trumpets; and at the same time to effect a retreat from his Protectionist position, under cover of the dust of his own cavalry and the smoke of his own guns.

This speech may be considered as the finishing scene of the long drama which had begun in 1846, and as the settlement of the Protectionist agitation. In the introductory part, Mr. Disraeli disposed of the claims of the three great interests which had been affected by the repeal of the corn law, and of the navigation laws, and by the alteration of the sugar duties. For the relief of the shipping interest, he recommended several changes of the law, and a remission of 100,000*l.* a year now paid by ships as light-dues; which sum would have to be made good to the Trinity House, from the public exchequer. For the relief of the West India interest he proposed to permit the refining of sugar in bond; the other remedies which had been suggested, and particularly the arresting of the equalisation of the duties on colonial and foreign sugar, he rejected. With respect to the agricultural interest, he divided the principal burdens upon land into the highway rate, the county rate, and the poor's rate—(a division which, we would observe, is only applicable to England); and for the former rate he announced a measure for the reform of the management of highways in England, which had been prepared by Sir W. Jolliffe, the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. As to the county-rate and poor-rate, he proposed no change—the grounds for making a transfer of expenditure from the poor-rates to the exchequer, had, he stated, been weakened by the diminution in the cost of the relief of the poor since he had brought forward motions on the subject. We are not disposed to scrutinise too narrowly the reasons which induced Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues to arrive at this sound conclusion. Considering the expectations which their former arguments had raised, we owe much to their forbearance in not disturbing the present system of local taxation. It cannot be denied that the relief of the poor, the maintenance

of highways, and the punishment of crime, are national objects, and that those charges are now defrayed by taxes which are levied on real, exclusively of personal, property. Nevertheless, the system, taken as a whole, is justifiable on grounds of enlarged expediency; and even the owners of real property, upon whom it seems to press unfairly, profit by it in the long run. Probably the decision of the Government was assisted by the further consideration of the difficulty of meeting new charges on the exchequer, and of the dissatisfaction which would be created among their own party by replacing the powers of magistrates and other local unpaid functionaries by paid servants of the central government, an inevitable consequence of this change of system.

The way having been thus cleared by the formal abandonment of protective duties, and of relief from local burdens on land, Mr. Disraeli proceeded to set forth the substantial contents of his Budget. These, though ushered in with a great parade of words, were not of very extensive operation, and admit of a brief statement. His main propositions were five in number, and affected the duties on malt, hops, and tea, the house tax, and the income tax. We will take these propositions in their order.

1. The duty on malt to be reduced from 2*s.* 7½*d.* and 5 per cent. to 1*s.* 3½*d.* and 5 per cent. on the bushel. This duty to be levied uniformly on all malt made from barley, and bere or bigg; the discrimination in favour of bere or bigg being abolished. The drawback allowed to spirits distilled from malt in Scotland to be likewise repealed. The loss to the revenue from this reduction is estimated at 2,500,000*l.* Instead of the absolute prohibition of the importation of malt, imposed by the existing law, foreign malt to be admitted at a duty of 1*s.* 8*d.* and 5 per cent. upon a bushel.

2. The excise duty on native hops to be reduced from 2*d.* and 5 per cent. to 1*d.* and 5 per cent. per lb.: the custom's duty on foreign hops to be reduced from 2*l.* 5*s.* to 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.; or from nearly 4*d.* to nearly 2*d.* per lb. The loss of revenue by this reduction is estimated at 120,000*l.*

3. The duty on tea to be reduced from its present rate of 2*s.* 2½*d.* per lb. according to the following scale:—

Year.		Duty.	Year.		Duty.
		<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>			<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
1853	-	1 10	1856	-	1 4
1854	-	1 8	1857	-	1 2
1855	-	1 6	1858 and the following	} 1 0	
			years		

The reduction being  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  in 1853, and  $2d.$  in each of the next five years, when the duty would remain fixed at  $1s.$  The tea duty in 1851 produced a revenue of 5,900,624*l.*, charged upon 54,000,000 lbs., from which sum the effects of the proposed scale can be estimated.

4. The tax on inhabited houses, being for shops, public houses, and farm houses,  $6d.$  in the pound, and for all other houses,  $9d.$  in the pound, on the annual value, to be increased respectively to  $1s.$  and  $1s. 6d.$  in the pound, and to be extended from houses worth the annual rent of 20*l.* or upwards, to houses worth the annual rent of 10*l.* or upwards. The tax so augmented is estimated to produce 1,723,000*l.* a year.

5. With respect to the income tax, the tax on farmers' profits, Schedule B., to be reduced from  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  in the pound in England, and from  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  in the pound in Scotland.

The tax on Schedules D. and E. (trades, professions, and offices), to be reduced from  $7d.$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  in the pound.

The duties in Schedules C. and E. (funds and public offices), to be extended to Ireland.

In Schedules A. and C. (land and funds) the minimum to be reduced from incomes of 150*l.* to incomes of 50*l.* a year; in Schedules B. D. and E. (farmers' profits, trades, professions, and offices), the minimum to be reduced from incomes of 150*l.* to incomes of 100*l.* a year.

The income tax so modified is estimated to produce 5,421,000*l.*; nearly the same as its present amount.

Such being the main propositions of Mr. Disraeli's Budget, it remains for us to examine how far they accord with the expectations of its contents held out to the country, and how far the adoption of them would have been likely to improve our financial system.

When Mr. Disraeli, in his written and oral addresses to his constituents before and during the late general election, announced the abandonment of Protection, he coupled this announcement with a declaration that the claims of the agriculturists, West Indians, and shipowners, which could not be satisfied by a restoration of Protection, would be adequately met by a general and systematic revision of taxation, founded on novel principles, more just and beneficial than those which had hitherto been its basis. He stated that the Government would, as soon as it was in their power, bring forward measures framed in this spirit; he considered the times as favourable for the undertaking, and he anticipated that these measures would not only, by adjustments and reductions of taxes, greatly relieve

the burdens of the community, but that they would receive the sympathy and approbation and support of all the various classes of the country.\*

Now, on comparing the ideal plan of finance announced in the summer with the real and positive plan produced in December, can it be said that the execution at all corresponds with the design, or that any attempt was made to fulfil the promises, voluntarily tendered to the public by the Government, and indeed almost forced upon its acceptance? Who can pretend to discover in this Budget the results of a general revision of taxation, systematic or unsystematic? Does it contain any novel principles; does it manifest ingenuity, resource, or invention? Is there a single proposition in it which has not been repeatedly under the consideration of Parliament, and with which financiers are not perfectly familiar? The reduction of the malt tax and hop tax may be considered, if not annual, at least periodical motions in the House of Commons; the reduction of the tea duty has been often pressed upon Parliament, and an association has, we believe, been formed for promoting the question; and the extension of the house tax has been frequently suggested for adoption, and it is strongly recommended as a good source of revenue by Mr. McCulloch, in the new edition of his work on taxation.† The discrimination between permanent and precarious incomes in the assessment of the income tax has been more than once supported by elaborate arguments; the introduction of this principle of graduation may be said to have been the main object of Mr. Hume's Income-tax Committee of 1851, and a motion was made in that Committee by Mr. Sotherton that the tax on Schedule D. should be three-fourths of the tax on the other Schedules, which is exactly the proportion adopted by Mr. Disraeli.

The *diminution of the cost of production* was the cardinal principle laid down by Mr. Disraeli last summer, for the guidance of the Legislature; and to this end all his financial reforms were to be directed.‡ But who can maintain that this principle has presided over the formation of the late Budget?

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\* These declarations will be found in Mr. Disraeli's address and speeches, cited in the last Number of this Journal, No. 196. p. 530. 533-5.

† See his 'Treatise on Taxation and the Funding System,' p. 67. ed. 2. Mr. McCulloch here indicates the policy of extending the house tax to houses of 10*l.* a-year.

‡ See the quotations in the last Number of this Journal, p. 530. and 534.

‘The means (said Mr. Disraeli to the Buckinghamshire farmers) by which you may obtain redress is not to increase prices, in order that you may have a fair remuneration for your toil, but it is to reduce the cost of production. That is the sound advice which the agricultural interest must act upon. . . . I say (he added), in accordance with the spirit of the age, and with the temper of the country, let your produce now be raised upon the cheapest possible principles. But then it follows you must not allow your native produce to be shackled by laws which hinder the producer from competing with foreign countries. *It follows that, in the new principle of justice, the cultivators of the soil shall no longer remain the only class incapable of receiving a fair profit for their industry.*’ Now, will any one venture to affirm that the late Budget contains a single measure which diminishes the cost of production for agricultural produce? Is there anything in it which enables the farmer to grow corn or green crops, and to breed or feed live stock, at a cheaper rate? The reduction of the malt tax and hop tax might possibly somewhat increase the demand for barley and hops; but it certainly would not diminish the cost of producing either of these articles. The promise to relieve the agricultural interest, by diminishing the cost of production for their native produce, has remained absolutely without fulfilment. As to the shipping interest, the various measures indicated by Mr. Disraeli may, in a slight degree, tend to diminish the cost of navigating ships; but the refining of sugar in bond, the only concession made to the West India interest, cannot diminish the cost of producing sugar in the West Indies.

The promise moreover of a brighter financial day, the first streaks of which were said to be visible in the horizon; and of a reduction of the burdens of the people, by a readjustment of taxation, has remained equally unperformed. To the extent to which there was a legitimate surplus of income over expenditure, Mr. Disraeli, like every other Chancellor of the Exchequer who has preceded him, and like every Chancellor of the Exchequer who will come after him, might safely reduce taxation. But can any one truly say that this Budget would have lightened the burdens of the people by a readjustment of taxation? That the commutation of half the malt tax into an increased and extended house tax did not give great satisfaction to the country, was shown in a very significant manner. Even in the income tax, the changes which were popular were countervailed by other changes which were at least equally unpopular. If the introduction of the principle of graduation between permanent and precarious incomes was acceptable to the mercantile and pro-

fessional classes, there was a large set-off in the extension of Schedules A. and C. to incomes of 50*L.*, in the extension of Schedules B., D., and E. to incomes of 100*L.*, and in the extension of Schedules C. and E. to Ireland.

It cannot be even said that the Budget, as proposed, accords with the more recent indication of the intentions of the Government afforded in the Queen's Speech. So far as that enigmatic passage can be construed, it affirms that the Free-trade policy has inflicted injury on certain important interests, and recommends Parliament to take measures for mitigating that injury, and for enabling the industry of the country to meet successfully the unrestricted competition to which it is now subjected. But how does the Budget enable the 'suffering interests' to wage a more successful war against the competition of the foreign producer? Some slight palliatives are indeed tendered to the West India and shipping interests; but to the landed interest, which we suppose we may consider, without fear of contradiction, to have been the main object of solicitude to the Government, no relief whatever is afforded, which can diminish the cost of production. The sum remitted to the farmers of England and Scotland by the change in Schedule B. of the income tax is estimated by Mr. Disraeli at 156,000*L.*; a saving which would not, we presume, greatly facilitate the operations of agriculture. As to the reduction of the malt tax, it certainly could not diminish the cost of producing barley; and if for the present prohibition of foreign malt, a customs' duty of 1*s.* 8*d.* per bushel were substituted, the competition, which is now very effectually 'restricted,' would be conducted on nearly equal terms.

Substantially, however, it may be said, the budget was framed in fulfilment of the promises made by the Government before and during the elections. Fiscal relief of some kind was promised to the agriculturists; and the reduction of the malt and hop duties was intended as the fulfilment of this promise. In order to supply the deficit thus created, the increase of the house tax was proposed, and, as a compensation to the occupiers of houses and to the mercantile classes for the remission of the duties on agricultural produce, and for the increase of the house tax, the Government tendered a reduction of the tea duty, and the discrimination between permanent and precarious incomes in the income tax. Thus all the characteristic points in the Budget may be traced to an attempt to fulfil the original promise of the Government, to give relief to the agricultural interest by changes of taxation.

Mr. Disraeli proposed the reduction of the *Malt tax* on the



ground that it is a tax on beer, an article of prime necessity, which enters largely into the sustenance of the people. He considered it a consumer's tax; but 'he had always told his friends that though it was certainly the interest of the consumer that the malt tax should be dealt with, still it was his opinion that there was no tax with which they could deal, *which, if properly dealt with, would more benefit the agricultural interest.*' Unfortunately for the Government, however, neither the consumer nor the agricultural interest anticipated any sensible relief from the remission of half the malt tax. Upon a calculation of the reduction to be expected from the brewers and publicans, the gain to the consumer seemed to amount to a possible chance of a farthing in a quart of beer—a gain which could hardly arouse the enthusiasm of the most inveterate beer-drinkers. As to the farmers, whose gain Mr. Disraeli considered, though incidental, yet certain, they showed equal indifference to the boon proffered to them by their long-trusted, if not trustworthy, friends and leaders. Not a county meeting was convened to petition for a repeal of half the malt duty; although time was found for numerous petitions against the increase of the house tax. The mistake of the Government in tendering half the malt tax to the landed interest as an equivalent for the lost duties on imported corn, arose from their taking this interest in the gross, and not discriminating between different sorts of grain and different qualities of soil. The great change produced by the repeal of the corn laws has been the reduction in the price of *wheat*: those who have suffered temporary loss by that measure have been the owners and occupiers of lands principally devoted to the growth of wheat. Barley, however, has not sustained a proportionate decline of price since the opening of the trade, and those interested in barley land have little to complain of. On comparing the prices of British wheat and barley for the fifty-two years from 1790 to 1842, it will be seen that the price of barley was then in general about half, or less than half, the price of wheat. The following years may serve as specimens:—

[See Table in next page.]

Now, on coming down to the period since the repeal of the corn law, we find that the average prices of wheat and barley stand thus in the last two years:—

			Wheat.		Barley.	
			s.	d.	s.	d.
1851.	-	-	38	6	24	9
1852	-	-	40	9	26	6

Year	Average Prices per Imperial Quarter.	
	Wheat.	Barley.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1820 - -	67 10	33 10
1821 - -	56 1	26 0
1822 - -	44 7	21 10
1840 - -	66 4	36 5
1841 - -	64 4	32 10
1842 - -	57 3	27 6

Instead, therefore, of barley being only about *half* the price of wheat (as it was in general before the repeal of the corn law), it has, during the last two years, been nearly *three quarters* of that price. Mr. Tooke, we observe, in his *History of Prices*, similarly points out that in 1835, when the price of wheat was low, the price of barley was relatively high; whereas in 1838, when the price of wheat had risen considerably, barley had undergone a very slight increase, and the ordinary ratio was restored. The following are the numbers for these years: —

	Wheat.	Barley.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1835 - -	39 4	29 11
1838 - -	64 7	31 5*

If, therefore, any wound has been made by the repeal of the corn laws, the reduction of the malt tax would put the plaister in the wrong place. If a reduction of the malt tax would benefit any portion of the agricultural interest, it would be the growers of barley; whereas it is the growers of wheat who need the relief. But, it may be said, if there is an increased demand for barley, barley will be substituted for wheat, and this substitution will benefit the farmer. To a certain extent, no doubt, this substitution might be effected; but it could not be made with profit on a large scale. The soil which is best fitted for wheat, is not well fitted for barley; and it would be more profitable to grow wheat upon it, even at its present reduced prices, than to use it for growing inferior barley. All the argument, however, as to relief to agriculture from a reduction of the malt tax proceeds upon the assumption that there would be an increased demand

\* See Tooke's *History of Prices* in 1838 and 1839, p. 19. Compare his *History of Prices* from 1793 to 1837, vol. ii. p. 230-3.

for barley in consequence of the diminished price of beer; whereas the diminution in the retail price of beer, produced by a repeal of half the malt tax, would be nearly insensible. Besides which, an increased demand for barley would now (as we showed in our last Number) lead, not to higher prices of native barley, but to larger importations of foreign barley.

The malt tax produces, in round numbers, 5,000,000*l.* a-year. A reduction in the tax would leave all the excise inspection and the machinery of collection unchanged, and would maintain them for the sake of a smaller revenue. We agree with Mr. M'Culloch, in considering it as a tax which, in the present state of our finances, it is inexpedient to reduce, and impossible to repeal.\* The malt tax is now in reality a beer tax. Beer and spirits are to the middle and working classes, what wine is to the wealthier classes. Without some tax on beer, it is scarcely possible to raise a large revenue in this country. The revenue now levied on beer, by means of the malt tax, is, notwithstanding the great increase of wealth and population, considerably less than the revenue obtained from the same article, by the malt and beer duties, in the years between 1815 and 1830.† Besides, if beer is wholly untaxed; the present high duties on British spirits, and the corresponding high duties on foreign spirits, together producing 8,500,000*l.* a-year, and, therefore, one of the main stays of the Exchequer, could not be maintained.

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\* 'The malt tax is, in truth, not only one of the very best of existing taxes, but it is one of those which, should any considerable increase of revenue be required, may be most advantageously raised.

We do not mean by this to undervalue its sinister influence over agriculture; but where is the tax, fitted to produce between five and six millions a year, against which some weighty objections may not be urged?'—Treatise on Taxation, p. 246 ed. 2. Mr. M'Culloch proceeds to suggest the imposition of a protecting duty of 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* a quarter on foreign barley, in order to countervail the malt tax. But all such import-duty levied on barley *not* intended for malting would be unjust: and as foreign barley used for malting pays the malt tax as well as native barley, we do not see the need of a countervailing duty.

† The beer duty was repealed in 1830: in the four previous years its produce was as follows:

		£			£		
1826	-	-	3,492,779	1828	-	-	3,128,047
1827	-	-	3,265,441	1829	-	-	3,217,812

In 1829 the produce of the malt duty was 3,026,133*l.* Between the peace and 1830, the income obtained from malt and beer was between six and seven millions a year.

The argument of relief to agriculture applies as much to the duty on spirits as to that on malt: for if malt is made of barley, British spirits are likewise made from barley and oats.

The *hop duty* is variable in its amount, on account of the uncertainty of the crop, and of the cultivation being carried on under the shelter of a protective duty, which excludes foreign competition. In 1849 the net receipt was 205,936*l.*: in 1851 it was 426,028*l.* Mr. Disraeli appears to take its average produce at only 240,000*l.* a year: inasmuch as he estimates the loss from the reduction of the duty to a half at 120,000*l.* It seems to us that the hop duty is not worth maintaining at all, unless it produces something like its present amount. It is not reasonable to subject the entire hop cultivation of England to an excise inspection, in order, to raise a revenue of 120,000*l.* a year. The cost of hops is so small an ingredient in the price of beer, that a reduction of the duty would be wholly insensible to the consumer.\* In ordinary years, the grower adds the entire duty to the price of the article which he sells; and the probability is, that the 120,000*l.* of revenue abandoned by Mr. Disraeli would be shared between the dealer and the brewer. If the entire excise duty on hops were repealed, the protective duty on foreign hops must go with it: a change which would probably be beneficial to the consumer, but would, we suspect, be at first, of doubtful advantage to the grower.

The reductions of the malt and hop duties having been proposed, ostensibly for the benefit of the consumer, but in reality for the satisfaction of the agricultural interest, Mr. Disraeli seems to have bethought himself that something must be done to please the towns; and with this view the reduction of the *tea duty* appears to have been brought forward. It would undoubtedly be a great advantage to diminish the duty on tea, whenever the state of our finances will bear the reduction; but the arguments against a change are not weak. The tea duty now produces nearly 6,000,000*l.* a year: tea is an article which spoils with wet, and cannot be easily smuggled: a great reduction in its price was produced by the opening of the China trade, and even with the present high duty, the consumption is large and increasing. Coffee and cocoa, substitutes for tea, are

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\* In introducing the proposition for the reduction of the hop duty, Mr. Disraeli says, 'We are unwilling to make this effort to *give cheap beer to the people* without dealing with one of the important ingredients of that beverage.' We believe it to be impossible to prove that a reduction of the hop duty from 2*d.* to 1*d.* per pound, would make any reduction in the retail price of beer.

cheap, and the duties on them are moderate: sugar, which is mixed with tea, has been cheapened by the free-trade measure of 1846. The duty on tea is now 2*s.* 2½*d.* per lb.: no sensible relief would be afforded to the consumer, and no large extension of consumption would be produced, by any reduction short of a duty of 1*s.* per lb.; and a reduction to that extent implies a considerable sacrifice of revenue; though we do not doubt that, as in the cases of coffee and cocoa, a sensible diminution of the duty would be followed by a large increase of consumption. We may here remark, that there seems now to be a belief that indirect taxes, such as the malt duty and the tea duty, are inconsistent with freedom of trade. It may perhaps be desirable to substitute direct for indirect taxation: into that question we do not now enter; but indirect taxes are perfectly compatible with freedom of trade. By *freedom of trade* we understand an abstinence from all duties of a protective nature; from all duties intended to intercept and obstruct a certain trade, and to give an artificial advantage to one set of products over another. If tea was grown in England as well as in China, and there was a duty on foreign but not on native tea, the import duty would then become a protective duty, and would violate the freedom of trade. But in the present circumstances of the production of tea, this duty is quite consistent with free-trade principles.

The alterations in the *income tax* proposed by Mr. Disraeli open a wide field for comment, upon which we can now scarcely enter. The extension of Schedules C. and E. (funds and public offices) to Ireland, without the other Schedules, and particularly Schedule A., seems to us wholly indefensible, on the grounds both of equity and expediency, and never, in our opinion, could have been carried. Moreover, the extension of Schedules A. and C. to incomes of 50*l.*, when Schedules D. and E. were reduced only to 100*l.*, was a change bearing hardly upon persons deriving small incomes from land and the funds, and would have put the endurance of this class of persons to a severe trial. But the main feature of Mr. Disraeli's propositions respecting the income tax is the introduction, for the first time, of a gradation between different classes of incomes. He leaves Schedules A. and C. (land and the funds) at 7*d.* in the pound; but reduces Schedules D. and E. (trades, professions, and public offices) to 5½*d.* in the pound. This discrimination was proposed upon equitable grounds; but it was shown in the debate, and would appear more clearly upon further analysis, that this attempt to apportion the tax according to the ability of the taxpayer is itself full of injustice. In the first place, it puts trades and professions on the same level: a merchant trading on a large

capital, or a sleeping partner of an old-established bank, would pay the same rate as a barrister or a physician, whose income is exclusively the remuneration for his labour. Besides, the proposed graduation only makes allowance for one distinction of incomes; viz. the distinction between permanent or life incomes, and precarious incomes for less than the person's life; but there are other circumstances by which the ability of the taxpayer may be properly measured; such, for instance, as the number of his children. The most important, however, of these is the *amount of the income*: and it seems to us impossible to say that if a person in a bank or a mercantile house, or a public officer holding a permanent office, entitled to a superannuation allowance, is to be taxed at a lower rate than a person having a life interest in land or government stock of equal annual amount, there ought not, by parity of reasoning, to be a distinction between a person deriving 5000*l.* a-year and upwards from trades, professions, and public offices, and a person deriving an income of 100*l.* to 200*l.* from land or the funds, in favour of the latter. If once the principle of graduation is introduced into the income tax, it cannot stop at the point indicated by Mr. Disraeli. Now this is a serious consideration for those on whom the responsibility for our financial management rests; for although an income tax in time of peace may not be permanently necessary to our revenue, and might in a few years be discontinued; yet peace might unhappily be interrupted; new phenomena have arisen on the Continent, to which nothing since 1815 affords a parallel; and it is a matter of grave consideration whether a heavy war income tax could be levied upon a system of graduation, developed out of Mr. Disraeli's principles, without pressing so severely upon realised property as to be almost intolerable, and to become an oppressive restraint upon both consumption and productive industry. The taxation of the funds at the highest rate is likewise a measure of very doubtful propriety; and the chances are that, before long, Schedule A., the schedule of landed property, in its various forms, would alone bear the burden of the high rate.

The income tax, as modified by Mr. Disraeli, was calculated by him to produce nearly the same revenue as the tax in its present shape. This part of his Budget therefore did not affect his balance sheet: but the reductions of the duties on malt, hops, and tea created a deficit which it was necessary for him to fill up. This object he attempted to effect in part by proposing to appropriate the repayments to the Public Works Loan Fund Commission, as part of the current revenue of the year. It was shown during the debate that this was not a legitimate process, inasmuch as it implied the absorption of a fund applicable to the

redemption of debt; and although Mr. Disraeli quoted some instances of grants under the form of loans having been charged by Act of Parliament upon this fund, he did not succeed in proving that the fund had been mal-administered by the Commissioners. But his main expedient for supplying the deficiency which he had himself created, was the extension of the area of the house tax, and the doubling of its rate. With respect to the former part of this proposition, he made the following statement:—‘I think we ought to increase the basis of the tax, and that it would be a moderate proposition if I suggest that its present basis should be extended to houses of 10*l.* a year. I don’t mean that the House should for ever stop at 10*l.* I do not lay that down as a final proposition; *but it is an advance in the right direction, and it is all I can venture at this moment to recommend.*’

The proposition for the enlargement of the area of the house tax was therefore presented to the House only as the first step in an intended progress: a further extension of the tax, so as to comprehend houses of less value than 10*l.*, was reserved for some subsequent budget.

Without discussing the merits of this enlargement of the house tax, the prospect of which was held out by Mr. Disraeli, we may say of the proposition which he actually made, that perhaps no better measure could be suggested for an increase of taxation, if an increase of taxation were really necessary. But the necessity was factitious, and was created by himself. Moreover, the relief afforded by the repeal of half the malt tax was imaginary; whereas the burden imposed by the duplication and enlargement of the house tax was real. In order to make the scheme consistent, the burden and the relief should have been equally imaginary, like the proposal to execute a forged release as a satisfaction to a forged bond; but unluckily the occupiers of houses, who were the losers, resented this equitable adjustment of taxation, while the farmers and consumers of beer, who were to be the gainers, were indifferent and silent. Hence the House of Commons and the public refused to ratify the bargain which Mr. Disraeli proposed to strike between these two parties. If a real deficit had existed, or if any new and important branch of expense were to be incurred, we do not doubt that the feeling of the public, and the decision of the House, would have been wholly different. The people of this country have never shown any reluctance to make sacrifices for purposes of taxation, when solid national interests were at stake. If Hannibal was at our gates, we do not doubt that a Government might have asked successfully for much more than Mr. Disraeli’s augmented house

tax. But it was a very different matter for a Government to demand an increase of the house tax, because it pleased them to abandon half the malt tax; this measure being merely an expedient for fulfilling their promises to their agricultural supporters, and a proffered equivalent for the previous policy of Protection: How could a Chancellor of the Exchequer reasonably expect that he would succeed in persuading the House of Commons to double the house tax, and enlarge its basis, simply in order to enable him to pay the bad political debts of the Government? How could he anticipate that the occupiers of houses would patriotically submit to increased taxation, when the classes who were to be relieved at their expense repudiated the worthless bounty of the Finance Minister?

Having thus proposed their financial plan, the Government announced that they staked their existence upon its leading principles. They selected the resolution on the house tax as the question upon which the first division should be taken, but invited a discussion upon the entire Budget, as containing the deliberate views and matured policy of Ministers. The challenge was given on the ground chosen by themselves; they insisted on being finally concluded by their entire plan, as opened to the House; they rejected with scorn, and in no courteous terms, the proposal of Sir C. Wood, that they should withdraw it for reconsideration, and reproduce it in an amended form. Not only, therefore, is it quite fair to judge the Government by their late Budget; but it would be unfair not to judge them by it. They invited and courted the judgment of the country upon this scheme; and they did, what they would not do with their Protectionist policy,—they staked the existence of the Government upon the result.

When a budget is proposed with merely financial views, much inconvenience would arise, if every resolution in Committee of Ways and Means were made by the Government a vital question: many persons might think it a less evil to support a bad tax, than to bring on a change of ministry, and would therefore vote under constraint. Without going into the merits of Sir C. Wood's budgets (to whom, as a finance minister, justice, in our own opinion, has never been done), we think that he was fully justified, both by precedent and policy, in reconsidering propositions from which the House dissented. But the late Budget was not an ordinary scheme of finance; it was the settlement of the long Protectionist agitation; it contained the measures which the Government tendered to the agriculturists and the other once protected interests,



as the equivalents and substitutes for Protection. For Protectionists to abandon Protection, was difficult, though possible; but after having abandoned Protection and promised a substitute, then to abandon the substitute was next to impossible; at the same time, it is hard to say what course a Government so practised in equivocation might not have resorted to, if they had not expected that the threat of resignation would be successful, and if they had foreseen that the country would not be captivated by their Budget. Whatever may have been the motives for the decision of the Government to stand or fall by their Budget, the course is inconvenient, and ought not to be drawn into a precedent. The real settling day for the Protectionist speculation of the Government was not at the elections, when they virtually threw Protection overboard; nor on Mr. Villiers' motion, when they formally took the Free-trade test; but on the 16th of December, when the House of Commons divided upon the first resolution of the Budget, and rejected it by 305 to 286 votes.\* This division was the last link of a chain, of which the first links were forged in 1846.

\* The following analysis of this division shows the comparative strength of the two parties in the counties and boroughs.

<i>Majority.—Tellers included.</i>				<i>Minority.—Tellers included.</i>			
<b>COUNTY MEMBERS.</b>				<b>COUNTY MEMBERS.</b>			
England	-	-	29	England	-	-	113
Scotland	-	-	14	Scotland	-	-	12
Ireland	-	-	35	Ireland	-	-	24
			78				149
<b>BOROUGH MEMBERS.</b>				<b>BOROUGH MEMBERS</b>			
England	-	-	187	England	-	-	119
Scotland	-	-	21	Scotland	-	-	1
Ireland	-	-	21	Ireland	-	-	19
			229				139
			307				288

It appears, therefore, that on a question particularly interesting the towns, 78 county members voted in the majority, and 149 in the minority: whereas 229 borough members voted in the majority, and only 139 in the minority. Of the English county members, 29 voted in the majority, to 113 in the minority. Only one member for a Scottish borough voted in the minority; viz. Mr. James Baird, member for the Falkirk burghs.

Beginning with the separation from Sir R. Peel, and the creation of a new Protectionist party, it next passed through a long series of Protectionist agitation. Then came the accession of Lord Derby to office; the virtual abandonment of Protection, with the promise of a revision of taxation and of fiscal relief; the attempt at a fulfilment of this promise in the Budget; and finally the rejection of the Budget by Parliament on the first division.

The Budget was not a straightforward *bonâ fide* proposition for the improvement of the finances—it was an intricate compromise, intended, not to benefit the country, but to relieve the Government from their political embarrassments. It was framed for the purpose of providing political ways and means to the Ministry, not pecuniary ways and means to the nation. As a financial plan, it was defective and inadmissible; and the adverse decision of the House of Commons will, we are satisfied, be confirmed by the deliberate opinion of the country, when its several propositions have been further scrutinised and considered. Lord Derby could find no mode of accounting for this decision but by the hypothesis of a factious coalition. But the coalition (if a united vote can be so called) was forced upon the Opposition by the perverse and suicidal ingenuity of the Government. The occasion was not sought by the Opposition, but was created by the Government; and even the *locus pœnitentiæ* which was offered to the Government was contemptuously rejected. If it suited their tactics to treat a vote for a tax in Committee of Ways and Means as a vote of confidence in the Ministry, they could not justly complain if those who disapproved of the tax voted against the resolution.

The division of the House of Commons upon the Budget took place on the night of Thursday, the 16th of December. On Monday, the 20th, Lord Derby announced in the House of Lords the resignations of the Ministers and their acceptance by Her Majesty. A similar announcement was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Disraeli. Thus ended, in about ten months from its formation, the Ministry of Lord Derby.

We have never expressed any confidence in Lord Derby's administration; we have given our reasons for disapproving of his Budget; we rejoice at its summary rejection by the House of Commons; and we view his resignation without regret. At the same time, we trust that these feelings will not prevent us from forming an impartial judgment upon the course of his policy while he was in his office. Now, whoever deliberately reviews the conduct of his administration, from its beginning in

February, 1852, to its close in December, cannot, we think, fail to come to the conclusion that if Lord Derby wished to preserve his political character untarnished, his proper course was to announce without delay his intention of proposing a moderate import duty on corn, with some protection to colonial sugar : and of standing or falling by the decision of the newly-elected House of Commons, after a dissolution of Parliament. We do not doubt that the country would have decided against him, and he would have met Parliament in the autumn, as the Whigs met it in 1841, in order to receive his death blow. But his resignation would only have occurred in October, or November, instead of December ; and he would have left office admired for his courage under difficulties, and for his honest and consistent adherence to his principles. He would have been sincerely regretted by his party, and respected by his opponents ; and when he had resigned office, he might, with perfect propriety, and without any suspicion of interested motives, have proclaimed his conversion to the policy of Free Trade, and thus have cut the millstone of Protection from his neck. If he had no convictions on the subject of Protection, or if he did not feel that he would be justified in convulsing the country by a struggle ; of which the result could not be uncertain ; then he ought, in our opinion, to have lost no time in formally announcing his abandonment of the Protectionist and his adoption of the Free-trade policy. He ought to have anticipated by eight months the declarations which he made in November last. This course would, probably, have been, in no long time, fatal to his Ministry ; he would have alienated his own party, without effectually conciliating his opponents. Still, it would have saved him from the insincerity and vacillation of an ambiguous policy ; and when he fell, he would at least have fallen without discredit, and, probably, with the regrets of many. By the course which he actually adopted, he abandoned Protection, not immediately, or distinctly, but in the end effectually ; and thus lost the benefit of his best party-cry. He sacrificed his prominent political principle, and his character for consistency ; and, notwithstanding all these concessions to the opinions of his opponents, he could not keep his Administration alive for a year, but fell in the first real trial of strength which had occurred since he came into office, upon a motion voluntarily treated by himself as a vote of confidence. He has fallen without the cordial regret of his friends, and without the respect or admiration of his adversaries. If by first equivocating about Protection, then abandoning it, and afterwards proposing a budget of set-offs, in-

tended to please every body, he had been able to strengthen his own party, to divide his opponents, and thus to consolidate his power, and retain office, he might have offered some solid consolation to his followers for his tortuous and discreditable course. In politics, as in other departments of practical life, success covers a multitude of sins. But to be discredited as politicians, and to be defeated in the first division on the first Government measure proposed after the elections, is a combination of afflictions which Lord Derby's followers must summon up all their fortitude to bear with equanimity.

Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli both appear, from their management of the late Administration, to be men of words, rather than men of action or of business. Lord Derby is an impassioned, impressive, and powerful speaker; he is eminent in all styles of oratory—in statement and in reply, in the solemn or in the playful vein. Mr. Disraeli's chief excellence is in the vituperative style; in his speaking, he deals not so much with measures, as with men. He is more successful in damaging an antagonist, than in supporting his own proposition. His last speech on the Budget debate was a vehement philippic; even on the Treasury Bench he seems to emulate the fame of a Cleon. But, however brilliant such displays of invective may be, they do not harmonise with the feelings of a Ministerial party in the House of Commons, and those who are prepared to support him with their vote feel relieved when he sits down. It is impossible that the business of a Government should be permanently conducted in the style of Mr. Disraeli's recent exhibitions on the stage of St. Stephen's.

Since the resignation of the Ministry, however, the conduct of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer has contrasted favourably with that of his chief. Mr. Disraeli has sustained his reverse of fortune with dignity and good temper; Lord Derby, on the other hand, first at a meeting of his party in Downing Street, and since in the House of Lords, has been indulging in a series of querulous outbreaks of ill-humour, which are quite unworthy of his character for manly vigour. His refusal to move the adjournment of the House, for the short time requested by his successor, was a singular ebullition of splenetic disappointment. The defeat on the Budget was, in truth, the Nemesis for the dishonest manner in which Protection had been abandoned by his Government. He brought this reverse upon himself; let him bear it with decent fortitude. If he is mortified at the early shipwreck of his Ministry, let him remember that his hand guided the helm, and that, in fair weather,

and in broad daylight, he steered the vessel against a rock visible above the water, and lying out of his straight course. If ever another Tory Ministry should be formed, we wish it no worse fate than to be directed by the counsels of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli. We have the utmost confidence in their advocacy for ruining any cause which they may undertake to promote.

As soon as the resignations of Lord Derby and his colleagues had been accepted by the Queen, Her Majesty sent for Lord Aberdeen and Lord Lansdowne, in order to consult them upon the formation of a new Ministry. Lord Lansdowne having been prevented by indisposition from making the journey to the Isle of Wight, Lord Aberdeen was subsequently summoned to Osborne alone, and undertook the task of forming an Administration. That task he has since fulfilled, and a combined Ministry has been formed of the political friends of Lord Aberdeen and Lord John Russell, including Lord Lansdowne and Lord Palmerston as members of the Cabinet. In forming this combination, many personal sacrifices were indispensable; but the ready acquiescence of Lord John Russell in an arrangement which necessarily assigned the post of First Minister to another, is a truly gratifying proof of the manner in which some of the leading statesmen of this country prefer the public interests to private ambition. The Ministry has been described as a Coalition Ministry; and references have been made to the Talents Ministry of 1806, when the party of Lord Grenville was joined by Mr. Fox and his friends; and when the House of Lords was led by Lord Grenville, as Prime Minister, while the House of Commons was led, first by Mr. Fox, and afterwards by Lord Howick. The cases are in many respects parallel; but the present Ministry is a coalition Ministry in form, rather than in substance. The administration of Sir. R. Peel from 1841 to 1846 was conducted on enlarged and liberal principles, often distasteful to the bulk of its supporters. Since 1846, Sir R. Peel's followers maintained their separateness, and sat on the opposition side of the House; but their opinions approximated closely to those of Lord John Russell's Government; while they were, on most important subjects, diametrically opposed to those of the Protectionist party. If a Coalition Ministry implies sacrifices of opinion, in order to arrange a compromise, we doubt whether any mutual concessions beyond those required in the formation of all governments, were required in the formation of the present Government, in order to bring about a general agreement of principles. It is our belief that Lord Aberdeen's Administration will study to pursue a progres-

sive and liberal policy, showing, at the same time, a due respect to the existing institutions of the country, to the acquired rights of property, and to the prevalent opinions, practices, and habits of the people.

Whatever policy the present Ministry may adopt, it will not, from incapacity, be unable to carry into effect. A greater amount of ability, for purposes both of debate and administration, was probably never included in any government: to say that, in this respect, the present Ministers are superior to their predecessors, would indeed be a compliment of no great value; but they may be safely considered as *pares negotiis* at a time when weighty questions both of foreign and domestic policy may be expected soon to occupy the attention of Parliament.

The great alteration in the state of public affairs which has been produced by the admission of the Protectionists to power is, that it has extinguished Protection as a practical question, and has finally crushed the barren and obstinate controversy carried on against the Free-trade policy. In other respects, the state of the country is essentially the same as that in which it was left by Lord John Russell's Ministry. Lord Derby's Government passed a Militia Bill, and some useful measures of Law Reform, founded on reports of previous commissions, in the preparation of which, however, the country derived much important service from the practical ability and profound legal knowledge of Lord St. Leonard's. Their only financial measure, so far as we know, was their Treasury Minute on Chicory. But if Lord Derby's Government have left no important marks on the legislation or administration of the country, they can say with truth that the national interests have not suffered under their stewardship. The revenue is prosperous; agriculture, trade, and manufactures are in a thriving condition; our relations with foreign states are pacific; India and the colonies, with the exception of the Cape, are tranquil; and in the latter settlement the Kaffir war begins to wear a more promising aspect.

The changes which the late Government actually made in the finances of the country were insignificant. But the changes proposed in their Budget were important; and financial propositions, deliberately made by a government, sometimes bear fruit afterwards, though rejected at the moment. The only principle of the late Budget which Lord Derby is likely to bequeath to his successors is that of a *graduated income tax*. The principle of graduation introduced by Mr. Disraeli—viz, a discrimination founded on the sources of income—appears to be approved by a large portion of the public; it is intended to favour the

mercantile and professional classes ; and as it was proposed by a Government which was considered to represent the landed interest, it apparently enlists the support of the chief portion of the country. How far the principle of graduation ought to be adopted in the income tax, and whether, when once admitted, it can be limited to the distinction singled out by Mr. Disraeli, are questions which will probably engage the early attention of Lord Aberdeen's Government.

The amendment of our representative system, which was recommended to the deliberations of Parliament in the Queen's Speech of February, 1852, must, at its proper time, be carefully considered by the Ministry, and form the subject of a government measure. Upon this question, we cannot do better than quote the words of Lord John Russell's recent address to his constituents. Referring to his address of the 22nd of May last, he says: ' I then stated that the progress of the working classes in knowledge and in intelligence ought to be accompanied by an increased share of political power, while I was aware how difficult a task it is to adjust, in any plan of representation, the respect due to ancient prescription with the claims of advancing trade, increased population, and growing intelligence. To this task the ministry of the Earl of Aberdeen will anxiously apply themselves. A matter of so much importance requires from the Government the most deliberate consideration before any measures are submitted to Parliament.'

To what extent the measures to be proposed by Lord Aberdeen's Administration may meet with support from the present House of Commons, it is impossible now to foresee. Lord Derby has, since his resignation, shown great anxiety to keep together a party in opposition, which shall restore him and Mr. Disraeli to office. In this course (which, if practised by an opponent, he would have called factious, and have made the subject of much criminatory complaint) we can see nothing to condemn. If Lord Derby and his followers oppose the present Government by fair motions and arguments, this will be a legitimate and constitutional course. We trust that the Government may not, on any vital question, find itself in a minority in the House of Commons during the present session. But we cannot contemplate that the goodness of its measures will be any preservative against Lord Derby's vindictiveness ; and if it should incur any ministerial defeat, we hope that it will not consider such a reverse as final, or as necessitating an immediate resignation. The present House of Commons was elected under the auspices of the late Government, of a Government in which Major

Beresford held a prominent position. To the verdict of this House Lord Aberdeen is not bound to submit, if public opinion should be in his favour; and it would be a manifest abandonment of the cause which he has undertaken to support if, under such circumstances, he hesitated to make a new appeal to the people, in order that by the votes of a House of Commons freely and fairly elected, the unfavourable verdict of its predecessor might be reversed.





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# DINBURGH REVIEW,

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ART. I. — *History of Europe, from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815 to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852.* By Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 603.: 1852.

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON has just published a new 'Book of Fallacies.' Not content with two volumes on Population and three volumes of Miscellaneous Essays, filled with ponderous error, and enriched by a formidable outwork of statistics drawn out in defence of indefensible positions, he has commenced the publication of what he is pleased to term a History, but which is mainly a cold *rechauffée* and tedious iteration of theories a hundred times refuted, and now nearly obsolete. He seems resolved to hold the place in literature which Colonel Sibthorp has so long and chivalrously filled in political life; and, while all other men are busy acknowledging past mistakes, learning from experience and observation, and building new conclusions upon new facts, Sir A. Alison is still to be seen fast imbedded in antiquated prepossessions, and clinging with pathetic and desperate fidelity to the skirts of departing misconceptions and the fragments of exploded error. While the cry, even of the clergy, is for more and better schools; while every statesman of every party agrees in proclaiming the necessity and the blessing of extended and improved instruction; and while an Administration embracing nearly every man whom the country is accustomed to honour and to trust, has announced the furtherance of this great object as among its first aims,—Sir A. Alison sets himself with marvellous gallantry to maintain the thesis that crime and

education naturally go hand in hand, and that the ratio which they bear to one another is not, as usually supposed, inverse, but direct! While England is rich and prosperous, and the people well fed and clothed, to a degree seldom if ever known before; while in spite of our enormous expenditure in railways and the vast activity of the commercial world, money is so plentiful that it can with difficulty find employment at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on mortgage, or at 2 per cent. on call; while Protection is abandoned even by a Protectionist Ministry as fallacious and untenable; and while the currency school of Messrs. Attwood and Cobbett, once so noisy, is now silent, deserted, and forgotten, Sir A. Alison devotes all his energies to writing history with a view to prove not only that the country is ruined, pauperised, and doomed, but that this, its well deserved fate, is distinctly traceable to the adoption of Free Trade, and the crippling effect of a contracted paper circulation! Finally, while every living statesman of the least pretension, without, we believe, a single exception, either was concerned in framing the first Reform Bill, or is prepared to introduce a second, Sir A. Alison still persists in dating the fall of the British Constitution from the fatal year 1832.

In selecting such a period as the thirty-seven years of peace which Europe has enjoyed since 1815, the historian has shown a strange misapprehension of the line in which lay his peculiar powers. His *forte* lies in narrative: his deplorable weakness, in sagacious induction and philosophical reflection. His first work embraced a period more crowded than any other of equal duration with startling events, with rapid vicissitudes, with sanguinary battles and brilliant campaigns, with glorious achievements in statesmanship and war. These he described with great spirit, with passable fidelity, and in a flowing and agreeable though redundant style; hence his narrative, though awfully wordy and disfigured by the most merciless and careless repetitions, was not only readable, but really *entraining*; and its own actual merits, added to the fascinating interest of the scenes and times of which it treated, obtained for it an extraordinary degree of popularity. The work, of which the opening volume is now before us, relates to an epoch of far different character, and demanding far rarer and higher powers in its historian. Its interest is not less profound or vivid than that of the former one, but it lies less upon the surface. Its events are no less momentous, but they run in a deeper and more silent current. It abounds in political crises of singular significance, and fraught with lessons of wisdom and of warning to the statesman, such as only a statesmanlike intellect could fittingly expound. It is rich in

social changes, of which the secret and remoter causes had to be traced out, and the further progress and future bearings to be discerned, with all the impartial sagacity and philosophical acumen which could be summoned to the task. And Sir A. Alison has brought to this massive undertaking little beyond a dogmatism, all the more strange and unbecoming because he differs on nearly every subject of importance with every great thinker of his age; a mind filled with crotchets, enamoured of paradoxes, wedded to bubbles long since burst or blown away; a fancy so engrossed with the bugbear of a contracted currency that he can scarcely see any other cause in operation; and an industry and facility which, being under the rule neither of a high standard nor a pure taste, display less of the artist than of the literary manufacturer.

One merit, however, we must concede to Sir A. Alison; and it is a somewhat remarkable one. He intends to be, and generally is, fair and candid. Though his political economy is of the most peculiar description, his assertions often loose and wide of the mark, and his statistics and the conclusions he draws from them strangely unsound, yet his mere narrative is, we think, in the main correct, and his summary of the arguments of opposing parties very impartial. Satisfied with setting at defiance the reasonings of his antagonists, he does not attempt to garble or misrepresent them. He shows, too, a generous appreciation of merit in rivals and opponents. In saying thus much we have nearly exhausted all that we can pronounce in the way of eulogy. As a literary performance this new history will assuredly not add to the author's reputation. The merits of his first work are but faintly discernible in the second, and all its faults are aggravated and confirmed. He has profited neither by the judicious criticism nor by the large indulgence which he met with. The work is defaced by slovenly and wearisome repetitions; the style is often careless, sometimes obscure, and not always grammatical; there are several mistakes in tabular matters which greatly confuse the reader; the wordiness is excessive and unpardonable; scarcely a dozen consecutive pages can be found free from the recurrence of pompous observations and remarks — a sort of cross between the weakest and washiest moralising of the pulpit and the most childish declamation of the schoolboy; and the whole volume is overflowed by a perfect diarrhoea of vapid and grandiose reflections — sometimes impertinent, always trite even to nausea.

These are harsh words, but a very cursory perusal of the book before us will not fail to justify them. For example, what can our readers make out of the following strange and clumsy

passage? Speaking of the improvements in steam navigation, the discoveries of gold, and the political excitement of the period, as promoting emigration, the Author proceeds:—

‘No such powerful causes, producing the dispersion of the species, have come into operation since mankind were originally separated on the Assyrian plains; and it took place from an attempt, springing from the pride and ambition of man, as vain as building the Tower of Babel.

‘That attempt was the endeavour to establish social felicity, and insure the fortunes of the species, by the mere spread of knowledge, and the establishment of democratic institutions, irrespective of religious influence or the moral training of the people. As this project was based on the pride of intellect, and rested on the doctrine of human perfectibility, so it met with the same result as the attempt, by a tower raised by human hands, to reach the heavens. The whole *history* of Europe, from 1789 to the period with which this *history* closes, is but the *annals* of the unsuccessful efforts of man to reach this unattainable object. Everywhere it [*Quære they*] met with the most signal failure. Carried into execution by fallible agents, it was met and thwarted by their usual passions [if thwarted, how could it have been ‘carried into execution’?]; and the selfishness and grasping desires of men led to a scene of discord and confusion, unparalleled since the beginning of the world. It terminated in the same result in Europe as in Asia: the building of the political tower of Babel in France was attended by consequences identical with those which had followed the construction of its predecessor on the plains of Shinar. The dispersion of mankind followed in both cases—though in the latter [which?] after a long interval—the vain attempt; and after, and through the agency of a protracted period of suffering, men in surpassing multitudes found themselves settled in new habitations, and for ever severed from the land of their birth, from the consequences of the visionary projects in which they had been engaged. The development of the way in which this effect took place, and the means by which it was worked out by the unconscious *agency of free agents* [?], forms the great object of this history.’ (*Pref.* p. ix.)

In illustration of our charge of needless and slovenly repetitions, we may refer to the Author’s peculiar notions as to the relation between crime and education; which, we believe, he first propounded in Blackwood, and republished in the collected volumes of his *Essays* (i. 557., to which he is careful to refer us); which he states again in the book before us at p. 47., and once more at p. 397.; to the remark ‘that the real rulers of mankind are now the philosophers and literary men, rather than generals and statesmen,’ which closes his preface, and is twice reproduced in the body of the work;—and finally to the ~~merely~~ use which he makes of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and the destinies of their supposed descendants,—references to them

occurring five times in 150 pages; viz., *first* at p. 9.; a *second* time at p. 12.; a *third* time at p. 67.; a *fourth* time at p. 73.; and a *fifth* time at p. 155.\*

We quarrel still more with Sir Archibald's carelessness in figures—a fault peculiarly inexcusable in a writer who relies so largely on statistics. In p. 108. of vol. xx. of his first History, he gives a series of tables, to which he repeatedly refers in the work immediately before us, and which therefore we might expect to be scrupulously accurate and free from oversights; yet in these very tables we find the official exports of 'Foreign' and 'Colonial Merchandise' given as exports of 'British and 'Irish Produce.' We presume that this is a mere blunder arising from carelessness or haste; but it surely ought not to be found in the *seventh* edition of an elaborate work. But this is not all. In the volume we are reviewing, we find figures of great importance given *three* times, and *each time with considerable variations*. Thus:—

Total Exports, British, Irish, and Colonial. Official Value.	Alison, p. 339.	Alison, p. 350.*	Alison, p. 364.	Real Exports. See Porter, p. 356.
	£	£	£	£
1816	49,197,850	- -	- -	49,197,850
1817	50,404,111	51,243,574	50,404,111	50,404,111
1818	53,500,338	53,123,202	53,560,338	53,560,338
1819	- -	56,851,319	42,438,989	42,438,989

Again, not only does our author give the *official* value of imports as their *declared* value (pp. 339. and 364.); but he cannot be consistent even in his statement of the figures thus erroneously described. For example:—

Imports, Official Value.	Alison, p. 339.	Alison, p. 350.	Alison, p. 364.	Porter, p. 356.
	£	£	£	£
1816	27,431,604			
1817	30,834,299	30,105,566	29,910,502	30,834,299
1818	36,889,182	33,965,232	35,845,340	36,885,182
1819	- -	40,157,634	29,681,640	30,776,810

\* Compare also chap. i. § 10. 43. and 45. And again, § 43. 28. and 10.

† At p. 350. the author appears to have entered the year wrong: he gives the exports of 1817 as those of 'the year ending 5th 'January 1817,' i. e. the year 1816.

Part of the discrepancy in these figures may be accounted for by supposing that the writer has copied in one case from M'Culloch, and in another from Porter (both excellent authorities), or from the original and from the corrected Parliamentary returns; but why he should not adhere to one original, or why he should state official as declared values, or whence he obtained the strangely incorrect figures which he gives (at p. 350.) as the imports and exports for 1819 (where he is from £10,000,000 to £12,000,000 astray), we are at a loss to conjecture. This last error is the more unpardonable, as he builds important conclusions upon it, and as the figures were accurately stated by himself in the table in vol. xx. p. 108. of his first work, which he must have had lying before him at the time he wrote. A comparison, too, of Porter, p. 356. and p. 397., seems to show that Sir A. Alison, in this table, has mixed up the imports of one year with the shipping of the year preceding. So much for statistical inaccuracy.

Again, where was the necessity of swelling his pages with such novel reflections as the following?—

‘The cause of the sudden bursting forth of the principles of decay, which took place both in France and England after the termination of the contest, is to be found in a very simple source—the *general, it might almost be said universal, selfishness of human nature*. So prone are mankind, in every rank, station, and situation, to use power mainly for the advantage of themselves or their adherents, &c. &c. . . . In Great Britain, as it was not the democratic but the aristocratic party which was victorious in the great contest of the Revolution, the causes which have induced disaster have been different, but springing at bottom from *the same inherent selfishness of human nature*.’ (P. 310. See also p. 415.)

The following, too, is surely more fit for the platform of Exeter Hall, or the theme of a sixth-form schoolboy, than for a grave and pretentious history:—

‘Knowledge, says Lord Bacon, is *Power*. [Sir E. B. Lytton has told him in the pages of his own Blackwood that Lord Bacon never said anything of the kind; but let that pass.] He has not said it is either wisdom or virtue. In this respect a capital mistake has been committed both by the speculative and the active part of mankind of late years; and, what is very remarkable, by the religious teachers, whose principles should have led them most to distrust the efficacy of intellectual cultivation in arresting the corruption of mankind. They *forget that it was eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge that expelled our first parents from Paradise—that the precept of our Saviour was to preach the gospel to all nations, not to educate all nations*. [!] Experience has now abundantly verified the melancholy truth so often enforced in Scripture, so constantly forgotten by

mankind, that intellectual cultivation has no effect in arresting the sources of evil in the human heart; that it alters the direction of crime, but does not alter its amount. The poet has said —

“Dedicisse fideliter artes,  
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.”

[The misspelling of this schoolboy quotation, though uncorrected in the ‘fifth thousand,’ we will charitably suppose to be an error of the press.\*] ‘And that is undoubtedly true. But observe, he has not said ‘nec sinit esse pravos.’† Education and civilisation, generally diffused, have a powerful effect in softening the *savage* passions of the human breast, and checking the crimes of violence which originate in their indulgence; but they tend rather to increase than diminish those of fraud and gain, because they add strength to the desires, by multiplying the pleasures which can be obtained only by the acquisition of property. *Then indeed is experienced the truth of*

\* Our author is rather unlucky in his classical citations: he not only misquotes but misunderstands the passages. At p. 33. he finds a fanciful and false analogy between the Bank Restriction Act and an occurrence in Roman History for which he refers to Livy, lib. xxvi. c. 19., ‘Nullam nisi bello confecto pecuniam ab ærario ‘petiturum esse.’ The passage is in lib. xxiv. c. 18., and Livy wrote *neminem*, not nullam. The misapplication of the passage is, moreover, as flagrant as the misquotation. Livy says that in the year 214 B.C., being the second year after the battle of Cannæ, the censors, on account of the exhaustion of the treasury, intended not to give out the usual contracts for the repair of sacred buildings, the supply of public horses, and other similar objects. Hereupon the persons who had been accustomed to tender for these services, went in a body to the censors, and requested them to proceed in the usual course, saying that they would not expect to receive their money until the war was ended. In the first place, this transaction bears no real resemblance to a suspension of cash payments for promissory notes issued by a national bank—seeing that the Roman measure was merely a temporary retrenchment of expenditure. In the next place, it is ludicrous to speak of it, as having ‘brought the Roman Government victorious through the second Punic war.’ (Alison, p. 33.) The measure had, in itself, scarcely any importance; it is mentioned by Livy as a proof of the good spirit, patriotism, and confidence of the people, at a moment of national weakness and depression. Sir A. Alison evidently quoted this passage at second hand, without taking the trouble of reading the context. In p. 431. he makes a clumsy application to Campbell the poet, of the well-known passage respecting eloquence in Tacitus, ‘Eloquentia sicut flamma, &c.’ Dial. de Orat. 36., which he describes as having been said of ‘ancient genius.’

† If Sir A. Alison wishes not to suppose Ovid to be guilty of a false quantity, we suggest the substitution of ‘malos’ for ‘pravos’ in the ‘sixth thousand.’



*the saying of the wise man, that "the love of money is the root of all evil."*

'This is a melancholy truth: so melancholy, indeed, that it is far from being generally acknowledged even by the best informed persons; and it is so mortifying to the pride of human intellect that it is probably the last one which will be admitted by mankind\* . . . . And yet, although the pride of intellect is so reluctant to admit this all-important truth, there is none which in reality is so entirely conformable to the known disposition of the human mind, or which is so frequently and loudly announced in Scripture. That the heart is "deceitful above all things and desperately wicked," we know from the very highest authority,' &c. &c. &c. (1p. 45. 47.)†

And all this, and much more of the same sort, is to be found in a voluminous history *not* 'expressly designed for the use of 'schools!'

The task of an historian is a grand and noble one, if read aright; but it involves too much, and demands too much, to be lightly undertaken or carelessly discharged. The author who engages to chronicle for the instruction of his own or of succeeding times the progress, the vicissitudes, the glorious deeds and the great sufferings of humanity, has not only to ascertain facts with scrupulous and toilsome accuracy, and to give their due position and proportionate magnitude to the events which he records; he has also to detect the secret relations of circumstances apparently unconnected; to trace the occurrences with which he deals back to their origin, and onward to their consequences; to elicit from 'the loud transactions of the outlying 'world' the principles of political science, and to expound these for the instruction of patriots and rulers; to estimate the characters of statesmen and commanders; and to pronounce sentence of moral approval or condemnation on the actors and achievements which pass in review before him. He sits in the judgment-seat of an august tribunal: in assuming that post of high dignity and solemn obligation he has entered into a tacit engagement to purify his mind, as far as he may, from all prejudice, favouritism, or rancour; to bring to bear upon his crotchets and prepossessions all possible enlightenment from whatever quarter; to warp no figures, to resist no evidence, to reject no honest testimony; to forget and put aside all his antecedent and extrajudicial opinions: and if he degrades history

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\* We are again reminded (at p. 160.) that 'pride is the last 'weakness that can be conquered in the human heart,' &c. &c.

† See another strange piece of tasteless declamation, at chap. i. paragraph 42. Again, p. 437. and p. 493. exhibit the very height of tawdry tinsel.]

into a mere party pamphlet, and misuses it to embody and perpetuate his own crude speculations and dishonoured prophecies, he soils his ermine and betrays his trust. Political dissertations in Reviews and Magazines are read chiefly by those who are of the same way of thinking as the writer; or, if read by others, are read in a spirit of suspicion and hostility, or at least of armed and watchful neutrality: they are assumed to be the expression of one-sided and party views;—but in the case of history, this wholesome and protecting vigilance is relaxed; nine-tenths of readers sit down to it in a *passive* state of mind; they expect, and have a right to expect, to find the truth presented to them with judicial calmness and judicial care; they read for information, not for criticism; and they cannot possibly be for ever sifting the statements or guarding against the delusions of the author who has undertaken to instruct them. They must of necessity be *recipients*; they *must* give themselves up more or less entirely to the guidance of the historian; and he justly incurs the severest condemnation if he lead them astray.

It would be impossible, even for critics, who are supposed to be omniscient and unsleeping, to follow an historian throughout his narrative, without a labour almost equal to his own; and moreover such a detailed examination could scarcely prove a very readable performance. We must therefore limit ourselves to some samples of Sir A. Alison's work, and shall be content with showing, by an exposition of some strange fallacies, loose and random assertions and incorrect statements, contained in the preliminary chapter, how unsafe and untrustworthy a guide the Author is likely to prove in the period of history through which he has undertaken to conduct us. This preliminary chapter contains a general view of the entire era which the author purposes to traverse, and embodies in miniature all the fallacies and paradoxes which are to be expanded and exemplified in the subsequent volumes; for, diffuse as Sir Archibald generally is, he every now and then contrives to condense into a single paragraph an almost unexampled quantity of error. In the first sixty pages of his book we have marked for animadversion at least *ten* serious misstatements and misconceptions, seven or eight of the more heinous of which we shall endeavour to expose. But the grand fallacy of all—the haunting idea which has taken full possession of the author's mind—we must leave almost untouched. We cannot resolve to weary our readers with a renewed discussion, in the year of grace 1852, of the effect of the return to cash payments in 1819—a measure which, as Sir A. Alison twice informs us, was adopted, after full discussion, with the

*unanimous* consent of both Houses; which every financial and economical authority concurred in recommending at the time and has concurred in defending since\*; and which its immediate author, Sir Robert Peel, has triumphantly vindicated on more than one subsequent occasion, when assailed by men of the calibre of Mr. Attwood and Mr. Cobbett; but to which Sir A. Alison attributes the almost constant misery of the country since the Peace† — a fact which few besides himself would have had the hardihood to assert; and the decay and approaching ruin of the British Empire‡ — of which few besides himself can discern any symptoms. Indeed, the amount of the circulating medium — according as it is abundant or inadequate — is, in Sir A. Alison's imagination, the one great cause of the prosperity or the decline of nations. According to his creed it plays the chief part in the history of civilised communities. The fall of the Roman empire was not brought about, as we have been so long taught, by slavery, heathenism, the decay of patriotism, the benumbing influence of a military despotism, and the moral and political corruption which ate into the very vitals of the state, but 'by a decline in the produce of the gold and silver mines of Spain and Greece, from which the precious metals for the circulation of the world were drawn, at the very time when the victories of the legions and the wisdom of the Antonines had given peace and security, and with it [*Quære them*] an increase in numbers and riches to the Roman empire.'§ The great spring forward, which is traceable throughout Europe early in the sixteenth century, is no longer to be ascribed to the combined energising influences of maritime discovery, the invention of printing, the discovery of the invaluable remains of ancient learning, and the revival of religious purity and zeal inaugurated by Wickliffe and Luther, but to the influx of the precious metals from the New World. (It is somewhat remarkable that the decline of Spain, the discoverer

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\* We recommend to Sir A. Alison, and to every one who conscientiously desires to understand this subject, to study Mr. Tooke's work on Prices, beginning at vol. i. p. 170.

† 'That Great Britain and every state largely concerned in industrial enterprises has suffered grievous and long continued distress since the Peace, is unhappily too well known to all who have lived through that period, and will be abundantly proved in the course of this history. . . . In this country, indeed, this long period of peace has been *nothing but a protracted one of suffering, interrupted only by fitful and transient gleams of prosperity*.' (P. 33.)

‡ See pp. 42. 44. 57. 309. 365., — *passim*, in fact.

§ See p. 38.

and first recipient of these magic treasures, should be dated by many philosophical writers from this very period.) In the same manner, the progressive decline and impoverishment of Great Britain (!) is attributed to the contracted paper currency of 1819—*i.e.* to the enactment that the Bank of England should, on the return of peace, begin to keep its 'promises to pay,' which, to meet the difficulties of war-time, it had been empowered to postpone till the return of peace, — and to the diminished productiveness of the South American mines\*; while the rescue of the human race from its hopeless condition and impending doom (which rescue our author is just beginning to believe possible) will, if effected, be owing simply and solely to the Californian and Australian diggings!

Now, as we said, we have no intention of dragging our readers through a refutation of all this, which has been dealt with fifty times already by the ablest pens; but will Sir A. Alison consider the following facts before his next edition? If he be right in attributing such immense effects to the diminished amount of gold and silver produced in the early part of the century, why has he taken no notice of, and why does he ascribe no effect in enhancing prices to, the great increase in the supply of the precious metals which took place subsequently to the war, but *before* the discoveries in Australia and California, and which in fact has been going on during nearly the whole period through which Sir A. Alison has been uttering his lugubrious prophecies of destruction from a simultaneous deficiency of metallic and paper currency? It is quite true that the annual produce of the South American and Mexican mines, which was upwards of 8,000,000*l.* at the beginning of the century, began to fall rapidly in 1809, and between that date and 1829, only averaged 4,000,000*l.* (we take our figures from Jacob and M'Culloch, preferring them to Sir A. Alison as authorities); but why has Sir A. Alison blinked the fact that, on an average from 1840–43, this produce had again increased to 5,600,000*l.* a year? Why has he suppressed or forgotten the fact that in 1809 the produce of the Siberian and Ural mines was *nil* or nearly so; that in 1819 it was only 80,000*l.*; that in 1829 it had risen to 600,000*l.*, and in 1846 to 3,500,000*l.*; so that the total supply from all quarters had reached 9,000,000*l.* in 1843 and 10,000,000*l.* in 1846, or *a higher figure than at the most productive period of Sir A. Alison's golden age*?† If the diminution previous to 1819 produced

\* See pp. 35. 89. 386., and History of Europe, vol. xx. p. 108.

† See M'Culloch's Commercial Dict. Art. Precious Metals. Also, Tooke's History of Prices, 1839–47, p. 452.

such marvellous disasters, surely the increase between 1829 and 1846 should have wrought an equally wonderful prosperity.

Again, a consideration of the following collation of figures might, we think, have suggested to Sir A. Alison that he must have enormously overrated the influence of the diminution in the paper circulation which took place after the war, in producing that reduction of prices which he regards as the grand calamity of England\*; and indeed that he attaches far too great weight altogether to the extent of ostensible currency afloat. It appears (to take the figures in the volume before us, p. 338.) that the total notes (Bank of England and country banks) in circulation in the kingdom, were, in

1814	-	£47,500,000		1817	-	£43,291,000
1815	-	46,272,000		1818	-	48,278,000
1816	-	42,109,000				

Sir Robert Peel stated in the House of Commons (May 26. 1826) that in 1819 the paper circulation, as nearly as could be ascertained, was about 40,000,000*l.* in England, and 3,300,000*l.* in Scotland. Since that date we have had enormous fluctuations in the prices of all commodities; we have had high-priced years and low-priced years; our commercial transactions have increased in probably a fourfold ratio; our prosperity has often been enormous; yet the circulation has never reached the amount at which it stood even in the calamitous year of 1816†; and in 1852, a year of general prosperity and unparalleled comfort and plenty among the poor, it only averaged 36,000,000.‡ But the most remarkable thing is that, notwithstanding the enormous extension and great briskness of our commercial enterprise in the last year, the country *did not require and would not use* nearly the whole of the paper circulation offered to it. During the whole year the Bank, though it issued notes to the amount of 34,000,000*l.*, and though its rate of discount was often as low as 2 per cent., *could never keep out more than* 22,000,000*l.*: 12,000,000*l.* of these notes — the want of an adequate supply of which, according to Sir A. Alison, has entailed such ruinous consequences on the country — lay

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\* If Sir A. Alison had studied Mr. Tooke's conclusive work, vol. ii. c. vi. vii., as one who dogmatizes on such a subject ought to have done, he could scarcely failed to have been convinced how slight and varying was the connexion between the two facts.

† It just reached it in October 1845, a year of extraordinary prosperity and commercial activity.

‡ The average note circulation of the whole kingdom, from November 1851 to October 1852, was 35,472,000*l.*

idle in their coffers, *unable to find employment*, unneeded and unasked for.

At § 26. of the opening chapter we find the following statement:—

‘The contraction of the currency introduced in 1819, and rendered still more stringent by the Acts of 1844 and 1845, *has changed the value of money fifty per cent.*;—coupled with free trade in all the branches of industry, it has doubled it. In other words, it has doubled the weight of debts, taxes, and encumbrances of every description, and at the same time *halved the resources of those who have to pay them*. Fifty millions a year raised for the public revenue *are as great a burden now as a hundred millions were during the war*; the nation at the close of thirty-five years of unbroken peace, *is in reality more heavily taxed than it was at the end of twenty years of uninterrupted hostility*.’

Such assertions as these would be discreditable enough if recklessly uttered on the hustings in order to confound an antagonist or to catch a vote: recorded in the ‘fifth thousand’ of a formal and elaborate history, they must be characterised as wholly unpardonable. If Sir A. Alison had contented himself with stating that, owing to a general fall in prices, money goes twice as far now as it did during the war or at the beginning of the century, no one would have felt disposed to dispute the proposition, and few would be found to join him in lamenting it. But to attribute this fall exclusively or mainly to any action on the currency, is a wilful ignoring of facts which are obvious to every one. It is to ascribe to one single cause an effect which scientific inventions, improvements in machinery, amended agriculture, and all circumstances which have contributed to the increased productiveness of industry, have combined to produce. It is resolutely to forget or suppress the fact, that this fall of price in nearly all articles has continued steadily from 1821, when the return to cash payments was consummated, till 1842, when the free-trade policy began to be inaugurated. Again, a reference to Mr. Tooke’s *Tables* (vol. ii. p. 379.) would have shown Sir A. Alison what was the *actual* depreciation of the currency during the continuance of the Bank Restriction Act, and what consequently was the enhancement of the value of money caused by the Act of 1819; and would have saved him from the loose and exaggerated statement he has thrown before his readers. The increased value of money was *not* fifty per cent., nor anything approaching it. From 1800 to 1821, when cash payments were fully resumed, the average depreciation was 7*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* In the closing year of the war, from 1813–15, when the depreciation was greatest,

the value of the currency was 78*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*, when it should have been 100*l.*: the increased value of money consequent on the Act of 1819 was not *fifty per cent.*, but a little more than *twenty-seven*. As to the alleged appreciation of the currency by the Act of 1844, neither Sir A. Alison nor any one else can either ascertain its amount or prove its existence.

That portion of public and private debt which was contracted under a depreciated, and had to be borne or repaid under a restored currency, must of course have become *proportionately* more burdensome. This we do not need to be reminded of, though Sir A. Alison might in fairness have informed his readers what portion of the debt had been incurred before the value of money had been interfered with by the Act of 1797. But when he enumerates *taxes* as among the burdens that have been 'doubled' by the return to cash payments, he surely forgets that all those taxes which are required for the *expenditure* of the country (as distinguished from the interest of the National Debt), are expended directly or indirectly in the purchase of those very commodities whose reduction in price we are called upon to deplore, and must therefore, sooner or later, benefit by that reduction; as we know they have done to a remarkable extent. — But we must proceed to the last assertion in the paragraph we have quoted. Sir A. Alison has the hardihood to affirm, that since the Peace 'the resources of the country 'have been halved,' and, 'that a revenue of fifty millions *now*, 'is as great a burden as a hundred millions were *then*.'

We have fortunately lying before us Mr. Norman's admirable Pamphlet on 'The Pressure of Taxation,' the first chapter of which is devoted to the discussion of this very question. We must in charity hope that the Historian had never seen the masterly exposition of the Financier. Mr. Norman is a first-rate authority on subjects of this nature; and in preparing the work we shall refer to, he fortified himself by the aid, and ensured accuracy by the corrections, of Mr. Porter. From the writings of these two eminent men we extract a few conclusive facts. In 1815, the last year of the war, the revenue raised was 72,210,000*l.*; — but, as according to Mr. Tooke's table (vol. ii. p. 379.) 100*l.* then, was only worth 83*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* in the metallic currency to which we soon after returned, the real revenue must be taken at 60,115,000*l.* At that time the population of the British Islands was about 19,500,000. The revenue was therefore about 60*s.* a head. In 1821, after five years of peace, the population had risen to 21,200,000, and the revenue had fallen to 55,800,000*l.*, or 51*s.* a head. In 1850, the population was 27,000,000, and the revenue

1853.

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52,300,000*l.*, or 39*s.* a head. That is, the weight of taxes upon each individual (in place of being, according to Sir A. Alison, twice what it was during the war), is just *one third less*. But the burden of taxation must be measured, not only according to the numbers who have to bear it, but according to the wealth and 'resources' of these numbers. Now, what are those 'resources' which Sir A. Alison assures us have been reduced to half their former amount? The value of personal property had *increased* between 1814 and 1845, according to Mr. Porter, upwards of 1000 millions, or from 1,200,000,000*l.* (in a depreciated currency), to 2,200,000,000*l.* (in a restored one). In the same period, the increased *rental* of real property in England and Wales, was upwards of forty millions, representing an increased *capital* of 1000 millions. The total amount of incomes derived from trades and professions was, in 1812, 21,247,600*l.*, in a depreciated currency, and in 1848, 56,990,000*l.*, in a restored one. The amount of capital subject to legacy duty had risen from 16,622,000*l.* in 1812, to 44,348,000*l.* in 1845. The sums insured against fire were in 1811, 366,000,000*l.*, and in 1845, 722,000,000*l.* The various taxes reduced and abolished since the Peace up to the end of 1845, yielded to the revenue no less a sum than 50,182,000*l.*: the taxes imposed in that interval yielded 13,254,000*l.*, — leaving a balance of relief to the country of thirty-seven millions. The highest amount in declared value reached by the exports of British and Irish produce during the war, was 51,600,000*l.* in 1815: they amounted to 74,200,000*l.* in 1851. No one, we think, who considers these facts will hesitate to accept Mr. Norman's conclusion: 'It follows from these figures that the country could now sustain an expenditure of 119,000,000*l.* with no greater pressure than was inflicted by 81,000,000*l.* at the close of the war; that *we could now bear a system of taxation, looking at taxation merely, which produced 82,000,000*l.* as easily as we then bore one which produced 56,000,000*l.*; — and, that an expenditure of 52,000,000*l.* at present, presses no more on our resources than an expenditure of 35,000,000*l.* would have done about 1815.\** What must we

\* If Sir A. Alison should imagine that he can weaken the force of this conclusion by alleging that *wages* (the 'resources' out of which the working man pays taxes) have fallen since the Peace, we remind him, first, that that portion of the taxation of the country which is shared by the labouring classes has been enormously diminished; that a man's means of paying taxes depends upon the surplus which may remain to him after providing the necessities of life; that,

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think of the trustworthiness of an historian who can boldly affirm that a burden has been *doubled*, which two high financial authorities had already proved to have been *reduced fifty-three per cent.*?

Patriotically bent upon proving the ruin of his country, and upon tracing that ruin to the adoption of a policy which he has wasted so many years in denouncing, Sir A. Alison points with a gloomy triumph to the nearly stationary amount of our population during the last decennial period, and to the vast emigration which is now in progress from our shores, and attributes them, as he attributes everything which he regards as a misfortune, to Free Trade and a contracted currency. Forgetting that, at p. ix. of the Preface, he had, truly enough, referred this 'modern exodus' to the combined influence of 'the aroused energies and ambition of civilised man, to the 'discoveries of science, and to the treasures of the wilderness;' and that at p. viii. of the Preface, and again at p. 65. of chap. i., he had spoken of the gold discoveries in California and Australia as the cause which had given the last irresistible stimulus to the mighty movement,—he in three several passages lays the whole burden of this evil (as he considers it) at the door of that system of commercial policy which, after some years of trial, has just been solemnly adopted and ratified by the common consent of all political parties.

'The effect of these all-important measures [the change in the commercial policy, and the increased stringency of the monetary laws of Great Britain],—from which so much was expected, and so little save suffering received,—was to augment to an unparalleled and extraordinary degree the *outward* tendency of the British people.' (Chap. i. § 10.)

'The moment this [free importation of corn] takes place, the limits of national progress have been reached, population declines, emigration increases, and the sinews of the State are transferred to other lands. How clearly is the operation of this law of nature exemplified in the recent history of Great Britain, where the nation has been convulsed by the fierce demand for free trade in corn, first raised in the manufacturing towns; and, as a consequence of its *concession*, it now finds ten millions of quarters of grain annually imported, three hundred thousand cultivators annually exported, and

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according to the best information obtainable, even agricultural wages have not fallen much—in some districts not at all—since 1815; and that where they have fallen, the fall has been by no means equivalent to that which has taken place in every article of consumption. See Porter's 'Progress,' 3rd ed. p. 442., where all the information extant has been collected into one table.

the chief market for its manufactures in the inhabitants of its own fields daily declining.' (Chap. i. § 45.)

'Certain it is, that the ruin of industry and destruction of property effected in Great Britain since the manufacturing school obtained the ascendancy in Parliament, much exceeds anything recorded in the history of pacific legislation, or that could have been effected by the most violent exertions of despotic power [!]; and the melancholy fact stands proved by the records of the census, that the population of the Empire, which had advanced without intermission during five centuries, for the first time declined during the first five years of free-trade legislation.' (Chap. i. § 58.)

We have quoted all three passages, partly to guard ourselves against any suspicion of having misrepresented Sir Archibald's statement, and partly to show that his assertion as to the cause of the 'exodus' is not a hasty one, but is wilful, deliberate, and reiterated. Yet if any social fact can be considered certain and proved, it is certain that free trade has had nothing whatever to do with emigration, unless to check it, and render it less needful and attractive;—that the recent startling 'exportation' of cultivators from our shores is distinctly traceable to two events, the failure of the potato, and the discovery of Australian gold;—and that this truth is clearly proved by documents, to which Sir A. Alison not only might have had, *but actually had*, access—for he quotes them. In the first place, we presume that one of the greatest possible stimuli to emigration is a deficiency of employment or of food at home, and that whatever promotes employment and cheapens food, must, *pro tanto*, diminish the motives to expatriation. Now, it is notorious and indisputable that free trade has done both (indeed its having done the latter is Sir A. Alison's chief indictment against it);—that, since we recovered from the fearful famine of 1846 and 1847, which free trade in corn did so much to mitigate, the people of Great Britain have never been so well employed or so well fed as in the last three years; that the price of every species of food (whether articles of luxury or of necessity) has never been so low; that our manufacturing production has been steadily increasing; that the excise revenue,—the great criterion of popular comfort—has been wonderfully prosperous; that the wages of artisans have been rather on the increase, while the articles they had to purchase were falling in price; and that the deposits in savings banks have augmented. Sir A. Alison, doubtless, means us to infer as a set-off to all this, that the wages of agricultural labourers (the chief class of emigrants) have been lowered in consequence of the fall in the price of

corn, and that the employment for them has diminished. But if wages have in a few counties been reduced, that reduction, it is well known, has borne no proportion to the reduction in the cost of the necessaries of life; and if some labourers have been dismissed, more must have been taken on, and the *aggregate* of agricultural employment been increased. For on consulting the records of the poor law, we find the following results. The sums spent in relief of the poor in England in the half-years ending Michaelmas were as follows:—

1849 -	£1,717,334		1851 -	£1,490,134
1850 -	1,529,456		1852 -	1,462,263

The number of adult able-bodied paupers, widows, and others in receipt of relief, was, in England and Wales, in January—

1850 - -	172,802		1852 - -	137,318
1851 - -	147,500		1853 - -	126,220

The number of adult males receiving out-door relief *on account of want of work*, was in January—

1850 - -	9,449		1852 - -	4,108
1851 - -	5,341		1853 - -	1,161

And these are precisely the years during which the emigration movement has been most active. No one but Sir A. Alison would have ventured on the paradox that increase of food at home stimulates the population to go abroad.

A certain amount of emigration from our shores, and especially from Ireland, has taken place every year for the last half century: that its vast increase has been caused by the failure of the potato in the sister island, and *not* by free trade, Sir A. Alison might have learned by examining the table given in the Twelfth Report of the Emigration Commissioners, App. No. III. It there appears that, from 1832 to 1842 inclusive, the year when the first timid commencement of free trade was inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel, the number of emigrants from the United Kingdom averaged 78,800; that in the three years ending 1842 (*previous to free trade*), it averaged 112,500; that in the three *following* years it had *fallen* to 73,800; that after the potato rot had fairly shown itself, it sprung up to 129,800 in 1846, and to 258,270 in 1847; and that since that date it has averaged nearly 300,000 a year. If we separate the emigration from Ireland, where the potato failure was chiefly felt, from the general amount, the same connexion between cause and effect is still more strongly brought out.

*Emigrants from Ireland.\**

1843 - -	39,500	1848 - -	177,700
1844 - -	55,200	1849 - -	209,200
1845 - -	76,700	1850 - -	208,000
1846 - -	106,800	1851 - -	257,372
1847 - -	214,700	1852 - -	225,003

The effect of the discovery of Australian gold as stimulating emigration to those colonies may be judged of by the following figures.

*Emigration from the United Kingdom to Australian Colonies.*

	Annual Average.
From 1838*—1841 (before free trade was heard of) -	19,570
„ 1842—1846 (while it was in process of adoption) -	3,484
„ 1847—1850 (before gold was discovered) -	19,245
„ 1851— (year of its discovery) -	21,532
„ 1852— - - - -	87,064

If any further refutation were needed of Sir A. Alison's theory that emigration is attributable to the adoption of a free commercial policy, we might find it in the fact that, — whereas the average number of emigrants from *Great Britain* (independently of Ireland) during 1851 and 1852, did not exceed 110,000, — the emigrants from Germany, which certainly has not sinned in the direction of free trade, had reached last year 103,313.†

It was of course to be expected that a zealous Tory of the straitest sect, like Sir A. Alison, should regard the Reform Act as a fatal and lamentable measure, which struck a death-blow at the greatness of England. But few, we think, will be prepared to find that long before the date of that great innovation he considered that the ascendancy had passed away from the landed interest and, with that ascendancy, the glory of the House of Commons. Even as far back as the termination of the war, his complaint against the Legislature is, that *the territorial aristocracy had ceased to be predominant* in its composition. *Plus royaliste que le roi*, even the unreformed House of Commons was too liberal, too commercial, too manufacturing for his approval; and the very Parliament which passed the Corn

\* The emigrants from Ireland are found, according to the calculation of the Commissioners, by adding to the number who sail from Irish ports, *nine-tenths* of those sailing from Liverpool; and latterly *one-third* of those sailing from the Clyde. The figures, however, cannot be given as *absolutely* accurate.

† Last Report of the Central Emigration Society of Germany.

Laws in 1815 (the most flagrant piece of class legislation on record), he actually deploras over as 'suffering under the *undue* 'ascendancy of the mercantile interest' [!] 'It was a mixed 'body composed of merchants, manufacturers, bankers, colonial 'proprietors, shipowners and *shopkeepers*, even more than land- 'holders.' (P. 119., also pp. 36. and 56.) How a man who thinks as Sir A. Alison does, as to the impropriety and danger of the Reform Act, and the mischief, iniquity, and cruelty of allowing the free importation of corn, could have penned the following just remark, we are at a loss to imagine:—

'The first successful stand against the deluge of revolution [in 1848] was made in Great Britain; and there it was withstood, not by the bayonets of the soldiers, but by the batons of the citizens. The 10th of April was the Waterloo of Chartist rebellion in England;—a memorable proof that the institutions of a free people, *suited to their wants and in harmony with their dispositions*, can, in such felicitous circumstances, oppose a more successful barrier to social dangers than the most powerful military force at the command of a despotic chief.' (P. 19.)

No observation could be more just or pertinent: but did it never occur to the writer that if a reformed representation and a free trade in food are 'suited to our wants and in harmony 'with our dispositions,' and therefore produced such admirable results, an unreformed Parliament and a prohibitive tariff must be wholly unsuitable and out of harmony with us, and would have brought about a very different termination of that memor-citizens able crisis? Does Sir A. Alison really believe that of all classes would have come forward as they did to maintain order and defend their institutions, if the Act of 1832 had never been passed and if the Act of 1815 had never been repealed? Does he believe that if fettered commerce, a restricted supply of corn, and a landed House of Commons had then been among 'our institutions,' the middle and lower classes would have been found ready and zealous to uphold them? Does he not know—did not every Tory then feel, with a thrill of self-gratulation—that, if corn laws and rotten boroughs had still existed on that day, no power on earth could have saved England from an unsparing revolution? If Sir A. Alison's policy had been adhered to up to the 10th of April 1848, he would have had to draw a very different moral from the scenes of that eventful and honourable day.

In § 44. of his first chapter Sir A. Alison ventures on an assertion which we cannot pass over without comment, and which may serve as a specimen of the liberties which, under the temptation of silly and outrageous prejudices and by the

connivance of an easy conscience and a low standard of accuracy, he permits himself to take with fact. He has discovered, as he imagines, 'a fixed, eternal, unchangeable law of nature'—that machinery and the steam engine 'have no influence in cheapening the production of food.' The thing is not true—as any one may be aware who reflects on the effect of facilities of transport in conveying manures from large towns to outlying farms and in bringing these within easy reach of markets, to say nothing of steam ploughs, reaping machines, thrashing machines, &c., or of the fact that a steam engine for economising labour is an invariable part of all the best farming establishments in Scotland:—but let that pass. Sir A. Alison then proceeds:—

'To be convinced of this, and of the vast influence of this law of nature upon the destinies of mankind, we have only to consider what would have been their situation if the case had been otherwise—if subsistence, like manufactures or minerals, could be raised by huge factories in particular places, and fire had been capable of working the same prodigies in the production of food for man, as it is in that of cotton or iron goods. Would the world, in such circumstances, have been worth living in? Could any human power have prevented the corruption of the species? Could the progress, even, and increase of mankind, have been secured, when it is recollected that *manufacturing districts, so far from increasing, are never able to maintain their own numbers; and that but for a constant immigration from rural localities, they would constantly decline in population?*'

This cool assertion, which is repeated in the following paragraph and assumed as the basis for much tawdry philosophising, is not only not true, but is the reverse of true; and is contradicted by documents within the reach of every one, and which certainly form a part of the library of so voluminous a statistician as Sir A. Alison,—the annual reports, namely, of the Registrar General. We shall give a few clear and simple figures which will enable our readers to form their own judgment as to the reliance to be placed upon the statements of this reckless historian. We do not need to be told that a great portion of the rapid increase in the population of the manufacturing districts of this country is due to immigration from surrounding parts: the same may be said of America. But we apprehend that the *natural* increase of any district must be measured by the surplus of *births* over *deaths*, and can be measured in no other way; and that wherever the births exceed the deaths, there the population is not only 'maintaining its own numbers,' but is increasing, independently of

immigration. Now, on referring to the two last published annual reports of the Registrar General (x. and xi.), we find the births and deaths in the three most peculiarly manufacturing counties of England to stand thus :—

Counties.	Births in 1847 and 1848.	Deaths in 1847 and 1848.	Surplus of Births, i. e. na- tural increase.
Lancashire - -	144,208	122,932	21,276
Cheshire - - -	24,906	20,304	4,662
West Riding of York	88,208	62,233	25,975

It must be borne in mind too, that the year 1847 was one of unusual mortality, owing to the scarcity and the failure of the potato crop.

But we are fortunately enabled to offer to Sir A. Alison a still more striking refutation of his strange misstatement. The last *quarterly* returns of births, deaths, and marriages for September and December, 1852, have just been put into our hands; and we give the results of the two quarters for the last five years, including 1849, the year of cholera, when the mortality in towns was sometimes 50 per cent. above the average. Even this fearful ally could not make good Sir A. Alison's assertion.

Counties.	Births in the two last quar- ters from 1848 to 1852.	Deaths in the two last quar- ters from 1848 to 1852.	Surplus of Births, i. e. na- tural increase.
Lancashire - -	183,011	139,643	43,368
Cheshire - - -	32,711	23,323	9,388
West Riding of York -	119,367	79,985	39,382

Perhaps, however, Sir A. Alison may endeavour to escape from his position by alleging that these, though 'manufacturing districts,' embrace a considerable space inhabited by a rural population. Let us see, therefore, what is the state of the case in purely manufacturing towns. We will take Stockport, Macclesfield, Wigan, Bolton, Manchester, Oldham, Preston, Bradford, and Leeds, using the same Quarterly Returns, and embracing, as before, the fatal year of cholera.

[See Table in next page.]

Finally, to complete the destruction of Sir A. Alison's assertion, we find, from the same authority, that while, during the

Manufacturing Towns.	Births in the two last quar- ters from 1848 to 1852.	Deaths in the two last quar- ters from 1848 to 1852.	Surplus of Births, i. e. na- tural increase.
Stockport - - -	7,311	5,768	1,543
Macclesfield - - -	4,832	3,765	1,067
Wigan - - -	7,558	5,583	1,975
Bolton - - -	10,270	7,698	2,572
Manchester - - -	21,115	19,092	2,023
Oldham - - -	7,963	5,135	2,828
Preston - - -	8,183	5,687	2,496
Bradford - - -	17,088	11,506	5,582
Leeds - - -	8,807	8,950	.....

September quarter, in the three purely *agricultural counties* of Buckinghamshire, Essex, and Herefordshire, the births exceeded the deaths by 57 per cent., in the nine *manufacturing towns* cited above (even with the cholera thrown into the balance against them) the excess was 49 per cent. After this exposure, what must we think of a grave historian, and a professed dealer in statistics, who could venture to assert that manufacturing districts were 'never able even to maintain, much less to increase, 'their own numbers'?

Two other equally reckless and unfounded assertions occur at p. 11. The writer is speaking of the supposed consequences which resulted from the adoption of free trade and a sound system of currency.

'The great cities flourished, *but the country decayed*; ... and while exports and imports were constantly increasing, the mainstay of national strength, *the cultivation of the soil, was rapidly declining*. Europe, before the middle of the century, beheld with astonishment Great Britain, which, at the end of the war, had been self-supporting, importing ten millions of quarters of grain, being a full-fifth of the national subsistence. ... *Three millions of quarters of wheat ceased to be raised in the British Islands.*' (Chap. i. § 10.; see also p. 27.)

Since the adoption of a free commercial policy, according to Sir A. Alison, the cultivation of the soil in Great Britain has rapidly declined, and the production of wheat has fallen off by 3,000,000 quarters. The bold promulgator of these fallacies gives no authority on which he founds them; they are simply his *dictum*, which we are to receive as an official document. Now we are not disposed to bandy assertions with our antagonist—though possibly ours might carry as much weight as his—or we might affirm, what we believe to be true and pretty notorious, that the purchaseable value of the fee simple of land



has increased of late years; that, in England at least, rents have only fallen in particular districts, and under special circumstances — in several cases they have risen; and that the cultivation of the soil, so far from declining, has improved in quality; and that fresh land has been brought under cultivation. In Ireland, no doubt, much land did for a time fall out of cultivation\*; but Sir A. Alison knows as well as we do, that this was traceable to the potato failure and the disorganisation arising out of that calamity, and not to any measures of commercial policy. But instead of setting assertion against assertion, let us lay before our readers the only facts *officially ascertained* which bear upon the controversy, and which are open to both parties. We have all of us seen, wherever we go, instances innumerable of land brought under the plough for the first time within the last six years; but the *extent* to which this increase of cultivation has taken place we can only learn by reference to published or procurable documents. From these it appears that, while between 1831 and 1840, *antecedent to free trade*, only 236,070 acres were inclosed under separate Acts of Parliament, 369,127 acres were so inclosed between 1841 and 1849†, or *subsequent to free trade*. A fuller comparison still is given by Mr. Porter in the same chapter. Thus:—

' Brought under cultivation from 1830—1839	-	248,880 acres. ‡
" 1840—1844	-	120,780 "
" 1845—1849	-	273,967 "

\* It appears, however, from the second part of the Census Returns for Ireland, that cultivation is now again on the increase. The acres under tillage have increased from 13,464,300 in 1841 to 14,802,581 in 1851,—and much improvement has taken place from a larger introduction of green crops and a better system of rotation. The quantity and value of *live stock* have also increased steadily since the famine. The value was in

1847 - - £24,820,547		1850 - - £26,951,959
1849 - - 25,692,616		1851 - - 27,737,393

† Porter's Progress of the Nation, p. 157.

‡ The following return shows the steady progress of cultivation for the last six years:—

Inclosures effected in the year 1847	- -	1,114 acres.
" 1848	- -	8,192 "
" 1849	- -	14,994 "
" 1850	- -	13,903 "
" 1851	- -	22,165 "
" 1852	- -	19,840 "

Aggregate average of inclosures now (Feb. 1853) in progress, 298,228 acres!

Cultivation, then, is *increasing*, not *declining*, in extent. The rate at which it is advancing in character and efficiency it is difficult to over-estimate.

We have unfortunately no agricultural statistics which would enable us to pronounce accurately upon the actual quantity of wheat produced in any one year; but we have returns of the quantity *sold* in the 290 inspected markets, which enable us to compare one year with another; and these returns will show what degree of reliance is to be placed on Sir A. Alison's assertion that the production has fallen off by no less than 3,000,000 quarters annually. In 1842, when Sir Robert Peel first relaxed the corn laws, he increased the number of inspected markets from 150 to 290.

"In 1843 the wheat sold in these towns was 5,302,297 quarters.

1844	"	"	5,456,306	
1845	"	"	6,666,240	} * "
1846	"	"	5,958,962	
1847	"	"	4,637,616†	"
1848	"	"	5,399,833	"
1849	"	"	4,453,982	"
1850	"	"	4,688,246	"
1851	"	"	4,487,041	"
1852	"	"	4,854,513	"

Now this table shows, in the *first* place, that the falling off in the quantities sold in later years is owing far more to the character of the harvests than to any legislative measures; *secondly*, that the difference between the last five and the first five years of the series is not 3,000,000 quarters, but only 828,000, although the sales of the first five years were swelled by the remarkable harvests of 1844 and 1845; *thirdly*, that the produce of the good year, 1848, *since the repeal of the corn laws*, was as nearly as possible the same as that of the good year, 1844, *previous to that repeal*; and *finally*, that since 1849, when the law of free importation was completely carried into effect, the produce of wheat has been progressively increasing. In conclusion, we will refer Sir A. Alison to a table drawn up by Mr. Porter (Progress, p. 143.), in which he shows that, on the ordinary estimate of a consumption of eight bushels of wheat per head, the number of individuals supported on *home-grown wheat* was nearly half a million more between 1841 and 1849 than it was between 1830 and 1840.

But Sir A. Alison is not satisfied with the decline of our

\* Result of the good harvests of 1844 and 1845.

† Result of bad harvest of 1846.

agriculture—which most persons had begun to flatter themselves was improving more rapidly than at any time during the last thirty years: our navy and mercantile marine must likewise be hurrying to decay—at the very moment when we imagined that its progress was most signal and encouraging.

‘Lastly, the navy, once our pride and glory, and the only certain safeguard either against the dangers of foreign invasion or the blockade of our harbours, *is fast melting away*; for the reciprocity system established in 1823, and the repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849, *have given such encouragement to foreign shipping in preference to our own, that in a few years, if the same system continue, more than half of our whole commerce will have passed into the hands of foreign states*, which may any day become hostile ones.’ (Chap. i. § 28.)

It is unfortunate that even where Sir A. Alison's figures are correct, and when he deigns to refer to them in proof of his assertions, he can seldom draw the right conclusions from them. Let us test by figures (taken from Porter's Progress, chaps. ix. x. and Parliamentary Papers for 1852, No. 376.) the gloomy statements in the paragraph we have just quoted. ‘*Our navy*’ [by which is meant our mercantile marine] *is fast melting away*. The tonnage of British ships built and registered in the United Kingdom in different periods is as follows:—

		Tons.
From 1814—1823	{ (when the ‘fatal reciprocity system’ began), it averaged annually - }	76,964
From 1824—1849	{ date of the ‘fatal’ repeal of the Navigation Laws. }	116,007
1850 -	- - - - -	133,695
1851 -	- - - - -	149,637

The total amount of British tonnage belonging to the several ports of the Empire in 1821-22 (the two years *preceding* reciprocity); was 2,540,000, and in 1824-45 (the two years *subsequent* to reciprocity), 2,556,000. In 1847-48 (the two years *preceding* the repeal of the Navigation Laws), it was 4,002,000, and in 1850-51 (*subsequent* to that repeal), it was 4,282,000. So much for the ‘melting away’ of our marine under the operation of Sir A. Alison's two bugbears!

But further we are told that owing to ‘the encouragement given by these two measures to foreign shipping *in preference to our own*, half our commerce will soon be in the hands of foreigners.’ Now it is unquestionable that since 1846, *owing to the enormous development of our commerce consequent on the adoption of free trade*, the amount of foreign tonnage employed *has* rapidly increased, but *not at all in preference to our own*, which has

increased from 8,688,148 in 1846 to 9,820,876 in 1851 — enough, we should imagine, to satisfy the most inordinate ambition. How, we beg to ask Sir A. Alison, could our commerce have been carried on at all, if we had not thus been enabled to call in the aid of foreign shipping, when we find that the *quantity* of our exports, as measured by official value, sprang up, during that period, from 148,600,000*l.* to 224,000,000*l.*, — to say nothing of the enormous increase of emigration? We employed all our own vessels, we built ships as fast as we could; and yet Sir A. Alison is jealous because, *having done this, and finding this still insufficient*, we employed other nations to do what we could not do ourselves.\* There is not a shadow of foundation for the charge that our commerce is passing into the hands of foreigners: our ship-builders never were so briskly engaged as now, nor did the amount of British tonnage inwards and outwards ever increase so fast. Sir A. Alison's favourite author (Mr. Porter) has given some figures which might have sufficed to disabuse any man but himself of his dismal hallucinations. A comparison of p. 392. and 403. of the new edition shows, *first*, that between 1821 and 1849 the proportion of the American trade monopolised by Great Britain has risen from 7 to 55 per cent. of the whole; *secondly*, that while the American shipping entering the ports of the United States increased 248 per cent., the British shipping so entering increased 2584 per cent.; *thirdly*, that in 1848, the proportion of the total commerce of the respective countries *carried on under the national flag*, was, for France 54 per cent., for America 63 per cent., and for Great Britain 69 per cent.; and, *lastly*, that foreign shipping is *not* superseding or encroaching on our own, — as may be seen by the following figures, of tonnage entering inward: —

				Imports Official.
In 1801, for 100 tons British, there were 84 tons foreign				£31,000,000
1805,	"	"	72 "	26,000,000
1810,	"	"	131 "	39,000,000
1815,	"	"	55 "	33,000,000
1820,	"	"	27 "	32,000,000
1825,	"	"	45 "	44,000,000
1830,	"	"	35 "	46,000,000
1835,	"	"	35 "	49,000,000
1840,	"	"	46 "	67,000,000
1845,	"	"	40 "	85,000,000

\* The increase in freights shows that this is the real explanation. The cost of a passage to Australia has risen from 12*l.* to 21*l.* in the last two years.

				Imports	Official.
In 1847, for 100 tons British,	there were	45 tons foreign	£90,000,000		
1848,	"	"	43	"	94,000,000
1849,	"	"	42	"	106,000,000
1850,	"	"	51	"	95,000,000
1851,	"	"	59	"	104,000,000

This table brings out into strong relief two conclusions: *first*, that the great increase of foreign shipping has invariably taken place in those years when a sudden or large augmentation of our imports overran the capacities of existing British bottoms, and required foreign aid to *supplement* our own exertions; and, *secondly*, that at no period has the proportion of foreign tonnage been so great as during the war—‘the halcyon days of British shipowners.’\*

At p. 46., and again at p. 399., Sir A. Alison reproduces the extraordinary statements regarding the effect of education in increasing crime, with which he had astonished the world some years before in the pages of ‘Blackwood,’ and in the collected edition of his *Essays* (vol. i. p. 558.). ‘Education and civilisation,’ he informs us, ‘while checking crimes of violence, tend rather to increase those of fraud.’

‘The utmost efforts [?] have, for a quarter of a century, been made in various countries to extend the blessings of education to the labouring classes; but not only has no diminution in consequence been perceptible in the amount of crime and the turbulence of mankind, but *the effect has been just the reverse*: they have both signally and alarmingly increased. Education has been made a matter of state policy in Prussia, and every child is by the compulsion of the government sent to school; but so far has this universal spread of instruction been from eradicating the seeds of evil, that serious crime is fourteen times as prevalent, in proportion to the population, in Prussia, as it is in France, where about two-thirds of the population can neither read nor write.† In France itself it has been ascertained from the returns collected in the “Statistique Morale de la France,” of commitments for crimes tried at the assizes, and the number of children at school, that the amount of crime in all the eighty-three departments, is *without one single exception*‡, in proportion to the

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\* Porter, p. 392.

† One criminal in 587 in Prussia against one in 7285 in France. We take the liberty of disbelieving so extraordinary a statement, as Sir A. Alison, neither in his *History* nor in his *Essays*, adduces for it any authority but his own.

‡ Sir A. Alison has a most unfortunate capacity for avoiding correct statements, even when they would serve his purpose as well as incorrect ones. A reference to M. Guerry's work (*Statistique Morale*), which he here quotes through Mr. Bulwer, would have

amount of instruction received. . . . In Scotland the educated criminals are to the uneducated as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 1; in England as 2 to 1 nearly; in Ireland they are about equal. In America the educated criminals are, in most of the States of the Union, three times the uneducated; in some double only; in all greatly superior. These facts, to all persons capable of yielding assent to evidence in opposition to prejudice, completely settle the question; but the conclusion to which they lead is so adverse to general opinion, that probably more than one generation must descend to their graves before they are (*Quære it is?*) generally admitted.' (Chap. i. § 48.)

Most probably — the more so, as Sir A. Alison's 'facts' are not true; and, if they were, would not justify the deduction which he draws from them. And, as his mode of arranging his premises and deducing his conclusions on this question affords a fair specimen of his habitual manner of dealing with statistics, we request our reader's attention to a few succinct observations. (In the first place, however, we put aside all comparisons of different countries with each other, as parallels of this sort never march upon all fours, and tend necessarily, therefore, to uncertain and frequently to deceptive results.) Crime, we are told, has increased in this *kingdom* eight times as fast as the population (Hist. ch. iv. § 91.; Essays, vol. i. p. 544.), and in England and Wales ten times as fast. Let us confine ourselves to the latter division, as our returns are here more complete; and, instead of going back to 1805, a year with which no fair comparison can be instituted, let us begin our comparison with 1832, — when education first began to be zealously pushed forward, when the New Police had been established, when our criminal jurisprudence was nearly the same as at present, and when Sir A. Alison's fatal Reform Bill had been past.

Periods of five Years.	Average Population.	Average of Total Committals.	Committals to Population, one in
1832—1836 - -	14,400,000	21,006	685
1837—1841 - -	15,400,000	25,220	610
1842—1846 - -	16,400,000	27,370	600
1847—1851 - -	17,400,000	28,354	609

Crime, then, as far as it can be measured by the mere number of committals in proportion to the population, has been nearly

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shown him *many exceptions*. Moreover, the basis of M. Guerry's comparison is *not* 'the number of children at school,' *which he never even refers to*, but the number of young men inscribed on the conscription lists (*tableaux de recensement*) who can read and write.

stationary since 1837, and has *diminished* during the last ten years. But the nature and heinousness of the offences committed are at least as important elements of comparison as their mere number. Have offences, then, become more serious of late years? The severity of the sentences inflicted is the best measure of the heinousness of the crimes, as these are awarded by judges after full consideration of all aggravating and mitigating circumstances. The official returns for 1851 give us the means of a comparison during the previous ten years, the results of which we here present.\*

	Sentenced to Death.	Transportation.	Imprisonment for Two Years and upwards.	Imprisonment for shorter Terms.	Whipped, fined, and discharged.
Five Years ending 1846 - - }	316	17,403	35	78,034	2468
Five Years ending 1851 - - }	296	14,279	18	91,250	1670

It appears, therefore, that all offences have decreased, except those punished by short terms of imprisonment.†

But Sir A. Alison's most startling assertion is, that instruction has a tendency to increase crime, and that even in our own country the criminals are taken from the educated part of the community — 'that in England the educated criminals are to 'the uneducated as two to one.' How does the reader imagine that the historian makes out such a result? Why, by classing as 'educated' those who are returned by the gaol authorities as 'able to read or write imperfectly!' — though he must, or might, have known that all who can spell to the smallest extent, who can painfully decypher a verse in the Bible, aided by the index of a dirty finger, or who can form a few indescribable letters on a slate, are entered under this category; that those who can *really* 'read and write' are classed under a separate

\* We have classed all sentences of transportation together, whatever be the length of period assigned, in consequence of a law (9 & 10 Vict. c. 25.) which repealed all the higher fixed periods — the only change affecting the returns.

† The valuable Reports of Mr. May (Chaplain to the Preston House of Correction) confirm these results, and show that the proportion of criminals sentenced to transportation and the longer terms of imprisonment, fell, between 1848 and 1851, from 25 per cent. to 16 per cent.

head, and those who have received a good education are again entered separately. 'Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant!' Sir A. Alison in his *History* refers to Sir A. Alison in his *Essays*, where (at vol. i. p. 557.) we find the following table of centesimal proportions of criminals:—

Year.	Unable to read or write.	Read or write imperfectly.	Total of UNEDUCATED.	Read or write well.	Superiorly Educated.	Total of EDUCATED.	Not ascertained.	Total.
1836	33·52	52·53	86·05	10·36	0·91	11·27	2·68	100
1837	35·85	52·08	87·93	9·45	0·42	9·87	2·18	100
1838	34·42	53·41	87·83	9·77	0·34	10·11	2·08	100
1839	33·53	53·48	87·01	10·07	0·32	10·39	2·60	100
1840	33·32	55·57	88·89	8·29	0·37	8·66	2·45	100
1841	33·21	56·67	89·88	7·10	0·43	7·53	2·27	100
1842	33·33	58·52	91·85	6·77	0·22	6·99	2·34	100

It appears, therefore, that the proportion of criminals who are really educated is almost infinitesimal, and is steadily diminishing\*; that the proportion who have mastered even the rudiments is only one-tenth of the whole, and is steadily diminishing; and that the proportion of educated to uneducated is not *two to one*, as Sir A. Alison announces, but *seven to ninety-two*. If Sir A. Alison had paid any attention to the facts collected by a writer whom he quotes much, but studies little (the late lamented Mr. Porter), he would, we think, scarcely have ventured on his daring misrepresentation, for he would have found this remarkable statement:—In the years 1840 and 1841 (a fair sample), 'in twenty counties of England and Wales, with a population of 8,724,338, there were convicted only 59 instructed persons, or one in every 147,870 inhabitants; while the remaining thirty-two counties, with a population of 7,182,491, did not furnish one convict who had received more than the rudest elements of instruction. Among the fifty-nine just mentioned, fourteen were political offenders.'†

\* Mr. Clay's Analysis of the prisoners who came under his charge is remarkably corroborative of this return.

Unable to read	-	-	43·8 per cent. of the whole.
Able to read a little, but not write	31·2	"	
Able to read tolerably and write a little	23·9	"	
Read and write well	0·8	"	
Of superior education	0·3	"	

† Progress of the Nation, p. 652.



For the rest, though we have thought it worth while to show how unfair are Sir A. Alison's statements, and how unfounded his conclusions, we by no means intend to deny that the most instructed districts often furnish the greatest number of criminals, nor to affirm that crime does, *or ought to be expected to*, diminish in any quarter or country merely because education advances. The two have no necessary or natural connexion,—as is obvious from three considerations, which have been so often explained that Sir A. Alison can scarcely plead ignorance of them. \* *First.* The wealthiest and most densely peopled districts are very generally those in which the aggregate of the population is most educated. But they are those also in which the greatest display of wealth and the greatest inequality of conditions are to be found; and which, therefore, are most rife with temptation. *Secondly.* 'In an instructed community, those who have not partaken of the general instruction will be placed in circumstances unfavourable to the pursuit of honest callings; since the instructed will command a preference from all who have employments to bestow.' \* *Thirdly.* The vast proportion of offences are committed by *professional criminals, distinct and apart from the general population*; and no national education which stops short of these can reasonably be expected to produce any effect upon our criminal returns. Crime cannot be directly diminished by any moral influence bearing only upon the non-criminal classes. This we attempted to show some time ago, when reviewing the work of one of Sir A. Alison's admirers—and the victim of his admiration.† The only effectual antagonist to the increase of crime must be found in such an education as shall reach the young of those classes out of which criminals are bred, and shall replace the education which they now receive from their larcenous and felonious parents; and in such jurisprudential arrangements as shall rescue both juvenile delinquents, and offenders whose term of punishment has expired, from the necessity which they now lie under of falling back among their old associates, and recurring to their evil courses.

We must hasten on; for time, space, and patience would alike fail us, were we to attempt the destruction or even the enumeration of all the minor fallacies and misstatements of this singular volume. Among them, we can only just notice the following:—In a note to p. 85, it is stated that of the population of the British Isles 18,000,000 are dependent on agriculture, and only 10,000,000 on commercial and manufacturing pursuits—*an assertion which it would be hard to justify by any authen-*

\* Porter, p. 65.

† See No. exc. p. 331.

tic statistics. We have no *certain* knowledge on this subject; and it is unjustifiable in Sir A. Alison to speak as if we had; but all the reliable information extant points to an exactly reversed proportion. According to Mr. Porter (p. 54.), the proportions in Great Britain were, in 1841, 26 per cent. employed in agriculture, and 43½ per cent. in trade, with a constantly increasing proportion of the latter.—The charm of high prices in augmenting the comforts of the people is repeatedly vaunted, (pp. 85. 312. 314.), and Adam Smith is twice quoted, as saying, ‘High prices and plenty are prosperity: low prices and want are misery.’ With unwonted caution no reference is given by which we might verify the citation. In the absence of such reference, we can only express our conviction that Adam Smith never penned such a strange and contradictory sentence; or, if he did, it must have been in some context which would bestow upon it a very different meaning to that to which Sir A. Alison wrests it.\* *Lastly*, we are treated once more (pp. 29, 30.) to the old misrepresentation, ‘that the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer;’ though it has been over and over again refuted—once by ourselves (with Mr. Porter’s aid) just two years ago.

Having now sufficiently demonstrated Sir A. Alison’s unreliability as a recorder of facts, or rather as a generaliser, and ‘dresser-up of statements,’ we ought, perhaps, to proceed to examine his qualifications as a philosophical investigator and expounder of doctrines; but we confess that we shrink from the field here opened to us—not on account of its difficulty or its barrenness, but on account of its extent. Were we to follow his lead we should be dragged through almost every economical and political question which has at any time interested or divided a civilised community. We should have to discuss the respective merits of aristocratic and democratic governments; the value of representative institutions; the benefits of trial by jury; the basis of our monetary system; Parliamentary Reform; and the whole of our criminal jurisprudence;—all which subjects Sir A. Alison treats with his usual diffuseness, and on all of which he, as usual, takes the defeated and dying side. ‘*Victrix causa, diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*’ His book is a perfect museum of obsolete opinions—an ‘old curiosity shop’—a very ‘Refuge for the Destitute and the abandoned!’ We decline the profitless

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\* Sir A. Alison cannot be consistent even in error; or rather perhaps we should say that his narrative and his philosophy are strangely at variance. At p. 314. he tells us that ‘distress was much alleviated by a rise of prices;’ at pp. 519. and 532. he shows how distress the most appalling was caused by high prices.

and hackneyed controversy: there are persons and things which may be allowed to die, and do not need to be killed. But one or two misrepresentations are made with such signal effrontery, that they cannot be passed over in silence. At p. 55. we are told —

‘These disastrous results . . . . . have diffused a very general doubt among thoughtful men, whether the whole representative system is not a delusion, and whether its general establishment would not be one of the greatest curses which could be inflicted on mankind. They (*Quære it?*) have been weighed in the balance, it is said, and found wanting. *Men do not everywhere concur in abolishing institutions which are really beneficial in their tendency, or in recurring to those which are pernicious.* The example of Spain and Portugal reduced to political nullity by the action of representative institutions; of Piedmont, driven into unjust and ruinous aggression by the same cause; of France after sixty years’ experience of their effects, enthusiastically and generally calling for their abolition; of the splendid regions of South America, rendered desolate by the contests they have produced, — are sufficient to demonstrate to what they lead in states not fitted for their reception, *and the wisdom of the effort so generally made in continental Europe by military power to counteract their tendency.* It is in vain to say that this reaction has been owing to the interposition of an armed force, which has stifled the expression of the public voice, and arrested the march of human improvement. *Armed men are but the executors of the national will:* in all ages, but more especially in civilised and enlightened, *they do not control, but express it.*’

Now, we are not about to discuss with Sir A. Alison whether ‘thoughtful men in general’ are beginning to despair of representative institutions, and to regard them as one of the greatest of curses: his idea and ours of ‘thoughtful men’ would probably differ widely; — nor will we dispute that these institutions on the Continent were not framed upon our model, nor that they might have succeeded better had they been so framed. We are concerned only with the passages we have italicised; and we are bound to say, that when a professing *historian* describes that suppression of free Parliamentary action all over the continent of Europe — which we are deploring, and despots and despotic writers are rejoicing at — as the result of the national will, and not of armed, foreign, and high-handed oppression, he is bidding open and shameless defiance to those facts which it is his business and duty faithfully to record. France we give up to him. But was the destruction of the Hessian Constitution — well contrived and admirably managed as it had been for nearly twenty years — the consequence of a reaction in its disfavour? On the contrary, Sir A. Alison well knows that it

was earnestly loved and vehemently defended by the whole people; that it had never been abused; that no native force, civil or military, could be found to raise a finger against it; and that it was ruthlessly trampled out, in defiance of the most sacred obligations, by the brutality of Austrian and Bavarian troops. Was the destruction of the old liberties of Hungary — her long-descended Parliament — her solemnly covenanted and guaranteed institutions — the work of ‘the national will,’ of which the ‘armed men’ who crushed them were only the ‘expression and executors?’ On the contrary, Sir A. Alison well knows that it was the exclusive and difficult victory over a united and enthusiastic people, of the combined forces of the two most powerful empires in the world, aided by the treachery of a disgusted soldier and the blunder of a sincere but erring patriot. Was the ruin of Lombard, Venetian, and Sicilian liberties the effect of internal reaction, or of overpowering external force? And lastly, did the Roman Republic fall by the voluntary prayer of the Roman people for the return of their exiled Sovereign and the restoration of their beloved Cardinals, or was it crushed after a gallant struggle by the overwhelming onslaught of a sister Republic, outnumbering it tenfold in troops, wealth, and population? We know not how Sir A. Alison purposes to narrate the events of 1848, 1849, and 1850, when he comes to that portion of his task; but if he intends to repeat and defend the summary he has given in his preliminary chapter, he will be able to make good his position only by a deliberate, systematic, and extensive falsification of the most certain facts of history, in comparison of which the sins of Mitford, Hume, Lingard, and Thiers, in that line, will sink into insignificance.

Again, what will our readers think of the following marvellous condensation of discoloured history, false philosophy, and bad morality, wherein we are told, in one short page, that the defeat and punishment of the Algerine pirates by Lord Exmouth in 1816 was the first great proof of the superiority of European over Mahometan arms — more decisive and important, it is implied, than the victories of Tours, of Vienna, or of Lepanto; — that this superiority arose out of the wars of the French Revolution; and that these wars were owing to the writings of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, — so that but for Voltaire we could not have conquered at Algiers, Acre, or Navarino; and that the conclusion to be drawn from the whole is the propriety and the wisdom of propagating Christianity by the sword! The passage is in every way disreputable; but our account of it will scarcely be credited without the citation of the original.

'The battle of Algiers was the first of the great and decisive triumphs of the Christians over the Mahometans. Other victories had been gained in former days, but they were in defence only, or were obliterated in the consequences of subsequent disaster. . . . . But with the battle of Algiers commenced the decisive and eternal triumph of the Christian faith: the Cross never thereafter waned before the Crescent. Other triumphs not less decisive rapidly succeeded. . . . . These memorable occurrences [the battle of Navarino, Acre, Koniah, the passage of the Balkan, the storming of Ghuzni, &c.] in a certain degree lift up the veil which conceals the designs of Providence from mortal eyes. Whence proceeded this sudden [?] and decisive superiority on the part of one of those antagonists, who for five centuries had struggled with each other with alternate success and equal resources? Evidently from the energy which a spiritual faith and unfettered thought had communicated to the Christian powers, and the *vast development of military skill which had taken place in the principal European states from the wars of the French Revolution*. And whence arose those memorable wars? . . . . . *From the efforts of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists to deride and destroy Christianity*. Such is the system of Divine Administration: it is hard to say whether it is most advanced by the efforts of its enemies, or the sacrifices of its friends. *That which all the devotion of the crusaders could not effect, has been brought about at the appointed season by the agency of the infidels; the preaching of Voltaire has done that which that of Peter the Hermit had left undone*. Humanity may cease, therefore, to deplore the ceaseless wars between civilised nations, when it perceives the superiority which they give to the arms of civilisation over those of barbarism; it will discern in them the severe training by which the race of Japhet is prepared for its predicted mission to dwell in the tents of Shem, to overspread the earth and subdue it. Christianity, indeed, is destined to spread mainly by winning the hearts of men; but in a world of selfishness and violence, *it is not thus alone that mankind are to be converted even to their own blessing; the first entrance must sometimes be won by conquest*; and he who bears even the olive branch and cross in one hand may often despair of success if he is not prepared when necessary, *to wield the naked sword with practised skill in another*.' (P. 154.)

It is difficult to say whether the iniquitous doctrine or the meretricious and declamatory style of this last passage deserve the severer condemnation. We earnestly advise Sir A. Alison (*fas est et ab hoste doceri*) to expunge the entire paragraph in his next edition. It is not in these days, nor in a Christian land, nor even, we would hope, within the precincts of the Tory camp, that any writer can with impunity advocate the propagation of religion by the sword. If Christianity may be so propagated, why not Paganism? Why not Mahometanism? Why not Catholicism? Why not that special form of Chris-

tianity which each man holds to be the true one? Why not the creed of Pio Nono as well as that of John Knox? Why not the religion of Dr. Newman as well as that of Sir A. Alison? Because—to pass over all considerations of justice and of wisdom—that religion, for which Sir A. Alison is so zealous without having apparently either learned its precepts or imbibed its spirit, has said: ‘My kingdom is not of this world, else would my children fight.’ ‘*Put up thy sword within thy sheath; for they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.*’

We had marked several other passages for correction and animadversion; but our space admonishes us to pass them over. It is a relief to turn from the writer to his subject—from the self-complacent historian to the interesting history. A full and faithful account of this period yet remains to be written, and probably a generation or two must elapse before such can be given to the world. Miss Martineau’s *History of England* during the thirty years of peace, though a work in every way far superior to Sir A. Alison’s, excellent in spirit, abounding in sound and suggestive reflections, written in an admirable style, and generally fair and correct, is yet defective in artistic skill, and can scarcely be said wholly to supply what is wanted. We are probably too near the scene of the events either to judge them or to paint them truly. Many of us are still heated with the long and weary series of conflicts; many important facts are still concealed or misunderstood; many explanations necessary for the right comprehension of events, must be withheld till all actors have passed away from the stage; changes in laws and institutions from which too much was expected and too little has been reaped, must have a longer time allowed them in which to develop their full results and display their real bearing—since at present we should estimate them under the influence either of the first enthusiasm or the subsequent reaction; and, of many of the social and intellectual movements which have marked the epoch, it is perhaps too early to pronounce with confidence whither they are tending and what they will bring with them. On such matters all wise and thoughtful men will speak with modesty and caution; they will remember, on a survey of the past, how many of their most sanguine hopes have been disappointed, how many of their most confident anticipations have been falsified, how often in the lapse of years they have had to confess themselves mistaken, how much of truth they have on subsequent experience been compelled to recognise in antagonistic views which at the time they had scouted as shallow, dishonest and untenable. It is only writers like Sir A. Alison, blessed with a fixed creed, a stereotyped

philosophy, and an impenetrable trust in their own undeceivable penetration, who, with their ready formulas, their tape measure and their two-foot rule, can comfortably gauge every event, estimate every influence, calculate every perturbing force, predict, from given or assumed elements, every social convulsion and every political eclipse, decide where conscientious men hesitate, and dogmatise where wise men doubt. Some fifty years hence perhaps, when our premature speculations are forgotten or disproved, 'when the grave shall have heaped its mould on our presumption, and the silent tomb shall have imposed its law upon our pert loquacity ;'\* when distance shall have lent completeness and concentration to the picture and brought it within the range of a bird's-eye view ; when time shall have developed consequences as yet only in the bud, and shall have ripened harvests of which the seed has only just been cast into the earth,—an historian may arise, gifted with the needful genius to narrate, deduce, measure and compare, to whom it may appear that, in every thing that concerns the progress of humanity, its deeper interests, and its higher destiny, the last thirty quiet years were incomparably more eventful and momentous than the tumultuous and magnificent drama played out during the twenty which preceded them. With regard to our own country, at least, we cannot doubt that such will be his judgment. He will contrast the tone of public morality and the standard of statesmanlike requirements in 1815 and 1850, and will see an increase in purity and loftiness of which nations in the extreme of luxury and civilisation afford few or no examples. He will have to record the development of a skill and energy in the pursuit of civil achievements and material prosperity, of which even the marvellous efforts of the war were only faint prophetic indications. He will narrate the gradual extension of political rights and the concession of just claims, as yet certainly not repented nor abused. He will note the steady and not slow purification of accumulated abuses, the reform of injured and the rejuvenescence of antiquated institutions. He will have to describe the worthiest and most hopeful feature of all—a rapid development among the upper ranks of society of a sense of the duty owed to those below, not merely as individuals, but as classes. And, finally, he will have to point out as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the epoch, the dawn, for the first time in the world's history, of a general and sincere love of peace, and of a belief that soon, if not now, peace is destined to

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\* Burke.

be the normal condition, not the rare and exceptional accident, of the human race — the civilised portion of it at least. The angry passions, the petty intrigues, the passionate and falsified predictions which have agitated us, all forgotten, and the very record of them obliterated by Time's 'effacing fingers,' — all the great principles, all the rich conquests, all the glorious achievements of the period will stand out unveiled before the descendants of those who amid vicissitudes of obloquy and honour contributed to win them.

What should have induced Sir A. Alison to interpolate in the year 1819 a sketch of the literature of the whole period of the last thirty-seven years; or what misconception as to the field of history could have led him to imagine such a sketch a fit and necessary portion of his task as an annalist; or what mocking and malicious fiend could have been mischievous enough to persuade him of his own competence to the undertaking, we are unable to expound. Certain it is, however, that the fifth chapter of the work before us is one of the most deplorable displays we have ever had occasion to criticise. From first to last it is an ambitious and elaborate failure. Not only was it wholly unnecessary and out of place — the departments of the political historian and of the literary critic being essentially distinct; but, if attempted at all, it should have been confined to a delineation — as far as such could be given — of the general tone of literature during the period under consideration, the changes in that tone arising out of

'The loud transactions of the outlying world,'

and the influence which science and learning exercised on the character and circumstances of the epoch. Such a delineation, if executed by a man of adequate endowments (for the task would have been no holiday one), might have been relevant, and could not have failed to be interesting and suggestive. Instead of this, Sir A. Alison has attempted a brief account and running criticism of all the writers whom he can remember (with some remarkable and unaccountable omissions), written, we are compelled to say, in a style fit only for a guide book — vapid, florid, and sometimes absolutely babyish; and disgraced by blunders which almost make us doubt whether he has read the works which he dispatches in such wholesale fashion. In a single chapter (the composition of which may have occupied him three weeks) he passes judgment on nearly as many authors — poets, historians, novelists, metaphysicians, essayists, economists, travellers, geologists, dramatists, painters, sculptors, and actors



— as had employed Mr. Hallam during many studious years and through four laborious volumes. No matter what the subject, Sir Archibald is equally at home. *How* this multifarious work is done we will endeavour, briefly, to give some faint idea. But first, we must remark on the impertinence of the personal allusions which the author is constantly obtruding on his readers. He cannot mention the application of steam to the purposes of locomotion without informing us that ‘the author was on board ‘the first steam-boat which ever sailed in British seas.’ He cannot touch upon the services rendered by Sir James Mackintosh to the cause of Criminal Law Reform without stopping to add in a note that he ‘once spent a forenoon in Sir James’s society, ‘from breakfast to two o’clock.’ In like manner he chronicles his *single* interview (he seems to have seen everybody once, and nobody more than once,) with every literary man of note. Sir Walter Scott he found ‘wanting in real conversational talent;’ Lord Byron ‘the author met only once, at Venice, when he ‘kindly entertained him in his hotel, and rowed him through the ‘Grand Canal and the Lagunas to Lido in his gondola;’ Moore, ‘the author met only once, when they walked round the Place Vendome in constant talk for three hours. ‘They separated at ‘three in the morning, with regret, at the foot of the Pillar of ‘Austerlitz.’ Southey, again, ‘the author met only once,’ but then seems to have made the most of his time, for they talked ‘from nine at night till two in the morning, without a moment’s ‘intermission.’ Here, moreover, ‘the author was gratified to find, ‘on sending Southey a copy of his *History*, that he had not forgotten the nocturnal meeting.’ The author also ‘once supped ‘with Sir H. Davy,’ and again ‘had once the happiness of spending two days beneath the hospitable roof of Sir E. Bulwer.’ Now all these are, no doubt, interesting recollections to ‘the author,’ and any little vanity that may peep out from them is perfectly harmless and pardonable enough; but no man, with any perception of either taste or dignity, would have dreamed of introducing them into a ‘History of Europe.’

Passing over these amiable weaknesses, every page of this encyclopædic chapter contains something to astound us. We find ‘*The Abbot*’ described as a perfect picture of the ‘days of ‘chivalry;’—the love delineated in Moore’s poems we are told is ‘the love of chivalry rather than of license;’—the ‘*Rainbow*’ and the ‘*Last Man*’ of Campbell (imperfect productions of his later and feebler years) are ranked with ‘*Hohenlinden*’ and the ‘*Mariners of England*’;—the reason of Coleridge’s failure ‘to ‘attain world-wide fame’ is, we are informed, that ‘his ideas ‘and images are too abstract’—though a few lines before we find

him described as 'less abstract, but more dramatic—less philosophic, but more pictorial, than Wordsworth,' whose vast reputation had been blazoned in the preceding page;—at p. 440. Socrates is spoken of by implication as a prose writer;—Paley (who died in 1805) is introduced among the writers who flourished between 1815 and 1850;—and, in speaking of geological celebrities (of which three only are mentioned), Mr. Buckland is shorn of his doctor's degree, and Professor Sedgewick, by way of a set-off, is presented with a supernumerary letter to his name; while we are absolutely struck dumb by the audacious assertion that the science to which these eminent philosophers have contributed so much 'derives additional interest to the Christian believer from the confirmation which it affords at every step of 'the Mosaic account of creation'—the fact being, as every one except Sir A. Alison is well aware, that the difficulty of reconciling the two, without doing irreverent violence to Holy Writ, has long been the perplexity of pious philosophers and honest divines.—When he comes to treat of the essayists, we are informed that 'the essays of Addison, Steele, and Johnson are charming compositions, distinguished by taste, embellished by fancy, adorned by imagination, in which the stores of learning are set off with all the decorations of modern genius. But their day has passed away—they are well nigh forgotten.' Yet the true reason of this neglect, we are assured at the bottom of the same page, is to be found in the fact that these essayists, with a few brilliant exceptions, 'are commonplace in thought and feeble in expression; full of truisms, but wanting in originality; often distinguished by conceit, seldom by simplicity; remarkable more for taste than genius; and rather fitted for the thoughtless amusement of a vacant half-hour than to be the charming companion of an evening fire-side.' Which of these somewhat contradictory estimates is to be taken as the true one? Sydney Smith—neither the name nor the designation of whom Sir A. Alison can find time to write correctly, for he calls him Sidney, and elevates him from the Canonry to the Deanery of St. Paul's—is delineated with a want of appreciation so entire that it is impossible to believe that the painter could have been even 'once' in his company. The most laborious and indefatigable jurist of the age, Bentham, was, it is discovered, 'very indolent!' *Apròpos* of Mr. Macaulay, we are told that 'perfection was never yet given to a child of Adam;' his '*Lays of Rome*' are called '*Legends of Rome*'; and one of them, '*The Battle of the Lake Regillus*,' is spoken of as if it were a separate poem. In a note at p. 461., in a reference to '*The Talisman*,' Richard Cœur-de-Lion (a mistake for

the Knight of the Leopard) is alluded to as fighting with Saladin, whose *refusal* to fight him, he is, in that tale, represented as so pathetically deploring. Hallam, whose sedate judicial gravity is, perhaps, the only drawback from the interest of his writings, is described as the first introducer of the more 'fervid, ardent, 'imaginative, and poetic style' in which history is now written. (Is it possible that Sir A. Alison has ever read one chapter of the author whom he thus depicts?) Finally, not to weary the reader with a mere catalogue of errors, the dimensions of Sir Edward Bulwer's dining room (56 feet long and 30 feet high) are given with an accuracy which is not vouchsafed to the name of an unfortunate painter: — *Snyders* is degraded into a German snip, and is called *Schneider*.

We can scarcely guess what principle of selection has guided Sir A. Alison in his list of authors whom he has thus strangely signalled; but some of his omissions are wholly unaccountable, especially when compared with his insertions. Thus among *historians* he has omitted James Mill and Thirlwall and included Tytler; among *novelists* James is taken, and Galt and Miss Martineau are left; among *poets* we are equally amazed to see L. E. L. and not to see Milman, Shelley, Henry Taylor, Heber, and Keble; among *essayists* Dr. Croly is remembered and Charles Lamb forgotten; among *sculptors* Gibson is discarded, and Marochetti honoured with a niche; among *painters* we find Thomson and Swinton, but we do not find Jackson, Phillips, Calcott, Eastlake, Stanfield, Collins or Roberts: and among *actors* Miss Helen Faucit is immortalised, but Macready, Matthews, and Liston quietly suppressed!

We are indeed quite at a loss to understand the principle upon which this chapter has been constructed, or to discover the criterion which has decided the inclusion of the persons and subjects that are commemorated, and the exclusion of those that are passed over in silence. The chapter is headed: 'Progress of Literature, Science, the Arts, and Manners, in Great Britain after the War.' This seems sufficiently comprehensive; in the text, we are led to expect an account of 'the triumphs of British genius and thought.' Yet whole departments of literature and science are left without the slightest mention. Nothing, for example, is said of theological literature: the writings of Copleston, Davison, Whately, Hampden, Burton, and Sumner are not even named. There is no allusion to the rise of the Tractarian school, to the controversies which that school has created, or to the writings of J. H. Newman, Pusey, Keble, and others of the High Church divines. Very little is said of the *class* of philosophy, jurisprudence, and political economy. Mr. John Mill's *Treatise on Logic*, one of the great works of the

age, is not named. Archbishop Whately fares no better as a philosopher than as a theologian: his *Logic* and *Rhetoric* are unnoticed. The mathematical and physical sciences are dispatched in a few sentences: the only names mentioned under this head for the entire period from 1815 to 1850, being Davy, Sir W. Herschel, Playfair, Buckland, Sedgwick, Lyell, and Brewster: — of Airey, Owen, Whewell, Murchison, Faraday, Bell, Sir John Herschel, and many others, too numerous to recount, who have associated their names with the age by discoveries in different branches of natural science, and in physiology and medicine, not a word is said. The important class of architects and engineers, and of inventors and improvers in the domain of the useful arts, such as Telford, Brunel, Stephenson, Babbage, Wheatstone, Nash, Barry, Pugin, is wholly omitted. The same fate is shared by scientific travellers and navigators—an important class in English literature. The historians of antiquity are partially mentioned: thus we are told that ‘Mr. Mitford is the first who brought to the arduous task of Grecian history, the extensive research, *accurate inquiry*, and *profound reflexion*, which characterise the scholars of recent times:’ but classical literature in general is not thought worthy of a sentence. Elmsley, Gaisford, Blomfield, Monk, and Dobree are not even named. In the field of periodical literature, he notices the rise of the *Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews*, both long antecedent to 1815, and also *Blackwood’s Magazine*; but with respect to other quarterly and monthly publications, including the *Westminster Review*, which, as being the able organ of an important political party, surely deserved some attention, there is a profound silence. The extensive and interesting subject of newspapers—a subject of peculiar moment to the political historian during the period chosen by Sir A. Alison—is not even adverted to. Many incidental subjects, connected with the diffusion of science and literature during this period—such as the establishment of societies for the publication of books, the efforts successfully made for reducing their price and enlarging their circulation, the increased literary intercourse with the Continent, and the influence of foreign (particularly German) literature in England, might have obtained some notice from this historian of modern civilisation. We cannot listen to the excuse of want of space, from a writer who is able to fill a page of this chapter with a description of the ‘dark raven locks, the fine figure, and the ‘singularly expressive countenance’ of Miss Helen Faucit, in the style of the theatrical articles of the ‘*Court Journal*’; and who, two pages before, commemorates the ‘raven locks’ of Mrs. Siddons, as well as the ‘raven hue’ of John Kemble’s hair.

We have spoken in severe condemnation of the literary execution of the work before us. Sir Archibald's style, except in narrative, is flaunting, gaudy, and inflated, and disfigured by much tasteless display and much solemn inanity. These faults are nowhere so conspicuous as in his Fifth Chapter, where (as was said of another voluminous and discursive writer) 'if science be not his *forte*, omniscience is certainly his *foible*.' The heroes of Lord Byron, we are told, 'were like the trees of Vivarez or Perelle, so well known to the lovers of engravings — rich, luxuriant, and charming at first sight, but characterised by decided mannerism, very different from the veracious outlines of Claude or Salvator.' Moore is 'without the discursive imagination of Akenside, without the burning thought of Gray, without the ardent soul of Campbell. . . . great part of his poems is occupied with subjects of a satirical cast and character: they will share the usual fate of such productions; they will expire with the manners or characters which are satirised. There are many *lines* in the satires of Juvenal and Horace which are in every mouth; but the *whole poems* are read by none but schoolboys, *into whom they are driven by the force of the rod, or pedants who aspire to the dignity of wielding it.*' Campbell is spoken of in this 'Morning Post' fashion: 'He was in every sense the bard of Hope. Undoubting in faith, untired in hope, he discerned the rainbow of peace amidst the darkest storms of the moral world. In the gloomiest disaster he never despaired of the fortunes of mankind, and was prepared to light "The torch of Hope" at Nature's funeral pile." The experienced in the ways of men will probably be inclined to regard many of his poems as Utopian and *impracticable* (an impracticable poem?), — the wise and reflecting, *as better adapted to a future than the present state of existence*; but the young, the ardent, and enthusiastic will never cease to turn to them as fraught with the noblest aspirations of our nature; *and we may despair of the fortunes of our species when the admiration for the "Pleasures of Hope" begins to decline.*'

It is really scandalous to write, and very wearisome to copy, such froth as this: we must, however, before we conclude, cull a few more flowers of rhetoric to justify our unmeasured condemnation.

'It is impossible to be a great and *voluminous* lyric poet; the fame of Horace and Pindar rests on as few great odes, as Schiller, Gray or Campbell have left to the world. *The diamond, the brightest and purest of all substances, lies hid in the recess of nature, and is drawn*

*forth only in small portions, and [at] distant intervals, to fascinate the world.* (P. 437.)

‘Repetition and monotony of ideas are the bane of literature not less than of imagination; and the social convulsions which lead to the *most during flights of the poetic muse*, tend equally to cast down the barriers which restrain thought, and induce *the collision of opinions, from which, as from the striking of flint and steel, the light of truth is elicited*. It is not at once, however, that the bright illumination always appears; *clouds and dust often for a time follow the shock; and it is only when they have rolled away that the pure flame at length shines forth.*’ (P. 440.)

Of Sir Humphry Davy, it is said —

‘He applied science to its noblest purpose — human improvement; and had the happiness, which to a man of his benevolent mind was great, of reflecting on his deathbed, that he had chained even the frightful violence of the fire-damp, and given the miner the means of pursuing securely *his darksome toil, while the noisome blast, pregnant with death, played innocuous round the lambent flame that rested on his forehead.*’ (P. 450.)

The deficiency of Great Britain in the fine arts, and especially in architecture, at the termination of the war, is deplored; but we are told —

‘Regent Street, opened up through one of the densest parts of London, soon exhibited a splendid and varied scene of architectural decoration and mercantile opulence; Regent’s park showed *long lines of pillared scenery surmounting its glassy lake and umbrageous foliage*; and Waterloo, Southwark and London Bridges *bestrode the floods of the Thames*, with arches second to none in the world in magnificence and durability.’ [!]

The following instance of gaudy vulgarity occurs in a description of the ‘extraordinary attractions presented by the ‘society in several of the leading Whig houses,’ such as Holland House, Devonshire House, Lansdowne House, and Woburn Abbey.

‘It was very difficult for young men whose genius had raised them much above the position in society in which they had been born, to resist the attraction of a society in which Lady Holland and Sir James Mackintosh, Macaulay and Landseer, Jeffrey and Chantrey, were to be met at dinner; where Moore sang his bewitching melodies *with still more bewitching right honourables* in the evening, and the lustre of the most splendid assemblies or balls closed the *scene of enchantment.*’ (P. 510.)

The whole volume abounds in similar instances of tawdry finery and tasteless magniloquence. Sir A. Alison’s *copia verborum* is a real misfortune to him, as well as to his readers. It hides from his own consciousness both the poverty of his execu-

tion and the unsoundness of his thoughts. As Proudhon says of Louis Blanc, 'il s'étourdit de la sonorité de ses phrases.' If he has a good idea, he is sure to disfigure it. He has great and most meritorious industry; but he uses it as a weapon of offence. He sometimes lays hold of true and valuable conceptions; but he almost always pushes them into falsehood and extravagance. The restoration of the currency to a metallic basis undoubtedly produced some effect both on prices and on enterprise; but it was not the all-absorbing and overshadowing influence which he depicts it. Mortality, no doubt, is greater in towns than in the country (though not specially in manufacturing towns); but to declare that manufacturing districts could not keep up their population was an inexcusable and groundless exaggeration. It may well be that representative institutions have been deplorably mismanaged in inexperienced hands, and that even among ourselves they are attended with certain inconveniences and dangers; but a blessing is not a curse because it is accompanied by drawbacks and purchased with a price. It is in no unfriendly spirit that we recommend Sir A. Alison to pause over the succeeding volumes of his work, and to re-write the first. Let him confine himself, as far as possible, to a succinct narrative of events; let him omit all his moralisings, and nearly all his disquisitions; let him sternly prune the facile luxuriance of his style; and he may produce a work which shall be a really useful present to his generation — not, indeed, a history which will live, but one which will fill a much-felt vacancy on our shelves till, in the fulness of time, its appointed successor shall arrive.

In conclusion, we must guard ourselves against being supposed, by our silence, to sanction many errors alike of fact, judgment, and doctrine which our limits have not allowed us to point out. We have done enough to show those of our readers who are Sir A. Alison's readers likewise, that they must peruse him with a wary and suspicious attention, and be perpetually on their guard against being led astray. We should, however, be sorry to close this severe criticism on a most faulty work, without doing justice to one trait in the historian — we mean his entire freedom from all mean and petty jealousies or rancorous sentiments towards his antagonists. He has a generous and hearty appreciation of all merit which he perceives, and can bestow praise in no stinted measure even on those most opposed to him. To this feature in his character we trust for his forgiveness of ourselves if, in the discharge of our critical function, we have in any degree wounded or offended him.

- ART. II. — 1. *First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State and Operation of the Law of Marriage, as relating to the Prohibited Degrees of Affinity, and to Marriages solemnized abroad or in the British Colonies.* 1848.
2. *Speech of the Earl of St. Germans in the House of Lords, June 21. 1852, on Presentation of Petitions in favour of rendering Lawful Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.*
3. *Reasons for Legalising Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.* By LORD DENMAN. 7th edition, London: 1852.
4. *The True Remedy for the Evils of the Age; a Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes.* By J. C. HARE, M.A., with Notes. London: 1850.
5. *An Argument in relation to the Levitical Marriage Law, particularly as affecting the question of the Marriage of a Widower with his Deceased Wife's Sister.* By T. BINNEY. 4th edition.
6. Συγγένεια. *A dispassionate Appeal to the Judgment of the Clergy of the Church of England, on a proposed Alteration of the Law of Marriage: with a Synopsis of the chief Arguments and Evidence put forth on each side of the question.*
7. *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.* The substance of an article in Fraser's Magazine. By E. B. DENISON, M.A. 1851.
8. *A Review of the Law relating to Marriages within the Prohibited Degrees of Affinity.* By T. CAMPBELL FOSTER, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

WE welcome the appearance of the pamphlet of Lord Denman as likely to exert a very powerful influence on the progress of the important question to which it relates. We hail it, not because the argument was not complete without it, for it was not possible even for Lord Denman's sagacity to add much to *that*. He has stated it, indeed, with all his characteristic moderation and precision; but it had been already urged, with overwhelming cogency, in many publications of recent years, — a very few of which we have placed at the head of this Article. Neither, again, do we hail this pamphlet as a proof that the question is gaining ground; — for though that is obvious enough, the adhesion of such a man would not prove it; since it has not been the fashion with Lord Denman, any more than with Archbishop Whately (whose opinions on the subject were frankly expressed some years ago), to astrologise for the right nick of



time in which they may most prosperously or safely proclaim their convictions; to calculate, when they utter them, whether the tide of popular opinion is at flood or ebb,—at what hour it will be most *prudent* to capitulate to Truth and to say that they are converted! On the contrary, both have been remarkable for the honesty, and truth-loving decision, mingled with dignity and temper, with which, at various times in their lives, they have expressed their convictions where other men still doubt, and ‘whether men will hear or whether they will forbear.’

Why, then, it may be asked, do we attach so much importance to the publication of this pamphlet, since we frankly confess it could add but little to an argument which was complete before, and does not, as the adherence of many less noble and ingenuous natures would, indicate anything as to the progress which the question is making?—Simply, because the deliberate public expression of such convictions on the part of a man, so eminent in station, of a mind so penetrating, and so singularly calm and comprehensive, will have all the effect of a *judicial* decision on multitudes who have nothing in the world on which to rest their opposition but the weight of antiquated prejudices;—against which the proper and almost only remedy is the counterpoise of an equally venerated authority. Unreasoning prejudice has ever *that* for its natural antagonist and corrective. By insufficient authority, where men will not or cannot patiently investigate for themselves, such prejudices are engendered in the first instance, and by better authority where they still will not reason, those prejudices are in time destroyed.

There is, in our judgment, a decided preponderance of argument for legalising the marriages in question—argument of all kinds—and the great difficulty in writing on the subject is to discover the strong points of the opposite hypothesis. It consists with our knowledge, that when a proposal was made to the late lamented Editor of this Journal—whose profession was Law—to admit an article in these pages, he remarked, jestingly, that one great difficulty would be ‘to write in a controversy where ‘nearly all the arguments were on one side!’

In truth, if the question had been one of those which, like the Corn Laws, affected the great body of the people, instead of a comparatively insignificant minority; if the nation had been as strongly induced to look into it as into many others, the matter would have been decided long ago. As it is, the actual hardship and wrong have been confined to a few; and the bulk of the people, feeling uninterested in the question, have, till of late

years, opposed the *vis inertiae* of prejudice or indifference to the force of the most cogent logic.

But this is fast giving way before the efforts which have been made to dissipate the illusion. The House of Commons has already twice affirmed its judgment that the statute affecting this class of marriages should be repealed; and though the motion of the Earl of St. Germans, in the House of Peers, was lost in the Session of 1851, those who calmly peruse the debate will probably arrive at the conclusion, that the majority and minority represented only the votes, and not the arguments. In any future discussion, we confidently predict, with Lord Denman, that the question will be found to have advanced a very considerable stage. We believe that few have really investigated with calmness and impartiality the evidence on the question, who have not either come to Lord Denman's conclusion, or felt that their old judgments or rather prejudices have been shaken to the very foundations. The time is fast approaching, when the Legislature will deal with it, and will place the law on a footing more sound, consistent, and intelligible than at present.

It will be our object in the present Article, briefly to lay before the reader a portion of the abundant evidence which justifies the legal change demanded. But it will first be desirable just to cast a glance on the previous history of *recent* legislation on the subject. Whether those be right who would prohibit these marriages, or those who would sanction them, anything more ludicrously vacillating in the history of legislation it is impossible to imagine.

Before 1835, marriage with a deceased wife's sister was not *void*, but *voidable*. Unless against those who contracted it a suit was instituted in the lifetime of *both* parties—(which was very rarely the case, for where property was not concerned, none would have pure spite enough, and very few, even where property *was* concerned, would have selfishness enough, unless the property involved was very large, or the expectants more than usually greedy),—the marriage was legally valid, and the offspring legitimate. *If* such a suit were instituted, the marriage was annulled, and the innocent children all pronounced bastards.

Now, *why* were such marriages originally and avowedly condemned at all? 'Because they were in presumed violation of 'the LAW OF GOD,' exclaims the legislator. That was the original ground of prohibition, and that still constitutes the main argument of the bulk of those who would yet prohibit them.

Then why, in the name of wonder, not make them void at once—void *ipso facto*?

'No,' the law said, '*though* violations of the law of God, and 'on *that* ground prohibited by the law of man, they shall be 'held good notwithstanding, and the children be all legitimate, 'unless somebody takes the trouble to institute a suit during the 'lifetime of both parties; and if that be done they shall *not* be 'valid, and the children shall be bastards, *because* these unions are 'incestuous by the law of God!' Thus the supremacy of the law of God was made dependent on the accident as to whether there was any one spiteful enough or interested enough to procure the intervention of the law of man to give force to the law of God, without which the law of God was to remain a dead letter by the same consistent sanction of the law of man! So that the force of a supposed *divine* law, on which the human law was avowedly founded, depended upon the contingency of some private individual's being kind enough to give it the necessary *lift*! Now, assuredly, it can hardly be doubted that if these marriages were forbidden by the law of God, the legislation which made so ridiculous a distinction made 'void the law of God,' though it did not make 'void' the marriages; and made a sufficiently ludicrous thing of the law of man into the bargain.

The whole hesitating character of such legislation—the curious, elaborate folly of these provisions—considering the solemn nature of the presumed foundations on which the opposition to such marriages was ostensibly grounded,—betrayed a want of thorough conviction of the justice of the case in the minds of those who framed the law. There must have been a consciousness that the assertion of the alleged identity of such marriages with such as were *really* incestuous, did not dare to face the test of a practical conviction; for if so, why treat the two classes of marriages with such ludicrous inconsistency? Imagine such a proposal of alternatives in the case of any real incest—of marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity,—as that of brother and sister! Suppose it said that *though* the marriages were prohibited by the law of God, and that that was the groundwork of the law of man, they should nevertheless stand, and the progeny be regarded as *not* illegitimate, unless a suit was formally instituted in the lifetime of the parties! To state the case is sufficient to show that nothing but *doubts* as to the grounds of the law could have led, in the other case, to so absurd an inconsistency. If it be said, 'True, but if there were 'such doubts, as assuredly there must have been, what were 'we, the Legislature, to do?' The answer obviously is, — 'Resolve the doubts, to be sure; and if you cannot do it satis-

‘factorily, decide, as in other cases, on what seems the fair computation of probabilities, and then legislate consistently. If the marriages in question be then adjudged prohibited by the law of God, which was professedly the ground of the marriage code, then make them *void*; but if otherwise make them valid, or abstain from legislating at all, and leave the matter to individual conscience. That is surely the common-sense view. But do not legislate so inconsistently as to make these unions either valid or not, according to a contingency which has nothing to do with the matter: do not adopt a criterion which makes utter nonsense at once both of the law of God and of the law of man; and, as a fit sequel of the whole, lays no penalty upon the *presumed* guilty parents, but visits it all or chiefly upon the really innocent children!’

It was of course high time that such a ridiculous anomaly as this should cease; and this was professedly attempted in 1835. But with what result? Why in so curious a way, that the remedy was worse than the disease, and ‘made confusion worse confounded.’

The proposal for making some alteration in the anomalous state of the law, arose—as is too often the case in legislation—not from the consideration of what was just to the whole community, but from the accident that some one was likely to be prejudicially affected by the law, whose rank, fortune, and influence enabled him to make an effectual appeal to the Legislature, and to awaken its sympathy. An amiable young nobleman, probably ignorant, as Lord Denman surmises, of the bearing of the law, and thinking no harm in the world, had married his deceased wife’s sister. He was naturally anxious to have his marriage legalised. But it was obviously impossible, for very shame, to legislate for him alone, or bring in a Bill expressly to enable a noble duke to do what to everybody else in the kingdom was forbidden. Lord Lyndhurst, therefore, with all proper lamentations over the unhappy consequences of the condition of the law in relation to these ‘voidable’ marriages, by which many of the lieges (he might have added one in particular), were placed in a most unhappy predicament—neither properly married, nor exactly living in incestuous concubinage—having children, that *might* perhaps be so fortunate in due time as to *become* legitimate, if no man took the trouble to prove them otherwise; or if they were so *happy* as to lose *one* of their parents or *both*, *before* any man attempted to bastardise them—proposed that all past marriages of the kind should be duly legalised, and the children pronounced legitimate;—a sufficiently bold step, certainly, if *indeed* the offence of having contracted such mar-

riages was an offence against the law of God, and if in very truth that law of man which condemned them, but had not punished them, nor visited them with any penalty (provided nobody else would), had its express origin in the revealed will of God! We say it would have been a sufficiently bold stroke of legislation, even if it had stopped with that act of grace, and it had been proposed, after having indemnified all who *had* broken this law for the time past, to leave the law in exactly the same condition for the time to come;—in due encouragement, we presume, to others to form the said ‘voidable’ but not ‘void’ marriages, so that when a sufficient number of such cases had accumulated, or some second noble duke, whose rank and fortune might entitle him to be considered a ‘noun of multitude’ stood in need of a second benefit, the Legislature might be justified in exercising a like act of grace; and so on, every half century or so!

But Lord Lyndhurst went further; and it would have been well for the public, though it would rather have increased than diminished the inconsistency of legislation on the subject, had his proposal been adopted. He proposed that the marriages should still be ‘voidable,’ but, in order to limit the chances of their being pronounced ‘void,’ (that is, to limit the chances of the presumed *law of God* from taking effect!) that they should be valid unless a suit was instituted, not in the lifetime of the contracting parties, but within two years of the celebration of the marriage. This in our judgment would have been a great improvement; but hardly could it be so on the theory of those who suppose such marriages prohibited by the law of God. What, then, was the course proposed? Why just such as to bring out in the strongest possible relief the inconsistencies and anomalies of previous legislation. The Bishop of London, and others, feeling (properly and naturally enough, as far as that went,) the abstract and intrinsic absurdity of treating as ‘voidable,’ (though never likely in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of every thousand to be other than valid,) marriages which, if *their theory* were true, were prohibited by the will of God, proposed to make all such marriages void *ipso facto* for the future; but, again disclosing the conscious doubt that these marriages were not reducible to the category of *crimes* to which it was vainly sought to refer them, strangely consented to enact that all these marriages, (forbidden and still to be forbidden on the supposed ground of prohibition by *DIVINE LAW*,) which had been contracted up to August 31. 1835, should be held valid, and the children pronounced legitimate! So that a man who might have contracted a marriage with his deceased wife's sister on the above memorable day,

and who might have a dozen children, would be installed in full legal rights, both for himself and for them; but he who was so unfortunate as to contract a like marriage on the subsequent day, would ever after pass for an 'incestuous person,' and the innocent issue of the marriage be pronounced illegitimate! It may be said, perhaps, that every law must have some day for coming into operation, and that it necessarily happens, that the actions interdicted by it are then criminal which were innocent the day before. Very true; but suppose the law considers them in precisely the same character as regards their *criminality* and the grounds of it, both before and after the new law; and merely makes the law more stringent than it was before? Especially if such acts be, as asserted, of the gravest moral character, and were before, and are afterwards, interdicted expressly on the ground of presumed prohibition by the will of God? In *that* case; what can be more absurd than to make all past breaches of the law perfectly lawful acts—relieving the guilty parties from even the *imperfect* liability to legal consequences before threatened,—and at the same time forbid with double severity the same acts for the time to come, and make them in fact (so far as law can make them,) their own penalty? To render a law against a certain class of actions more stringent when it is found that the previous law has been frequently broken, one can understand; but did ever legislator before say—'This penalty for such and such an offence is too light—five pounds is not enough; the penalty shall be ten: wherefore be it enacted, that all those who have hitherto broken the law shall pay nothing; but those who henceforth break it shall pay double!' Obviously, the duty of the Legislature, if consistent, would have been, not to exonerate past delinquents, but to leave them to take the chances of the vague and uncertain penalties denounced; and threaten all future ill-doers of the same acts (since they were viewed in the very same light as before) with a more severe and certain punishment.

What makes this style of legislation so remarkable is, as already said, the presumed grave nature of the imputed guilt;—violation of a law professedly founded on the revealed will of God! No wonder that legislation so little self-consistent did not effect the purpose of preventing these marriages. 'Perhaps,' says Lord Denman, 'the relaxation in the particular case had more tendency to encourage, than the new created penalty to deter. People felt that it would have been indecorous to suppose that the bishops had consented to declare any marriage valid, which they really thought forbidden by God.'

To a similar purport is the reasoning of the Author of the

remarkably clear and cogent pamphlet entitled ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ. ‘The Bishop of London, indeed, is reported to have said that, as by the Word of God, marriages of consanguinity are expressly forbidden; so, by parity of reasoning, marriages of affinity are forbidden: — thus placing marriages of consanguinity and of affinity under the same condemnation.

‘One must altogether discredit the accuracy of this report, for two reasons:—1. Had the Bishop believed that consanguinity and affinity are, by parity, or any other rule, of reason *alike prohibited by God*, he never could have sanctioned the distinction drawn between them by the Act of William IV. 2. Had the Bishop believed marriage with a sister-in-law *really offensive to God*, he never could have recognised such marriages in *any way or for any purpose whatever*. No feeling for the precarious *status*, no regard for the worldly interest, of the children, no reasons of civil or social policy, could possibly justify the guardians of our holy religion in lending their sanction, in any way whatever, to a marriage which they believe impure.’ In short, the comprehensive Act of oblivion of 1835 was utterly inconsistent with the principles on which the bulk of the supporters of the prohibition of this marriage affect to condemn it, and indeed was consistent with nothing but a conviction that the law had been *too* severe, and ought to be modified or repealed. The result, we need not say, was just the reverse, and the Act of 1835 made these marriages void, *ipso facto*. It is perhaps the only Act of legislation, in these days, which has been absolutely *retrograde*.

‘We had a law,’ says an eloquent advocate for a change in the law, ‘which, though very imperfect, did allow’ [or rather did not prevent] ‘the marriage in question, and we had grown up in the possession of a liberty, the exercise of which was often a great domestic advantage, and very seldom attended with any evil,—with the loss of *status* or the peril of property. We woke up, one morning, and found to our surprise, that our legislation had gone backwards some centuries. . . . Are Englishmen to be blamed for trying to alter what they deem to have been a robbery and a wrong? Is it *their* fault that the public has to listen to arguments and discussions not easy to conduct without offence? As to the state of things, in relation at once to feeling and to fact, throughout England, there is no doubt that the *general* sentiment is in favour of the marriage in question,—extensively admitting its innocence, in many cases its propriety and desirableness,—dying mothers breathing their wishes in its favour,—and almost all men deprecating prohibitory legislation.’ (*An Argument, &c., by T. Binney.*)

Such marriages at the time of the recent Act had already been contracted, not only in great numbers, but with such indif-

ference or rather sanction on the part of society at large, as to show that with whatever tenacity individuals might cling to antiquated prejudices on the subject, the community in general was fast outgrowing them. Such marriages, as a general rule, were visited by no evil consequences. Similarly, the more stringent law has not operated in any way to produce a different condition of the public mind; perhaps rather the contrary, as Lord Denman observes; since more general investigation of the subject has tended to convince the public that the law is utterly unreasonable. Those who, from prudence alone, abstain from contracting marriages, which are no longer 'voidable' but 'void,' have, instead of marrying and taking the consequences, commenced a very active agitation for the purpose of procuring the repeal of the law altogether; whilst those who have no pecuniary or other civil consequences to fear, and who are as strongly as ever, nay, more strongly than ever, convinced of the moral propriety, or rather *express* divine permission, of such marriages, contract them in greater numbers than ever. Those who are rich enough go abroad, and get married where no such prohibition operates — which is now the case nearly all the world over (for in the Church of Rome dispensations are freely granted), except in the *enlightened* Greek Church and in England! In this case, Mr. Denison, in a very acute and ingenious pamphlet, endeavours to show that the present state of the English law is such as to involve the validity of these marriages. — On the other hand, those who cannot afford to go abroad, evade the law by means of the bans and silence; while others (and it is the most serious point of all), despising a law which they regard as iniquitous, and despairing of a change in it, are tempted to live in unhallowed concubinage. If the Legislature does not speedily revise its law on this subject, the country seems very likely, as has been the case with so many other laws, to take the matter into its own hand and to legislate for itself; a thing always to be deplored. But when public opinion outgrows that of the Legislature, which can but reflect it, and which *must* reflect it sooner or later, such a result cannot be avoided. Nothing can be more certain than that for some time past, and at the present moment, the current of authority and reasoning is in favour of legalising this class of marriages. We proceed to consider the evidence in favour of this course.

The arguments on this side appear to us immensely to preponderate, whether we look at the subject in the light of *Nature*, as contradistinguished from Revelation — and comprehending under the word, Instinct, Feeling, Reason, — or in that



of *Revelation*; or whether, lastly, supposing both Nature and Revelation alike silent, we look at the matter simply in the light of civil and political expediency.

We shall just glance at the subject under all these aspects; premising however, that as this is a nation (and may it ever continue so!) in which the great bulk of the people reverence the Bible as a divine Revelation of the will of God to mankind, the question, virtually, must and will be decided by a reference to that supreme authority. But then it is precisely here that the advocates of the repeal of the existing law most confidently join issue with their antagonists; and it is precisely here, we are bound to say, after an extensive inspection of the recent literature on the subject, that those antagonists most flinch from a close contest. The advocates of repeal insist, and in our judgment most triumphantly, that the present law is not only utterly unauthorised by the New Testament, but exists only by absolute perversion of the Old. They insist, that while the New Testament, which is in a peculiar sense the moral statute-book of the Christian, contains not one syllable on the subject of these marriages, the Old Testament distinctly sanctions them; that this has been the uniform judgment of the Jews themselves; that the contrary can be maintained only by explaining away the obvious sense of Levit. xviii. 18., and then, by having thus gagged Moses, founding on his forced *silence* a prohibition he has nowhere expressed, by means of 'inferential reasoning' on what he must be *supposed* to have *meant* to say. Further, in confirmation of their view, the advocates of repeal argue that not a syllable was ever, so far as can be known, uttered against these marriages during the first three centuries—the best and purest days of Christianity; nor is any trace of a prohibition found till we come to the so called Apostolical Constitutions, and the petty provincial councils of Eliberis, A. D. 305, and Neo-Cæsarea, A. D. 315, whose sanction of so much rubbish of *other* kinds ought to make Christians, and will make *Protestants*, rather suspicious of their decrees than disposed to defer to them. Their proceedings show but too plainly that that foreshadowed trait of Antichrist, 'forbidding to marry' in various degrees and modes where God had left it free, was already beginning to develop itself in a corrupt Church; a tendency which at length proceeded to construct such monstrous tables of prohibited degrees, that it became scarcely the question whom a man *might* marry, but rather whether he might marry any body. As the author of *Συγγένεια* well puts it: 'And what do the Apostolical Constitutions say? Not one word of these marriages being con-

‘trary to God’s will, or to the moral law, or invalid. They say, that a man marrying two sisters shall *not be admitted into holy orders*; and they say precisely the same of a man marrying ‘an actress, a widow, or any woman in second marriage;’—all which is perfectly intelligible as read by the subsequent history of ecclesiastical corruption in the same direction. The sun was already going down. ‘These prohibitions were the first fruits of that spirit which ultimately led to marriage being altogether ‘forbidden to the clergy.’ Similar and even stronger arguments are shown by the same author utterly to neutralise the authority of the Canons of the *little councils of Eliberis and Neo-Cæsarea*.

The infatuation with which certain grave gentlemen appeal to ecclesiastical authority of the ‘*last fifteen hundred*’ years on the subject of marriage, considering that even *they* will not accept a hundredth part of the absurdities enacted on the same subject by the same authority during the same period, is incomprehensible. When they ask with so much solemnity, ‘Can we suppose that such prohibitions would have been sanctioned for so long a time, unless really founded in the will of God?’—the answer is, ‘Why, *you* reject other prohibitions of the same authority, as manifestly *unsanctioned* by the law of God? Be consistent with yourselves, and go over to Rome;—or rather you cannot go even there, for such marriages, as Cardinal Wiseman tells the Commissioners, are *not* deemed prohibited by the law of God, but are matter of ecclesiastical regulation, and that therefore his Church readily grants dispensation for them. ‘You cannot stop short of the Greek Church!’ Indeed, to that *enlightened* authority (which forbids marriage as far as a deceased wife’s *second cousin*, but graciously permits it with the *daughter* of a deceased wife’s second cousin!) some of these gentlemen appeal, and they are welcome. None will envy them; people will only reflect that it is an indication of the dreadful destitution of argument which led them to fly to such a shelter. Those who wish to see this argument further treated may read *Συγγένεια*, or the masterly examination of Mr. Keble’s tract by an ‘English Churchman.’ For ourselves, we shall say no more on this part of the subject, being thoroughly convinced that the style of argumentation adopted by the admirers of ecclesiastical antiquity, not only does not admit of refutation, but is irresistible,—only on the opposite side to that it is designed to support. They prove, and it is all they do prove, that the prohibition in question exactly synchronises with the origin of those manifold corruptions in the same matters, which have for so many ages formed the plague and the shame of the Christian

Church. Their party might well say to them, as Job to his comforters, 'Oh! that you would altogether hold your peace, and it should be your wisdom.'

Quitting then this 'Serbonian bog,' we shall briefly examine what Nature, Scripture, and Expediency have to say on the subject.

I. As to NATURE. Few will imagine that apart from the presumed condemnation of Divine Revelation, it would ever have entered into a human skull to suspect anything wrong in unions of this kind. Consanguinity there is none; and the 'horror naturalis,' which so many metaphysical jurists have asserted against many species of union where consanguinity is involved—a horror, which whether 'natural' or not, is certainly most 'rational,' and confessed to be so by the practices and maxims of almost the entire human family,—cannot be supposed to exist or to operate here; and for this simple and conclusive reason, that the marriages in question have been sanctioned and practised among the bulk of mankind; among the Greeks and Romans; among the ancient Jews; by the Mahometans; in the Protestant States of Continental Europe—in the United States of America. As to the Jews, 'nature' spoke so feebly, that to them a presumed divine interdiction of such marriages has been erroneously supposed to have been addressed; and if it were so addressed, it seems that both Nature and Revelation spoke to them in vain, for the Jews have never acquiesced, nor do so now, in the interpretation of their marriage code which prohibits such marriages. Dr. Adler, the Chief Rabbi, declares in his evidence before the Commissioners—'Such a marriage, so far from exposing the parties to any reproach, is considered proper and even laudable; and where young children are left by the deceased wife, the marriage is allowed to take place within a shorter period from the wife's death, than would otherwise be permitted.' It was left for professed *Christian* Canonists to make that yoke which Christianity in so many respects gloried in breaking, more burdensome, in this point at all events, than did Moses himself.

Some, indeed, talk mysteriously enough of some 'natural instincts' against such marriages. It is a curious 'instinct,' certainly, which gives no trace of itself in the immense majority of the race. One gentleman sagely remarks, that those who have not such 'instincts' are not able to enter into the feelings of those who have. But then, if 'instincts,' we do not expect them to be found only in a fraction of mankind. 'Instinct,' as Falstaff says, 'is a great matter;' no doubt it is; but a par-

tial 'instinct' is not easily comprehended. A 'prejudice' of association and education *can* be.

So little is any such 'instinct' felt by those who, if it existed, would feel it most, so little is there of any 'natural' repugnance to such unions, that it is not uncommon, in spite of the ancient prejudice which the unwise law has cherished, and of the possible sufferings which it has unjustly entailed, to find mothers, in their last hours, recommending their husbands to give a sister a mother's rights over their children. Far from being conscious of the imputed natural repugnance, they feel assured that they thus best secure the happiness of their children. They can die with a calmer mind when they know that those they love so well, will not pass into the hands of mere stepmothers and strangers; that the continuity of association and affection, the 'sacred charm' of one family, will not be rudely broken. Instances of this kind are familiar to most who have seen much of life, and would, without doubt, be still more frequent, were the present unjust law repealed. This natural and solicitous tenderness, which leads the dying mother, going on the dark journey, to take guarantees (as it were) of the unknown future for the happiness of those who are so inexpressibly dear to her; to confide them, not to a stranger, but to the tried affection of a sister's love; to fancy them, as she departs, still linked to her by familiar ties, is beautifully touched by several of the writers on this subject, whose pamphlets are placed at the head of this Article.

II. But whatever Nature may say or not say, we have conceded, and do again, that since the vast majority of this nation believe the Bible to be the revealed will of God to man, then if it can be shown that such marriages are there clearly interdicted, and in a way which proves that the statute was neither temporary nor local—it will be in vain to inquire further.

But then it is precisely on this ground, as already stated, that the plea against these marriages is most confidently met; and in the following manner.

It is alleged by those who plead for the interdiction that such marriages are forbidden—though not *expressly*, yet by *implication* and *inference*; inasmuch as in the catalogue of prohibitions given in Leviticus, a man is forbidden to marry a brother's wife, and *therefore* his wife's sister; for, *mutatis mutandis*, the relation is exactly the same. To this it is rejoined that this 'inferential reasoning' cannot stand unless it can neutralise *all* the following arguments;—the last being the *distinct Mosaic sanction of such marriages* in Levit. xviii. 18.:—1. It is by many doubted

whether Moses in these passages is laying down any code of marriage laws at all, even for the Israelites; whether he is not, at least for the most part, forbidding those promiscuous and lawless connexions which formed the 'abominations' of the Canaanitish nations, to which he makes such frequent reference in these passages; and it is by such affirmed that when he forbids the union with a brother's wife, he really means *wife* and not *widow*. This was the opinion of Sir William Jones, and is still the opinion of many.\* 2. Conceding that this doubt is overruled—though it necessarily introduces one more element of precariousness into the '*inferential*' reasoning—it is further argued, that if Moses had expressly forbidden, not only the marriage with a brother's widow, but marriage with a wife's sister (of which there is not one syllable), it does not follow that all that Moses intended for the Jews was intended for all nations, and for all time. How can we know, it is argued, that such laws were not among the many other laws, avowedly designed for a particular dispensation, 'a peculiar people,' and an especial end, and which are now abrogated among the other hundred things which Christianity *glories* in abolishing? How do we know, that according to its true cosmopolitan and catholic character, Christianity does not remit us to construct our marriage code solely on the basis of those restraints of *consanguinity*, which have their foundation in the conditions of universal humanity, and on the views of an enlarged expediency dependent on the circumstances and usages of each nation? 3. That conceding, but for argument's sake only, that Moses intended to forbid, and to forbid universally, marriage with a brother's widow—except where (strangely enough) men were *enjoined* to marry her,—it is justly argued by Lord Denman and others, that we have no title in interpreting the code of Moses, any more than that of any other legislator, to extend his prohibitions by fanciful analogies to any cases but those which he has expressly *mentioned*, amongst which marriage with a deceased wife's sister is nowhere found. If we are at liberty thus to extend his statutes by analogy, there is no limit to our infer-

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\* This view of the subject is ably maintained in the pamphlet by J. P. Brown-Westhead, M.P. It was advocated with uncommon controversial ability by Mr. John Fry, in a little volume published first in 1756, and republished in 1773. It is now extremely scarce. The author contends, and Sir William Jones agrees with him, that certain phrases in Levit. xviii. (erroneously supposed to refer to marriage) are never so employed elsewhere in the Bible, or by the Orientals, but to wanton impurity; and that the phrases which denote marriage are of a precisely *opposite* description.

ences; and it was precisely by such an assumed liberty, that the canonists of the middle ages burdened the marriage law with intolerable absurdities. 4. It is urged that we have indications in the language of Moses himself that he never intended us thus to indulge in inferential deductions; for if this was the case, then, as Michaelis has justly remarked, he himself has made several ‘repetitions which are very useless;’ on the one hand, in mentioning analogous cases where we might have inferred them; and on the other hand, specifying in the latter of the *two* different places in which he lays down his prohibitions (Lev. xviii. and xx.), just the very same cases which had been already specified. ‘Now,’ as this writer says, ‘had they been meant merely as examples of degrees of relationship, it would have been more natural to have varied them,’ and to have introduced some of the *converse* cases in the second statement\*: whence we may infer that Moses never intended us to indulge our ingenuity in inferential extensions of his laws, to any other cases than those he has expressly named. 5. It is urged, If you *will* thus reason from inference and analogy, why will you not carry out your theory on similar principles? Why will you not include many cases of consanguinity (as with much more reason you may) which yet the law openly tolerates? Why, especially, do you not absolutely interdict all marriages of first and second cousins (as did the consistent *ancient* councils you so often quote), since these, being related by blood, are more nearly of kin than a wife’s sister? 6. It is urged, why do you not, if you will abide by Moses, adopt his supposed law throughout? Since the violation of the law which forbade marriage with a brother’s widow was expressly permitted, or rather enjoined in certain cases,—a pretty clear proof, by the way, that there was nothing of a *moral* nature involved in such prohibition, as well as an indication that the whole law was restricted to the dispensation of which it formed a part,—why do you not carry out your analogy, and permit the marriage of a brother’s widow and a wife’s sister in similar cases? and if it be replied that that relaxation evidently depended on the peculiar laws and

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\* Of the recklessness or the ignorance with which men will make assertions, we have an instance in the oft-repeated argument (in proof that we *must* extend, by *analogy*, the cases specified by Moses), that he has forbidden marriage with the *mother*, but has not forbidden marriage with the *daughter*, and that we *must* supply it. Yet in the 17th verse, he forbids a man to take to wife ‘a woman and her daughter.’ Now if a man marries his *own* daughter, we rather think he has violated this law in the most execrable of all possible forms.

usages of the Jews, it is again urged, that *this* is to depart from your strict principle of interpretation, and is an answer which applies with equal force to the law altogether,—to the rule, and the exception to the rule. 7. But if it be further argued, as it has been by some, ‘Oh but the relaxation just referred to, would go further than those who taunt us with *not* making it, would like;—for in the cases in question, the law not to marry a brother's widow was not only relaxed, but the brother was *enjoined* to marry her; and this would not be always “convenient” or “agreeable” to our opponents;’ the answer is, ‘Very likely; but what is that to you and your *inferences*? If you *will* have the law as Moses gave it, you are least of all bound to find out whether your consistency be pleasant or convenient to your opponent. Be consistent in your “inferential reasoning,” and do not check it and spur it just as the whim suits you.’ If it be further said, ‘But this regulation clearly depended on the national usages of the Jews; *our* circumstances, *our* customs, *our* laws of *property* are altogether different from theirs;’ it is again replied, that this is an argument which, for aught we can see, will equally evince the limited and national character of the prohibition altogether. You stay your inferential reasoning just where you think proper; suffer others to suppose that it ought not to be carried quite so far.\* 8. But while all this would have to be said, if Moses had been simply *silent* in relation to the supposed marriage, it is alleged (and this is the principal point) that Moses is *not* silent; that he has by clear implication sanctioned marriage with a deceased wife's sister; and that hence the inferential reasoning, most precarious at the best, becomes something much worse,—a downright impertinence. Whatever inferences analogical reasoning may conjecture *might* have been implied or *must* have been implied in Moses' silence, fall to the

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\* With those (and unhappily there are such) who evade this argument by affecting to say that they clearly *perceive* that the prohibition to marry a brother's widow, or a wife's sister, is a part of the *moral* law, and therefore in itself of universal and eternal obligation on humanity, and yet say at the same moment, that though part of the *moral* law, God was pleased to *enjoin* the breach of the former prohibition, and dispensed with the latter altogether for the special benefit of the Jews, to whom alone these laws had been given; with those who are acute enough to determine *that* to be in its nature *moral*, which to the immense majority of mankind appears perfectly arbitrary, and then are presumptuous enough to say that God, for a very insignificant purpose, dispensed with it, sober men can have no argument. Men who can thus assert must be either above reason—as inspired, or below it—as insane.

ground. In the eighteenth verse of the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus, he forbids the Jews. (to whom, be it recollected, polygamy was permitted) to take *two* sisters to wife during the lifetime of both, but allows marriage with two sisters successively. To this litigated text, but *one* consistent—nay, in relation to the whole bearing of the Mosaic institute, only one *tolerable*—meaning can be given, and that is the one given in the text of our English version. It is impossible here fully to enter into the grounds of that criticism, but the principal points on which the question turns will be found in the note below.\*

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\* The criticism on this text lies, after all, in a nutshell, and even the unlearned reader may judge which is the best interpretation. The words in our translation are, 'Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her . . . besides the other in *her lifetime*.' Now we are told that a wife to her sister might be rendered, thou shalt not '*take one to another*,' &c. : for that the phrase 'wife to a sister,' was often an idiomatic expression among the Hebrews, (tantamount to 'one to another,' among us,) where *pairs* of correspondent things were spoken of, as the '*two cherubim*,' the '*couples*' of curtains in the Tabernacle, and so on. This is true; but then in such cases, not only are the things inanimate, showing us that the phrase is idiomatic; but what is much more to the purpose, the *things* are mentioned, that are thus to be taken or not taken *together*. The question is, if we thus interpret the phrase here, — *what* are not to be taken together? The answer *ought* to be, for any thing this rendering shows, why nothing in particular! If it be said, why, we *must* interpret it—thou shalt not take '*one woman*' or 'wife to another;' then, as several critics have well observed, this is to take *half* the phrase literally, and *half* as a tropical idiom! It may moreover be said, that the word here rendered 'sister,' is just the same word as has been rendered 'sister' through all the preceding verses; and further, that the *ancient* versions—the LXX among the rest—translate the verse as in our version. Though these translators *have*, like ours, rendered the phrase as an idiom in passages where the *things* are mentioned that require it, and are inanimate, they never dreamed that it would be proper to translate it as such here. But, it is yet more important to remark, that if it be allowed, that by a violation of grammatical propriety, and by a strange mixture of the literal and idiomatic, the verse may be made to mean, 'thou shalt not take one woman to another,' then not only is the phrase 'in her lifetime' an utterly unmeaning addition, (for when, in the name of common sense, could the wives be taken '*to one another*' except in the lifetime of the first?) but, as we have proceeded to urge above, *this* interpretation, as declaring a direct *prohibition* of polygamy, is at war with the obvious spirit of the Mosaic Institute and the Hebrew History. He who would see this part of the subject admirably handled, may consult 'Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses,' or his work expressly on the 'Marriage Laws.' A brief but capital note of Grotius may also be



Suffice it to say, that a decided preponderance of the best modern critics is in favour of the ordinary meaning; that the Jewish interpreters are in favour of it; that the ancient versions are in favour of it; that the most learned authorities, even those who oppose the repeal of the present law, admit that it is the most natural translation of the passage, though a few think another *may* be admitted; that many of the highest names among Romanists, English Churchmen, and Dissenters, alike contend that it is *the* most natural and only proper rendering.\* Such rendering, again, is in harmony with the Pentateuch, and alone is so, both as regards the sanction of such marriages and the limitation; as regards the sanction, since the Patriarch Jacob had been permitted to contract such a marriage, which is surely odd (to say the least) if it was intended to be forbidden to all men in all times; and as regards the *limitation*, inasmuch as the experiment of *simultaneous* marriage with two sisters, was not in that instance, nor was likely to be in any, very fruitful of happiness. Indeed, it seems natural to imagine that, legislating for a nation, among whom polygamy was to be tolerated, but *regulated*, the case of the patriarch was specially in the eye of the legislator in this very enactment. On the other hand, the only other translation of the disputed verse at all consistent with the notion that Moses is laying down laws about marriage at all, is at war with the whole spirit, letter, and meaning of many laws and regulations of his institute; for it goes upon the supposition that Moses is, in fact, not speaking of 'sisters' at all, but of *any* two women; and that he is just pronouncing a pointed and absolute prohibition of polygamy; yes — of polygamy! That is, we are to believe that what was notoriously practised by the Hebrews, — practised by them

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consulted on Levit. xviii. 18., Annotationes ad V. T.; where the reasons for not allowing a polygamising nation to take two sisters to wife at the same time, though they might take any other two women, is epigrammatically expressed in ten words: 'Sicut acerrima dicuntur 'esse fratrum odia, sic et æmulationes sororum.'

\* Of the many attempts to explain away this verse in consistency with the prohibition theory, the Bishop of St. David's said, in the recent debate in the Lords, 'that his impression was that they inclined *a very strong desire* to accommodate the construction of Scripture to a preconceived opinion, and that if such preconceived opinion had not existed, such a construction would never have been adopted.' It is remarkable that it is hardly possible to find an intelligent advocate of the prohibition who does not admit that this verse *sanctions* these marriages to the *Jews*, and that the *Jews* have correctly interpreted the verse.

before Moses, during the time of Moses, and after Moses,—which he every where recognises, and expressly regulates and *legislates* for,—which is associated with the names of the patriarchs, and with most of the judges and sovereigns, of ancient Israel, was pointedly and absolutely forbidden by the lawgiver, ‘amongst those abominations of the Canaanites,’ which were to be punished with *death*! Certainly we cannot say in this case ‘*credat Judæus* :’ for the *Jew* has never believed, nor will ever believe, that *this* is the meaning of their ancient law.

But the old plea is again urged; by ‘inferential reasoning’ we must conclude these marriages interdicted: since what difference *can* there have been between a brother’s widow and a deceased wife’s sister?

But this supposed identity of cases is the *πρώτον ψεύδος*, the fundamental fallacy, of the whole reasoning. *Every* system of law must be adapted to the circumstances, usages, and customs of the nation for which it is intended; and a marriage code above all. It is *likely* that it will present some anomalies even in itself, and contain some provisions utterly unfit for the literal adoption of all mankind. And can we suppose that this is not likely to be eminently the case in an Oriental nation? where the condition of the sexes is so peculiar? where polygamy is commonly practised, and allowed, and legislated for? Further, among the Hebrews, we might naturally expect to meet with such anomalies arising out of their peculiar laws of inheritance and property, and the many other peculiarities by which it was designed that they should be *separated* from all the rest of mankind. What can be a greater anomaly, for example, than the regulations with regard to that very marriage of a brother’s widow, on which all this inferential refinement is based—a marriage generally *forbidden*, but in some cases *enjoined*! Is it possible to conceive that it can be safe or right to adopt with literal exactness a marriage code provided for a nation so peculiarly situated, or indeed for any nation in which polygamy is a recognised practice? In truth, unlikely as it may appear to one of our ‘inferential’ reasoners, nothing is more probable than that the prohibition to marry a brother’s widow, and the permission to marry a wife’s sister—anomaly as it appears—most naturally and consistently grew out of that very social condition of the Jews, to which there is nothing parallel or similar in Europe. Michaelis thinks, and in our judgment justly, that the *prohibition* to marry a brother’s widow in general, and the *injunction* to do it as the exception, sprang both the one and the other out of those laws of heritage, which did not at all affect, nor had any bearings upon, the analogous relation of a wife’s sister. Other

anomalies, again, both in the Jewish and other Oriental nations, would arise out of the peculiar conditions of ordinary intercourse between men and women. Excluding those cases in which all thought of marriage is rejected at once by the natural feelings and common sense of all mankind, the prohibitions of remoter unions would appear to have depended far less on *degrees of affinity*, than on the degree of *ordinarily permitted familiarity* between the parties. Now amongst Oriental nations, where women are so jealously secluded from public gaze, and none is permitted to be 'unveiled,' except before the nearest relations, the liberty of appearing unveiled, seems, in many cases, to have determined the limits within which the liberty of marriage should be restricted, and not the degree of affinity. As Michaelis has ingeniously remarked, speaking of the Arabs and their traditional usages, converted by Mahomet into a written law: 'The cases in which the veil is dispensed with, precisely agree with the Mosaic prohibitions, when not extended by inferences beyond the express letter of his laws;' and, therefore, as the wife's sister is *not* permitted to be seen unveiled among the Arabs, with them, as among the Jews, marriage with a wife's sister is permitted.

In an Oriental nation, it was natural to limit the prohibitions by some such rule, founded on the peculiar conditions of the female sex. It was necessary to surround the few women who might be familiarly seen, with associations which might exclude all temptations to corrupt influence by prohibiting all hope of marriage; whereas it would not be necessary in other nations. The mere fact of the general seclusion of women in Oriental nations, tends to stimulate passion, in the case where the familiar vision of a woman's face is allowed; and the ludicrous haste with which Orientals will be enamoured, from merely catching a glimpse of a beautiful face, is familiar enough to the reader of the Arabian Nights. But all this is utterly inapplicable in a country in which every woman, and all sorts of women, go *unveiled*; where we see with equal freedom and familiarity, brother's wives, and wives' sisters, and aunts, and nieces, and cousins innumerable. The mere sight of a pretty face is no such summons to us, as it is apt to be to an Oriental, to fall straightway in love; 'in that case,' as Michaelis observes, 'men would have rather too much to do.' In fine, the whole relations of the sexes among the Hebrews, being totally different from what they are in a country where harems and polygamy are absolutely unknown, we must expect to find some regulations in their marriage code which would be anomalous, viewed merely in relation to itself, and many which it

would be utterly preposterous to adopt in our own. Thus it might be very proper for Moses *generally* to forbid, but in many cases to *enjoin*, marriage with a brother's widow, and permit it with a wife's sister, without any prohibition at all; and thus, too, this 'inferential' reasoning, founded on perverted analogies, becomes in the highest degree precarious.

But whether we can *find* the reasons for which Moses permitted the marriage in question or not, or even if we cannot imagine *any* reasons at all, *that* does not, and cannot, set aside the only fair, legitimate, consistent interpretation of Lev. xviii. 18. To this interpretation an immense array of the most enlightened commentators, with Grotius and Michaelis at their head, and including the most eminent names, whether of continental Europe or the United States, subscribe; and it is getting more and more difficult to find any scholar of repute contending that the verse can be otherwise fairly explained. If that verse does *not* sanction these marriages, let the advocates of prohibition, instead of appealing to the decrees of superstitious councils, and the nonsense of the Greek Church, fairly reply to the criticisms which have united the suffrages of so many eminent men in the most various communions and sections of Christendom. Till the prohibitionists get rid of this verse, they may expect that the stream of public opinion will be more and more against them.

To those then, who are willing to abide by the marriage code of Moses, fairly interpreted (supposing this chapter of Leviticus designed to be such, and for all time), the marriages in question are amply justified; while to those who do not admit that the marriage code of Moses, being devised for an Oriental and polygamist nation, is in all respects precisely the fitting model for Christians, the argument is superfluous. They may justly say, however, to their adversaries—'You have appealed to Moses' judgment-seat, to Moses you shall go.' The marriages in question, it is alleged, are clearly permitted by a text which cannot be interpreted to mean otherwise, without making nonsense of the Mosaic institute. On the other hand, it is evaded only by the most precarious 'inferential' reasoning:—reasoning, which first infers that this plain text *could* not have meant what it plainly does, and *must* mean something else inconsistent with many of the plainest parts of the Pentateuch, because it is *inferred* that its natural meaning is at variance with something else which Moses never said, but which, again, he is *inferred* to have *meant* to say; and thus having 'inferentially' procured the *silence* of Moses, when he is *not* silent,—or rather having stopped his

mouth—it is again inferred, that though he has not prohibited the marriages in question, he assuredly *meant* to do so, because he has forbidden *other* marriages within a similar degree of affinity; where it is once more *inferred* that there could have been no reasons for any such anomalous enactments, founded on a state of society and a condition of the sexes so utterly unlike our own; though the Hebrews were a nation to whom polygamy was permitted, and whose laws of property were so very peculiar, that this very law which forbids the marriage supposed to be analogous with that of a wife's sister, actually admitted the *anomaly* of enjoining it in many cases;—after all which, this curious inferential reasoning lastly, *infers*, that the whole marriage code of Moses, enacted for this Oriental and polygamising nation, was intended equally for all other nations, and to the end of time! There is hardly any conclusion in the world that may not be proved by such reasoning as this; it is matched only by that ancient *sortes*, by which it was proved that the child of Themistocles governed the world; for the child of Themistocles governed his mother; and his mother governed Themistocles; and Themistocles governed Greece; and Greece governed the world. *Ergo*, &c.

Those who accept the authority of Moses on the subject, and to whom it clearly appears that the marriages in question are not only not interdicted, but expressly permitted by his law; who believe that false analogy and false inference have misinterpreted and perverted him, and thus misled Christian legislators (unlike the Apostles) not to relax, but to aggravate its rigour, ought to be solicitous that the law should be instantly altered, so as at least not to contradict that authority, the supremacy of which they acknowledge. The fear of innovating on the *Divine Law*, which has so often been alleged for the continuance of the present prohibition, ought to be transferred to the other side; the fear of allowing what God has been falsely supposed to have forbidden, ought to be counteracted by the fear of forbidding what he has clearly allowed. It is no less an infringement of his authority 'to add to' than 'to take away from' his commands; to lay upon the necks of men, under the pretext of his authority, a yoke which he has not imposed, than to break one which he has. When it is asked, therefore, by our opponents, 'Will you innovate on the Divine Law?' we are called upon to reply, 'No; neither will we tolerate *you* in so doing.' For our own parts, we conscientiously believe that of this prohibition it may be said, 'It makes void the law of God by man's tradition.'

III. As to expediency. While we contend that here, too,

the great preponderance of argument is in favour of a repeal of the law, we frankly concede that a more plausible argument can be constructed for it than under any other aspect of the subject. But it is only plausible. First, it is said that the opportunities of corruption afforded by intercourse so familiar and so intimate as that with a wife's sister must be, might be abused by vicious men; that, therefore, it is desirable to encircle the relation with associations utterly repugnant to the marriage in question; and it is assumed that law can effect this by *forbidding* these marriages, even though there be nothing immoral about them. But this is a great fallacy. Neither this law, nor any other, which merely forbids such marriages *without being able* to make them felt to be immoral, can prevent any such evils as those just adverted to. Nay, as has been well observed, the impossibility of marriage is more likely to lead to the evil than its possibility; since a man would not wish to seduce her whom he intended to marry. If, indeed, the law by merely calling these marriages by odious names, could, as facts show it cannot, fill the public mind with the feelings and associations with which the whole community regards incest, then the argument from political and social expediency would have a little force. For even the bad as well as the good would be usually restrained by such associations; no danger would be incurred of an illicit attachment on the part of the vicious, and no possibility of an honourable passion on the part of the virtuous. But while the law *is* thus impotent to transform the convictions of men, it does not prevent the former from gratifying his evil propensities, and simply imposes on the latter an undesirable restriction; it limits a liberty which should be allowed every man, without preventing its abuse by those who will abuse it, and visits with its penalties those who would *not* abuse it! We may add that, looking at the restriction purely in the light of expediency—to which we at present confine ourselves—we do not see that it is more necessary in this case than in many other cases to which it *ought*, on this reasoning, to be applied. For whereas the presence of some female friend—often a cousin—is pretty nearly as common in a family as that of a wife's sister, we may ask, would it be expedient, on this same ground of policy, and to prevent abuses, to enact that none shall marry a wife's friend after his wife's death, and to strive artificially to surround these unions also with the associations of 'incest'? This subject has been well illustrated by an 'English Churchman,' in a review of Mr. Keble's pamphlet. 'Is married life in England,' he asks, 'so profligate

'and so *peculiar* that sisters-in-law require a protection by *legal* prohibition which other women do not need?' It is also well treated in *Συγγένεια*, and in the pamphlet of Lord Denman.

But, secondly, it is said: while it is eminently desirable that a wife's sister should be in a condition to take charge of a widower's children, what modest woman will do so, when she is conscious that it may lead a gossiping world to make all sorts of remarks on the possible or probable consequences of 'so near and endearing a relation?' The answer is, *First*, that the law never has regulated, nor ever *will* regulate, this matter. It has never been felt that the law has given such protection that a young widower and a young sister-in-law shall permanently keep house together, if it can be helped; decency and a sense of propriety forbid it, and the law cannot and never will overrule it. In cases where it cannot be helped, as among the poorer classes, the thing *must* be done, simply because if the wife's sister does not take charge of the children, nobody will. But, *secondly*, in cases where these reasons (quite irrespective of the law) do not operate, there is no more reason why a wife's sister should not take charge of a widower's family without such an imaginary *cordon sanitaire*, than why any other lady should not; and the same objection (if it were worth a farthing) really applies as much to the latter as the former. Now, in hundreds of cases every year, that 'near relation' with the latter *does* lead to second attachments not quite so eligible for the children as marriage with a wife's sister. Yet we never perceived that any exquisite modesty, any wonderful sensitiveness to idle gossip, keeps any woman of sense from undertaking such duties, if it be necessary and *otherwise proper* for her to perform them. Widowers are never obliged, for aught we can see, to turn themselves into nursery-maids and governesses, because there is a scanty supply of single ladies who will undertake the perils and adventures of such an unknown future;—which may so very likely lead on to love and marriage, and if not to that, to gossip, perhaps even to scandal! 'As to the allowance of the marriage in question depriving widowers of the assistance of the deceased wife,—why should it? Is a widower, then, to be permitted to have no lady in his house, but one that he must not marry? May not many a lady, who is obliged to take a situation as a hireling, be as pure, virtuous, and delicate as any sister of any widower's wife that ever lived: and is she to become the object of scandal because she presides over a widower's establishment and takes care of his children? The propriety of a sister-in-law living with a

‘widower depends, even now, with all the advantages of a prohibitory law, much more on character and age than on legislation. Whether the young widower of six or eight and twenty should have his sister-in-law of twenty-two or twenty-four living with him, will, with prudent parents, be determined on very different grounds than the mere existence of Lord Lyndhurst’s Act.’\*

But it may be further said, that the argument refutes itself; it is utterly self-destructive. The law as it *was*, actually prohibiting these marriages without attaining its end, did, in *fact*, make the position of every woman assuming these duties much more irksome than if there had been no law at all, and yet it did *not* prevent them from encountering those duties, where other considerations than the law did not prevent them. Every woman who undertook the charge of her sister’s children knew very well, from the *facts* of the previous hundred or two years, that the *possibility*—in many cases the probability—of mutual attachment might be the consequence of that relation; that if she felt and inspired an honourable passion, and resisted the law, she was inviting acute and prolonged suffering for both parties; that if she yielded to her affections as so many did—and as she, if she had a grain of sense, must see she might possibly do, she subjected herself to the inconveniences and penalties of the law, such as they were. And yet this did not prevent wives’ sisters from undertaking the discharge of duties so necessary and so sacred. Are we to suppose that if they did not refrain from this performance of a plain duty, out of the fear of the possibility of contracting a disadvantageous marriage, and of encountering far more odious gossip and more odious scandal than if there had been no law on the subject, they will be deterred by the contingency that this relation might possibly lead to an honourable marriage, or to gossip of a very silly and harmless kind compared with that which *now* often assails her? So strong are the claims upon woman’s love in many such cases, that she must abjure her nature if she refuse to listen to them, out of any such fear of the world’s idle gossip.

While such considerations as these neutralise the plea from expediency in favour of prohibition, other considerations from that *same* expediency are strongly against it. 1. Supposing no higher law to step in (which for the present we assume, but have endeavoured to prove), then, as Archbishop Whately has justly observed, it is in itself inexpedient to restrict by arbitrary enactment the liberty of marriage. 2. That it is doubly inex-

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\* An Argument, &c. By T. Binney.



pedient to do this, in relation to marriages which, still supposing no higher law against them, are often the most advantageous of all, inasmuch as they best secure the happiness of motherless children; and, 3. The prohibition is especially oppressive to those classes whose children, as already said, must have their mothers' sisters for their protectors, or have none at all; in which cases, unless the law — which it plainly *cannot* — inspire the community with the idea that such marriages are forbidden by Scripture, the prohibition continually tempts men to break or evade the laws of their country, or, worse still, to live in open concubinage.

It may be added to this argument from *expediency*, that so far as *experience* can certify any thing, these marriages are not productive of any of the evil results which it has been prognosticated they must produce. The Marriage-Law Reform Association have addressed letters to a number of judges, magistrates, and clergymen of all denominations in the States of America, and their testimony is unanimous — that they know of no prejudicial consequences which arise from such marriages; that they are regarded with no public disapprobation whatever; and that there is no public law against them throughout the entire states of the Union except one. Amongst those who give their decided opinion in favour of these marriages, are the late lamented Judge Story, Chancellor Kent, and the Protestant Bishop McIlvaine. Similar testimonies as to fact, have been given by eminent authorities in nearly every state of continental Europe. It is strange, as Lord Denman, shrewdly observes, 'that the ill consequences of a practice should be unknown where it exists, and assumed as certain only where it is not practised or is prohibited by law.' We heartily wish our objectors would ponder a little more attentively, the evils which arise from such marriages being *prohibited*, but prohibited in vain. The absence from social evils where they *are* permitted is pretty plain from testimony; the evils, where they are contracted without being permitted, are pretty plain from experience. These evils are instructively set forth in the Blue Book, in the testimony of many excellent clergy of all parties and of no party in the Church, and of the most various denominations out of it, as well as by many solicitors.

On the pamphlet of Mr. Denison, entitled 'The Validity of Marriages with a Wife's Sister, celebrated abroad,' we have no space to make any remark. It is characterised, however, by acute and ingenious reasoning, and we must say, with Lord Denman, the case really presents a very perplexing question for our Courts to decide. But we are not solicitous to show

how the law, which has been a piece of bungling, may be evaded; our object has been to explain the grounds on which the law itself should be revised. That day, we cannot think, will be long deferred. All our countrymen, who are really anxious for the authority of the law of God which they profess to respect; for the welfare of the many who are injuriously affected by the law as it stands; for the interest of public morality, which must suffer from the continued operation of a law, which being at variance with deep convictions of large classes of the community, must be ineffectual,—ought to make up their minds either one way or the other; and almost any of the publications at the head of this Article will put them in a condition to do so. That of Lord Denman, the Notes to the charge of Archdeacon Hare, the publications of Mr. Binney, Mr. Denison, Mr. Reynolds, and Mr. Beaumont, and the pamphlet entitled *Συγγέμεια*, are all distinguished in no ordinary degree by cogency of argument and force of expression. To these may be added two remarkably able pamphlets, one by the Rev. Dr. Eadie, of the United Presbyterian Church, and the other by ‘an Elder of the Free Church,’ who, even without Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Eadie, to whose authority he appeals, seems quite able to champion his own cause. But a score or two of very able publications might be added to the above list.

We shall conclude this Article with the eloquent peroration of Lord Denman:—

‘If the Act has notoriously failed in its operation; if these marriages, though discountenanced by the Legislature, have become more numerous, not only among the lower classes, a large proportion of whom must ever remain ignorant of the existence of this and similar interference by law with freedom, but among the cultivated, the thoughtful, the conscientious, the exemplary; if the stigma set by the law is not stamped by the public opinion; if the offenders are as well received as before, and are even respected for acting on a just view of Scriptural texts perverted by erroneous interpretation; in such case it will surely be more politic to make the law consistent with reason, than to persevere in a fruitless endeavour to bend reason to arbitrary law, to vex and persecute where we cannot prevent, to “curse whom the Lord has not cursed, and to defy whom “He has not defied.”’

- ART. III. — 1. *Life of R. Walker, Perpetual Curate of Seathwaite.* By the Rev. R. PARKINSON, B.D., Principal of St. Bees College. London: 1843.
2. *Reports of the Commissioners on Education in Wales.* London: 1847.
3. *Wales.* By Sir THOMAS PHILLIPS. London: 1849.
4. *Report of the Society for providing additional Clergymen in the Diocese of Llandaff.* London: 1852.

IN the liveliest and most graphic of all histories, there are few passages more lively or more graphic than that in which our great historian sketches the condition of the clergy between the Restoration and the Revolution. Nor is there any other portion of his work which has subjected Mr. Macaulay to more angry criticism. He has been accused of exaggeration and of caricature; of mistaking the exceptions for the rule; of making satirical lampoons the basis of historical statements; and even of intentionally misrepresenting the evidence which he cites, out of a desire to degrade the clerical order. His assailants, before they disputed the accuracy of his picture, and even denied the possibility of such a state of things as that which he portrays, would have done more wisely if they had examined, not only the records of the past, but the facts of the present. Instead of forming their conclusions from what they saw around them in the wealthier districts of southern or central England, they should have made acquaintance with the mountain solitudes of Wales, or the wild moorlands of Cumberland. There they would have found even yet existing not a few specimens of a clergy whose circumstances and position a few years ago might be accurately represented in the very words of that celebrated description to which we have referred.

‘The Anglican priesthood,’ says Mr. Macaulay, ‘was divided into two sections, which in acquirements, in manners, and in social position, differed widely from each other. One section, trained for cities and courts, comprised men familiar with all ancient and modern learning . . . men of address, politeness, and knowledge of the world; men with whom Halifax loved to discuss the interests of empires, and from whom Dryden was not ashamed to own that he had learned to write. The other section . . . was dispersed over the country, and consisted chiefly of persons not at all wealthier, and not much more refined, than small farmers or upper servants. . . . The

‘clergy [in these rural districts] were regarded as a plebeian class. . . . A waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a parson. . . . Not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. . . . It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough, and his girls went out to service.’ We have only to change the verbs in this passage from the past tense into the present, and it will be a faithful representation, not of the Anglican priesthood in the last half of the seventeenth century, but of the Cambrian and Cumbrian clergy during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and of no inconsiderable number at the present time.

A description, then, of the habits and manners, the education and social position, of these mountain clergy is not uninteresting to the historian. Yet if that description could serve no other end than to gratify historical curiosity, we should never have undertaken it; for it is far more painful than it is curious, to witness any case of failure in one of the greatest and most beneficent of our national institutions—the Parochial System of the Church; and we cannot investigate the condition of our mountain districts without perceiving that such a failure has, at least partially, occurred. Under these circumstances, no mere curiosity would lead us to probe the wounds of the Church. If, indeed, the evils which we lament were incurable, we should veil them from the light in reverential silence. Nay, if we saw no sign of amendment, we might abstain, in hopeless discouragement, from suggesting remedies where there was no wish for cure. But the case is far otherwise. Many of the worst abuses are already rooted out; others are much abated. A description which would, fifty years ago, have suited almost the whole of Wales, and many counties in the north of England, must now be limited to the most impoverished districts of the former, and the wildest regions of the latter. The realms of clerical neglect are shrinking before the advance of civilisation and the efforts of conscientious men. Yet this improvement may be rendered more rapid, and these reformers may be aided, by co-operation from without. Such co-operation can only be expected from an enlightened public opinion; and public opinion requires a fuller knowledge of the facts for its enlightenment. It is in the hope of contributing to this knowledge that we enter upon the subject.

We have said that Mr. Macaulay's account of the Rural

Clergy of the reign of Charles II. would apply almost verbatim to the Mountain Clergy of the present century. We may add that this condition of things originates in the same cause which he assigns for it; namely, the inadequacy of the parochial endowments. But here we must guard against misconception. Let it not for a moment be supposed that we consider poverty a degradation to the preacher of the Gospel. God forbid that wealth should be necessary to the ministry of a religion which made the poor of this world rich in faith—a religion whose apostles were Galilean fishermen. A clergy may be very ill-endowed, and yet, by a judicious system of organisation and discipline, and by a proper provision for its education, it may command not only the love of the poor, but the respect of the rich. The efficiency of the Scotch establishment during the last century and a half is a decisive proof of this. But if we have a clergy taken from the poorer classes of society, and left in indigence, without education, without superintendence, without organisation, and without discipline, then it will inevitably become despised and despicable. Not that a priesthood of vulgar paupers is in reality more contemptible than a hierarchy of well-bred Sybarites; for, in the sight of God, Leo X. was perhaps more despicable than Tetzels; but that the cultivated Epicurean will be able to veil his faults under a more decent disguise. The careless and undevout members of an uneducated peasant clergy will retain the low tastes and coarse vices of the class from which they sprang; and the zealous (who at the best must be a minority) will disgust their more intelligent parishioners by an illiterate fanaticism. These may be followed by the ignorant, but will be ridiculed by the educated; those will be deservedly despised by rich and poor alike. When men who are appointed by the State to be the religious guides and examples of the people thus forfeit both the respect of the wise and the esteem of the good, the object of their mission is defeated.

But, before we proceed, we ought to notice the objection which will be made to our views by some good men, whose disgust has been excited by the Mammon-worship too often seen in a rich establishment, and who fancy that they might get rid of worldly clergymen if they could get rid of wealthy endowments. Those who imagine this forget that poverty does not secure zeal, and that fasting must be voluntary to foster self-denial. Poor benefices are as great a temptation to the peasant as rich bishoprics to the peer. Secular motives are not excluded by small emoluments, but only brought to bear upon a lower class. If we could expect that the ministers of the

Gospel would be all, or most of them, men of apostolic life and apostolic wisdom, their apostolic poverty would relieve them from many trammels; and their lowly origin, while it enabled them better to sympathise with the humblest, would command the reverence of every rank; for no real vulgarity can exist in him who is the devoted servant of God. Lancashire, amongst all her worthies, boasts none worthier than the poor and ignorant Walker of Seathwaite. But such men are necessarily exceptional. In regulating a great national institution, we must consider the effect of circumstances, not upon apostolic individuals, but upon the multitude; we must deal with men as they are, not as they ought to be. If no man were to be admitted to the ministry who had not the spirit of a Paul or a Bernard, a Xavier or a Wesley, we must give up established churches and parochial systems altogether. No human regulations can raise the general mass of any great profession above the weaknesses of ordinary humanity; but a wise machinery may, nevertheless, create a body of parochial ministers, who, though falling below the ideal standard, may confer a thousand blessings on the nation.

We repeat then, that poverty, though in a Church perfectly organised and provided with all requisite machinery, it would not necessarily degrade the clergy, yet has been, under our existing system, an actual cause of their degradation. In mountain countries, the produce of the land, and consequently the value of the title, must always be smaller than in more fertile districts. But this necessary poverty has, both in England and Wales, been much increased by spoliation. In the middle ages the tithes of many parishes were alienated to monastic bodies; and when the monasteries were suppressed, the tithes, instead of reverting, as they should have done, to the parochial clergy, were granted by the Crown to other parties. It is strange, that the Church was most robbed in the very localities where it was originally poorest. The tithes thus alienated from the parochial clergy amount in the diocese of Bangor to a third of the whole; in St. Asaph and Llandaff to half; and in St. David's (which has been most despoiled), to four-sevenths of the whole. In the diocese of Carlisle\*, four parishes out of five (199 out of 249) have been stripped of more than half their tithes, and 154 stripped of the whole. In Durham, 147 parishes out of 260 have been entirely deprived

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\* We include in the diocese of Carlisle the portions of Lancashire and Westmoreland prospectively transferred to it by Act of Parliament.

of tithes.\* In Wales there are 282 benefices in which the clergyman's annual income is below 100*l.*, and 527 benefices in which it is below 150*l.* In the diocese of St. David's, the number of livings below 150*l.* is 290 out of 419, or about three in every four; and 167 of these are below 100*l.* In Durham, 62 livings out of 260 are below 150*l.* In Carlisle, which is the poorest of all, out of 249 livings 151 are below 150*l.*, and 95 (nearly half) are below 100*l.*

But the actual poverty of the clergy in these districts has been even greater than that which the above statistics would lead us to suppose. For, till very recently, it was the practice to accumulate the richer benefices in a few favoured hands, and to leave only the refuse for distribution among the mass of the clergy. The bishops of half a century ago seem to have been absolutely without a conscience in the disposal of their preferment. Their best livings and stalls were usually bestowed in leashes upon their sons or nephews; and when these were satisfied, the benefices next in value were similarly strung together in favour of some Episcopal chaplain or college friend. Sir T. Phillips gives the following examples of such abuses, selected from the First Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which was published twenty years ago. At that time, a single ecclesiastic held the following preferment; in the diocese of St. David's three rectories, including five parishes; in the diocese of Gloster one rectory, including three parishes; in the diocese of Bristol one prebendal stall. Another individual held two rectories in St. David's, a prebend of St. David's, two perpetual curacies in St. David's, an archdeaconry in St. David's, and a prebend of Brecon. Another held a rectory in Bangor, a perpetual curacy in Winchester, and two vicarages in St. David's. Another held a stall in St. David's, the chancellorship of St. Paul's in London, a rectory in Durham, and a perpetual curacy in Durham. Another held a stall in St. David's, a rectory in Salisbury, a stall at Wells, and a rectory in Winchester. Another held a rectory in St. Asaph, a rectory in Durham, a second rectory in St. Asaph's, a vicarage in Durham, and a stall at Norwich, and his income from these five preferments amounted to 4000*l.* a year.†

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\* In Durham, however, many of these perpetual curacies are sufficiently endowed from other sources, though they have lost their tithes.

† For other gross cases, see Phillips, p. 214—217. Canon Williams of St. Asaph, in a visitation sermon recently published, gives the following account of the former state of things in that diocese. 'The

We ought not, however, to mention these abuses without stating that they belong to the past, and are rendered impossible for the future, not only by the higher sense of duty which animates the dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage, but also by an Act of Parliament against pluralities, which was passed in the present reign, with the unanimous concurrence of the Episcopal bench. Nevertheless, the consequences of these past transgressions still exist; the law must respect vested interests; and the pluralists created by a less conscientious age will cumber the ground for a few years longer.\*

These pluralities probably reduced the average income of the Welsh clergy, in the poorer countries, twenty years ago, to below 100*l.* a year. In the English mountains, as we have seen, it is still not much higher than this. Now it is plain that no parent whose means enable him to give his son a liberal education, will educate him for a profession in which his probable income would be (at the best) under 200*l.* a year. The cost of an English University education, including school as well as college, ranges between 1000*l.* and 3000*l.*; 1500*l.* may be considered a moderate estimate. But a parent would clearly be making a bad investment for his son, if he sank 1500*l.* for him in a way which only produced a life income of 150*l.*, charged with the condition of performing certain professional duties. In fact, he might purchase a life annuity charged with no conditions at all, on better terms.† Hence it follows, that the parochial clergy of districts so ill endowed as those we have described, must be mainly drawn from classes below the gentry. And, in point of fact, we find that they are, with few exceptions, the sons of farmers or small tradesmen, who do not differ in habits or education from their parents, brothers, and cousins.

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‘best preferments were notoriously given with reference to some political or family influence. Even within my own recollection of many parts of this diocese, clerical non-residence appeared to be the rule, and residence the comparatively rare exception. The spiritual care of the parishioners was entrusted to curates, engaged at stipends disgracefully low. Even in *their* case, residence was not invariably enforced, and they often travelled several miles to perform their Sunday duty. On week days the intercourse between the pastor and his flock was in great measure suspended. . . . Nor was it always considered necessary to preach even a single sermon on Sundays.’

\* Out of 56 parishes, in the North of Pembrokeshire, 33 were still without a resident clergyman in 1847. See Educ. Com. Rep. i. p. 24.

† It is no answer to this to say, that English gentlemen of the highest education are daily ordained to curacies of less value than this; because their curacies are only the first step in their professional life, just as an ensigncy is the first step in a military career.



But it must be remembered, that amongst this rustic hierarchy are to be found, scattered here and there, some clergymen of rank and fortune, some of professional eminence, some of European reputation. So groundless is that cavil which accuses Mr. Macaulay of inconsistency in representing two orders of men so widely different from each other as existing side by side in the same profession. The very difference which he describes may be still seen in the regions of which we write. Thus, while the diocese of Carlisle was adorned by the science and piety of Dean Milner, and the acute logic of Archdeacon Paley, the mass of the inferior clergy were, in manners and acquirements, scarcely raised above the Cumbrian peasantry; and even now, within sight of those cathedrals which we associate with the names of Copleston and Thirlwall, indigenous pastors are to be found who cannot speak English grammatically, and who frequent the rural tavern in company with the neighbouring farmers.

It is this latter class of clergy which forms our present subject. Their numbers may be roughly estimated at between 700 and 800 in Wales\*, and about 200 in the north of England.† The features which we have to notice are strikingly

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\* We have ascertained that out of 100 clergymen in the diocese of Bangor, taken at random, in November 1852, there were—sons of clergymen, 29; sons of other gentlemen, 30; sons of farmers or tradesmen, 41. That is, two-fifths are the sons of farmers or tradesmen. We believe the proportion in St. Asaph is about the same. Now in 1852 there were (including curates) in the diocese of Bangor, 169 clergy, and in the diocese of St. Asaph 221 clergy. Hence, two-fifths of these, or about 150 of the North Welsh clergy, are the sons of the lower classes. But, probably, a third of this number have received an Oxonian education, as servitors of Jesus College (a circumstance which does not exist in South Wales.) Hence we may deduct 50 from the class, as being better educated than the rest, and reckon the peasant clergy in North Wales as 100. In South Wales the livings below 150*l.*, and the curacies, are almost invariably held by this class; and many of the livings of higher value also. So that if we reckon *all* the curacies, and *all* the holders of livings below 150*l.*, as belonging to the peasant clergy, we shall still understate their number. Now in Llandaff diocese this will make their number 219, and in St. David's 402. So that we shall have 621 in South Wales, and in the whole of Wales their number will amount to 721.

† We have 151 livings in Carlisle below 150*l.*, most of which are not above 70*l.* or 80*l.*; adding to these 30 curates, we have 181. In the adjacent hills of Durham and Ripon dioceses, there may be about 80 more of the same class. So that in all they may amount to 260. In other parts of England, livings of 120*l.* a year would be held by gentlemen of private fortune, who take such small preferment from a

similar in both localities; but we shall speak first and chiefly of that which, from its size and quasi-national peculiarities, is of most importance—the Principality of Wales.

A friend of ours was consulted, not long since, by a shopkeeper in a Welsh provincial town, concerning the prospects of his second son. ‘I am thinking, sir,’ said he, ‘of sending him into the Church. His brother is a clever lad, and takes well to the business, but I can’t make anything of this one. I thought to set him up in trade, but he hasn’t the head for it. But I fancy, sir, he might soon learn enough to be ordained.’ But, notwithstanding some recruits of this kind from the commercial interest, the chief supply of clergy is derived from the farming class; probably because the shopkeepers, by pushing their children in trade, can give them a better provision than the Church would offer. The general character of the small farmers among the Welsh mountains has been indicated in the Reports of the Educational Commissioners. They are there described as ignorant, and addicted to intemperance; and their households are said not unfrequently to exhibit scenes of the coarsest immorality.\* In such a home the future pastor may receive the moral training of his childhood, and imbibe his earliest views of life; those views which abide by us to our latest hour. In very many cases his father is a dissenter; but that does not prevent him from bringing up one of his sons to be a clergyman—for it is his duty to provide for his family—and a mountain living, though but a poor maintenance, may be rather better than a mountain farm.

Let us suppose, then, that thirty years ago, David Jenkins, a small farmer in Brecknockshire, resolved to bring up his son Evan for the Church; and let us attempt to follow the lad through his subsequent course, educational and ministerial, till he obtained a benefice. Young Evan acquired the art of reading at the Sunday school attached to the nearest meeting house. In due time he learnt what was called English (which, however, he was never taught to translate into his vernacular tongue†) at some day school in the neighbourhood. At length the time arrived when he must be sent to a grammar school. Such schools were scattered over the wildest portions of the Principality, by the benevolence of former ages; and though

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love for the work; but this is seldom the case in the Northern hills. We may, however, suppose some slight deduction from the above 260, on this score.

\* See Ed. Com. Rep. i. p. 21., and Rep. iii. p. 61. and p. 334.

† See Educational Reports, *passim*.

they have suffered much from the negligence of trustees, and have many of them sunk into a state of shameful inefficiency, still they continue in most cases to exist. In those days the College of Lampeter was not in existence, and these grammar schools formed the chief places of education for the clergy, some of them being specially licensed for that purpose. The pupils of these, when they had completed the prescribed course, were by a singular misnomer called *litterates*. In such a seminary Evan learnt to talk broken English, and perhaps to construe Cæsar. There too he gained the power of stumbling through a chapter of his Greek Testament, and was crammed with such a store of theology as satisfied the easy requirements of a Welsh examining chaplain. He was now qualified to enter holy orders. But one indispensable condition must first be satisfied; he must obtain a *title*; that is, he must be nominated to a curacy by some incumbent. In the days of which we speak, the demand for such titles exceeded the supply. And in order to obtain this passport to their profession, the young candidates for ordination were willing to undertake curacies for the smallest possible salary. But here the law interposed; for it enacts that no curate shall receive less than a certain stipend, fixed according to the population and value of the benefice; and lest any evasion should be practised, both incumbent and curate are required to make and sign a solemn declaration to the bishop, that the former intends *bonâ fide* to pay, and the latter to receive, the whole amount of salary specified. We grieve to say that this declaration, when made by Welsh curates and incumbents, was too often deliberately false. We have heard of instances in which the curate agreed to serve for a salary of 5*l.*, while he solemnly affirmed in his declaration that he intended *bonâ fide* to receive 50*l.* Nay, such was the state of morality amongst this class of clergy, that these frauds were unblushingly avowed, and treated as matters of course. We will hope, however, that Evan Jenkins escaped this snare, and obtained holy orders without resorting to fraudulent pretences. He was engaged (we may suppose) at the lowest legal salary by one of the non-resident pluralists whom we have before mentioned, to feed the few poor sheep who were left by their shepherd in the wilderness. In this employment the following years of his life were spent. Being a young and healthy man, he contrived in a short time to combine the charge of two neighbouring parishes with his own. Thus he had every Sunday to serve three churches, each divided from the others by a distance of seven or eight miles over mountain roads. By the aid of an active pony, a rapid elocution, and sermons reduced to the minimum

of length, he contrived to get through his Sunday work with great credit; for two services in a country church were then unheard of. On the week days he was not much troubled with clerical duties, for the population were dissenters, and did not require his visits. Thus he had leisure for fishing and coursing, by which he added an occasional dish of broiled trout or jugged hare\* to his simple fare. Meanwhile he was earning, by his plurality of curacies, a collective income of 70*l.* or 80*l.* a-year, much more easily than his brother, who now cultivated the paternal farm. On the strength of this wealth, he married the daughter of a farmer in his parish. His bride's sister was lady's maid in the house of a neighbouring baronet; and he thought that this connexion might gain him powerful patronage, and help him to preferment. If his calculations proved correct, and fortune favoured him, he perhaps obtained, by this influential intercession, a benefice of 140*l.* per annum, just as the olive branches were beginning to grow so thickly round his table as to throw rather a gloomy shadow over the frugal board.

The manner in which livings were obtained in those times, is illustrated by the following narrative of a case which actually occurred in the diocese of St. David's during the last generation. We give the story (with the exception, of course, of the names) as it was told by the son of its hero. The Rev. David Jones was a curate in Cardiganshire; and had long watched the failing health of his neighbour, the Vicar of Dim Saesoneg. At length he received the news of his friend's decease, of which he had secured the earliest intelligence. No time was to be lost. His pony was instantly saddled, and off he rode by the shortest cut over the mountains to Abergwili, the residence of the bishop. The distance was fifty miles, half bog, half torrent; but hope lent wings to David, and soon he was in sight of the palace chimneys. Suddenly a cold pang shoots through his heart! He has forgotten his credentials! He had obtained, only a week before, a letter of recommendation to the bishop from an influential member of the squirearchy. And this letter he has left at home in the pocket of a week-day garment. What is to be done? It is useless to attack the Bishop without the letter. He must return for it at all hazards. Luckily he has a cousin who keeps a country inn not far from Abergwili. There he borrows a fresh horse, and pushes back with all speed. It is a moonlight night, so that he can follow the mountain track with-

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\* There was a clergyman of this class in Glamorganshire, who used every season to lay in a stock of hares, which he salted down for consumption during the remainder of the year.

out difficulty; and before dawn he astonishes Mrs. Jones by his unlooked-for appearance beside the nuptial couch. But he vanishes from her sight again like a vision; he has found the precious letter, and buttoning his coat tightly over it, he hurries to the house of a friendly neighbour, who lends him another steed. While it is being caught and saddled, he snatches a hasty breakfast, and then is off again to Abergwili. Faint and saddle-sore he felt (so he told our informant) when once more he came in sight of the palace. Nevertheless, he tarried not for refreshment, but hastened on to the episcopal mansion. Tremblingly he rang the sonorous bell at the entrance, and when the door was flung open by the purple footman, in the excitement of the moment he accosted him as 'My Lord.' The servant was not disconcerted, being quite accustomed to such titular elevation. He showed Mr. Jones quietly into the library, where the bishop soon after made his appearance, and inquired, with an air of bland dignity, into the business of his visitor. The matter was soon explained, the squire's letter produced, and the bishop (having received no prior application) bestowed the desired preferment on the enraptured curate. In the highest elation, David retired to his inn, when whom should he meet in the stable yard, but his neighbour Thomas Williams, who filled the next curacy to his own. At sight of Jones's joyous countenance, a deadly paleness overspread the face of Williams. He felt that he was too late. But hope is tenacious, and he refused to believe in his rival's success, till he had himself seen the bishop. He rushed to the palace, and was admitted to an audience; but it was only to receive a confirmation of the unwelcome intelligence, with the additional mortification of an episcopal rebuke. 'Sir,' said the Prelate, 'Mr. Jones was obliged to ride a hundred and fifty miles to obtain this living; had you possessed his energy, you might have been here long before him, and secured the preferment for yourself.'

Such was the disposal of Church patronage\*, such the education and character of incumbents through great part of Wales,

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\* This subject of patronage reminds us of a story which was told by the late Bishop Jenkinson of St. David's. He had received a request from a Radnorshire squire to bestow a vacant living on a certain curate. The bishop consented, and being in London at the time, wrote to the curate, promising him the living, and desiring him 'to come up to town' for institution. The curate replied very gratefully, and expressed his desire to obey his lordship's directions instantly, 'but, for me,' he added, 'I know not to what town your lordship alludes.' 'Going to town,' in his habitual phraseology, meant the market town he was in the habit of visiting.

twenty years ago. Since then much improvement has taken place; of which we shall presently speak; and the junior members of the profession have been, in some respects, trained under happier auspices. But the older clergy were formed under the circumstances which we have described, and still retain the impress stamped upon them in their youth. And the extraction and social position of the Welsh clergy as a body still remains the same throughout the poorer districts. The distinctive features which we are attempting to portray, are to be found most fully developed in the region of which Cardigan is the centre, and which comprehends also the counties of Brecknock and Carmarthen, with the south of Merioneth, the west of Montgomery and Radnorshire, and the north of Pembroke; less strongly in Glamorgan. In the northern parts of Wales, as we have before stated, the Church has been less despoiled of its parochial endowments, and a majority of the clergy have received a university education; so that our description will not, without much limitation, apply to the northern counties, nor to the southern portion of Glamorgan and Pembroke, or the south-eastern part of Radnorshire.

The injurious effect produced on the usefulness of the clergy, by the low position which they hold in society, would surprise those who argue that worldly rank and station unfits a man for the office of an evangelist, and who imagine that his influence over the poor will be increased by his separation from the rich. We find, on the contrary, that where the manners and education of the clergyman are decidedly inferior to those of the upper classes, the lower soon lose the respect due to his office. \*As an illustration of our meaning, we will relate a scene which occurred not long ago in one of the counties which we have just enumerated. A friend of ours who had inherited an estate there went to reside upon his property, and when Sunday came, he of course attended his parish church. Out of respect\* for their new landlord, most of his tenantry (though they were all Dissenters) came to church also; so that a congregation of unusual size was collected. After service the young squire waited in the churchyard, surrounded by a knot of curious observers, till the vicar came out; and then, respectfully accosting him, hoped that he would give him the pleasure of staying to partake of an early dinner at the hall, instead of returning to his own residence, which was at a distance. The clergyman looked exceedingly embarrassed, colouring and hesitating very much, till the awkward silence was broken by one of the farmers present, who stepped forward as spokesman for the congregation, and said, — ‘He is shy, master; he is shy. He does not know what to an-

‘swer you. He should not like to dine at your table. He be not fit company for you. If you shall let him have some refreshment in your kitchen, he shall be glad to come.’ The squire, exceedingly horrified by this blunt explanation (in which the vicar entirely acquiesced), continued to urge his invitation, and at last prevailed upon the clergyman to become his reluctant guest; but the poor man was so obviously miserable during the repast; that the landlord never again subjected him to the persecution of a similar hospitality.

Injurious as all this is to the poor, it can hardly fail to produce an effect on the gentry. Want of respect towards the ministers of religion may extend to religion itself, and that, too, the more easily as attendance at church is rendered irksome by the services being performed in a language either very imperfectly or not at all understood by the higher classes, and generally in a tone and manner peculiarly distasteful to them. This may in some measure account for the statements made by the Government Inspectors, concerning the indifference frequently shown by the landowners in these parts of Wales for the improvement and instruction of the population.\*

Nor is this the only way in which their low position acts injuriously upon the clergy. We do not agree with Burke, that ‘vice loses half its evil by losing all its coarseness;’ but it is true that refinement of mind and manners tends to suppress some vices, by suppressing their manifestation. A well-bred man is ashamed to give utterance to ‘those coarse bad thoughts’ of envy, hatred, and malice, which, among the rude and uncultivated, find vent in outspoken Billingsgate. If one gentleman has outstripped another in the chase of some object of ambition, the unsuccessful candidate (whatever may be his secret feelings) must meet his rival with outward courtesy. But when two Welsh curates have met, after one had obtained a benefice which the other sought, we have known instances of the vanquished assailing the victor with the most scurrilous vituperation. When we see the pursuit of pecuniary advantage in its eager and undisguised manifestation, among these simple children of the soil, we cannot help wishing that they had learnt to apply the doctrine of Reserve to their worship of Mammon. It is true that this cult is not confined to any one class of society; but it is less revolting to the taste, when disguised under a veil of decorum. There is something shocking to the feelings in the open gathering together of the eagles around the carcase of every defunct incumbent. The crowd of begging letters with which

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\* See Minutes of Council for 1849-50, pp. 194, 195.

the disposers of ecclesiastical patronage are overwhelmed, on every fresh vacancy, is a painful proof that incompetence does not inspire men with modesty, nor rusticity with contentment.\*

But this want of refinement leads to evils still more serious than any we have yet mentioned. It exposes the peasant clergy to temptations which sometimes betray them into scandalous and degrading vice. Springing themselves from the lower classes, they have not been raised by education above the gross and animal tastes of their younger days. They are surrounded by friends and relatives whose highest enjoyments are found in the conviviality of the village alehouse. They are cut off, by want of cultivation and opportunity, from the pursuits of literature and art. What wonder is it, if they have yielded to the allurements of more familiar pleasures? if they have sought the only social relaxations which were open to them? and if many of them have, in consequence, been led to push conviviality into intemperance? Such a result from such circumstances is not surprising, however deeply to be deplored. We rejoice to know, however, that these scandals are far less frequent than they once were. A drunken clergyman, once no unfrequent spectacle, is now rarely seen. There are still, however, districts to which this improvement has not fully reached; and we fear that it will be long before the clerical character recovers from the stigma which has been branded on it by the vices of former generations.

As a specimen of the reputation which is thus attached to the profession, we may mention a scene which occurred not long ago, at an auction, in a market town of Brecknockshire. A case for holding spirits was one of the lots put up. For this there was a keen competition between a neighbouring squire and his vicar. At last the layman gave in, and the spirit-case was knocked down to the clergyman, amidst loud cheers from the bystanders, who exclaimed: 'The parson do deserve it better than you, squire; he shall make more use of it.'

All flagrant scandals, however, are gradually being suppressed by a more conscientious public opinion, and by the increased vigilance of the ecclesiastical authorities. Those who

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\* The manœuvres of these artless candidates for preferment are sometimes amusing from their simplicity. For instance, we have heard of a case where a curate sent a panegyric on his bishop anonymously to the county newspaper, when a living was expected to be vacant; and having cut out the printed letter, sent it to the bishop as soon as the desired preferment had fallen in, with a note in manuscript to the effect that 'this letter was written by the Reverend \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_.'



are detected in a state of intoxication run a risk of serious punishment. An unfortunate sinner of this description was staggering homewards from the market town, where he had indulged somewhat too freely, when he was overtaken by a neighbouring incumbent, who was the nephew of an influential dignitary. The rector bestowed a look of disgust upon his erring brother, and was riding on, when he was stopped by the piteous cries and entreaties of the culprit, who implored him to believe that it was quite unusual for him to be in his present state, and besought him not to expose the accidental frailty. 'Promise me not to tell your uncle, Mr. —; promise me not to tell your uncle.' Such offenders are now made to feel the terrors of the law. Our readers may, perhaps, remember a grotesque case of barbarism which was brought by the late Bishop Copleston, before the Court of Arches. Two clergymen had quarrelled and fought over their cups, and one had actually bitten off the other's ear! The defence set up in these cases is sometimes extremely ludicrous. In a recent instance, where a curate was accused of habitual intoxication, he pleaded that he only entered the public houses to gain pastoral influence over his parishioners, and that he never took more than two glasses at a time. The latter assertion turned out, upon investigation, to be literally true; for there were four public houses in the village, and he took two glasses daily at each.

It is needless to say that the clerical duties are not likely to be very efficiently discharged where such habits are prevalent. The clergy there, indeed (as we have before remarked), are not even expected by their parishioners to perform those duties of pastoral visitation which form the daily task of an English clergyman. Their flock have long since forsaken the pastures of the Church, and look to other shepherds for spiritual food. During the interval between Sunday and Sunday, their office remains little better than a sinecure. In some, at least, of the districts before enumerated, even on Sunday there is seldom more than one service, and that is often omitted. Thus we read, in the Government Reports, of parish churches where 'Divine service is very seldom performed unless there are banns to publish' (Rep. ii. p. 131.); of others where 'no service is performed in the church during five out of six Sunday, for want of a congregation' (Rep. ii. p. 135.); of others where 'the vicar rides by on the Sunday afternoon, but seldom has occasion to alight and do duty' (ibid.). The vicar will naturally be tempted, in such a case, occasionally to omit his afternoon's ride altogether. Thus, we know a parish where, not long ago, the service was left unperformed on Christmas Day,

Good Friday, and Easter Sunday, consecutively. These things sound shocking; but perhaps when service does take place in such parishes, one is inclined to wish that the church had remained unopened. Throughout the churches of an extensive diocese, especially in districts remote from episcopal superintendence and archidiaconal visitation, an air of slovenly carelessness, and poverty-stricken neglect, pervades the aspect of the edifice and the ministrations of the officiator. The church is like a barn; sometimes 'with large holes in the roof' (Rep. ii. p. 132.), sometimes with 'the panes of the chancel window all out' (Rep. i. p. 406.); the floor is of uneven earth, or perhaps irregularly covered with broken fragments of the original pavement; the pulpit is in such a rickety condition that a preacher with much action would soon bring it down altogether; in the chancel, a communion table, propped upon three legs, is fenced by worm-eaten rails, half of which are broken down; the area below is filled by dilapidated old pews, of which nine out of ten are entirely empty. A dirty-looking man, in a surplice still dirtier than himself, ascends the reading-desk, and gabbles through the prayers. A ten minutes' sermon follows, and the brief ceremony is complete. We quit the building, feeling that the abomination of desolation has indeed taken possession of the holy place. Nor is its aspect improved on week-days. If we enter the churchyard, we find the vicar's horse or cow grazing among the tombstones.\* The precincts of the sacred building are used by the parishioners for purposes quite incompatible with the spirit of sanitary reform †; for the Persian impre-

\* See also the 'Ecclesiologist' for December, 1852, No. 97. Of Brecknockshire we read:—'In some small churches . . . there is 'scarcely any architectural character of any sort, and the condition 'of several of them is quite disgraceful from dirt and neglect.' Of Pembrokeshire:—'The state of several churches in this county is 'very bad, both from neglect and dilapidation.' Those who are interested in the subject of Church Architecture in Wales will find much valuable information in the article from which these extracts are taken ('On the Churches of Wales'). The writer, who gives us the result, as it seems, of personal inspection, has classified the churches of any note or peculiarity of construction, according to their type, under the several counties in which they are found.

† 'The churchyard is generally used by the poor of the town as a 'privy, few of them possessing at home any convenience of that 'nature' (Rep. i. p. 241.). Compare the following from Archdeacon Allen's report: 'On drawing my companion's attention to the filth 'left by the children under the walls of the church, and observing to 'him that he would not permit that sort of pollution under his parlour 'window, he replied, "*Nay, nor under my kitchen window neither.*"' —Minutes of Council for 1845.

cation: ‘*May the graves of your ancestors be defiled,*’ would have no superstitious terror for the villagers of Wales. We turn in disgust from these pollutions, and seek shelter within the church, the door of which stands invitingly open. To our surprise, it is half filled with a set of disorderly and irreverent children, who are dispersed throughout the pews. After some minutes of perplexity, we discover that these urchins constitute the parish school, and that the old Welshman who sits within the communion rails is pretending to teach them English. The communion table serves for the master’s desk, and is sometimes removed to another part of the church, to suit his convenience.\* The font, also, is made useful; being filled with ‘bits of candle, slates, and fragments of books.’† On seeing a visitor, the old pedagogue calls up his first class, and desires them to say their catechism, which is undoubtedly a good exercise of memory, since they do not understand a word of English, the language in which they learn it. Or perhaps he gives them a portion of the Bible to read, in which case it will be cruel if the visitor insists upon choosing the chapter; for the poor children can only read one, which is always selected by the master when they are called upon to exhibit.

Perhaps, however, it may be thought that the keeping of the parish school within the walls of the church is, at any rate, a sign that the incumbent takes an interest in the education of his parishioners. We rejoice to know that there are many who do so, and that the number is daily increasing, as we shall presently show. But we may be very sure that no such interest is taken where there prevails indecency and irreverence like that which we have just described. It is possible that a parish may be so impoverished, and the landowners so careless of their duty, as to render the erection of a proper school-room impossible; but even in such a case, a good clergyman will find means of personally superintending the teaching of the young, the only portion of his flock which his dissenting parishioners

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\* ‘The school was held in the church, and the children were dispersed throughout the pews. They behaved themselves in a most disorderly manner; one of them was singing a tune during the whole time I was there’ (Rep. i. p. 270.; see also p. 410. 444.). Again: ‘A portion of the church is, in Radnorshire, the most common place for school-keeping’ (Allen’s Report in Minutes of Council for 1845.). The above extracts refer to South Wales, but the same practice prevails in some parts of North Wales also. (See Rep. iii. p. 6.)

† See Allen’s Report, quoted above. The Communion table is not always used as the master’s desk; sometimes he prefers boards laid across the bier. (Rep. iii. p. 6.)

will now entrust to his care. How far the Welsh clergy have been, till very recently, from fulfilling their duty in this respect, is but too clearly shown by the Reports of the Educational Commissioners. For there we learn that a large proportion of the day-schools nominally connected with the Church throughout Wales, were, up to the year 1847, never visited by the clergy at all\*; and that even in those which they occasionally visited, they very seldom gave any systematic instruction. The consequence was, that the religious teaching, being left to ignorant and untrained schoolmasters, degenerated into a mere sham; and the scholars were only saved from a state of heathen ignorance by attending the Sunday schools of the Dissenters.† No doubt there were many exceptions to this rule in the more civilised portions of the principality‡; and the advance made during the last five years has been great; but this improvement has not, we fear, very deeply penetrated those ruder districts which form the main subject of our present sketch.

The description which we have thus attempted of the peasant clergy in Wales would serve equally for their brethren in the mountains of England. These peculiarities have been created, not by any inherent tendencies of race, but by causes which have produced the same results upon the Saxons of the North as upon the Cymry of the West. We have before mentioned that the poverty of these mountain clergy is even greater in England than in Wales, and that they are derived from the same classes of society as their Welsh compeers. They were formerly educated (as in Wales) at licensed grammar schools scattered over the country. These have now been superseded by the college of St. Bees, though specimens of the former system are still to be found among the older clergy. The poverty of their endowments leads most incumbents to eke out their subsistence by subsidiary employments; some keep village schools; most farm a little land; nearly all attend fairs and markets with the neighbouring farmers. This association naturally leads to the same results which we have before lamented.

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\* See Rep. i. p. 30., Rep. ii. p. 27., and Rep. iii. p. 38.

† Painful details may be found in Rep. i. p. 26—29., Rep. ii. p. 35, 36., and Rep. iii. p. 24., and 45—47.

‡ We ought especially to refer to the labours of the excellent Dean of Bangor, who is justly praised in the Government Reports (Rep. iii. p. 30.), as the father of Church education in North Wales; and also to the more recent exertions of the Bishop of St. Asaph. The latter, indeed, advocated and promoted the secular education of the poor when he was himself a country clergyman, and at a time when he stood almost alone in his sentiments on this subject.

An intelligent and trustworthy correspondent whom we have consulted, estimates the proportion of the hill-clergy in Westmoreland and Cumberland, who are 'more or less intoxicated at 'one time or another, at parties, fairs, or markets,' as one-sixth of the whole number. Another informant writes, that 'several 'of the clergy' in his neighbourhood 'are notorious drunkards.' The social position held by the clergy may be inferred from the above statements. It is in fact precisely the same with that assigned to their predecessors by Mr. Macaulay. A gentleman who resides in Westmoreland writes thus:—'As a rule the 'clergy here are of a low order, and rarely associate with the 'gentry. In our own village, for instance, where the clergy-man is not by any means a bad specimen, no servant is kept 'at his house, and several of his sons have been brought up to 'handicraft trades. We are very good friends, but he could 'not visit at my house. . . . His sister was waiting-maid to a 'friend of ours.'\*

Thus far the aspect of the Church is the same in the northern as in the western hills. But there is one marked feature of difference. In Wales the Dissenters outnumber the Church, and by their superior energy have obtained almost the entire control of the religious education of the people. In these English districts, on the contrary, the dissenters are a weak minority; and the prevalent sect is that of the Wesleyan Methodists, who are but little alienated from the Establishment.

This difference would appear at first sight a proof of the greater attachment entertained towards the Church by the inhabitants of the English mountains. But we fear that it is in reality only an indication of the greater supineness and stolidity in which their clergy were sunk during the last century. For the dissent which now exists in Wales did not originate in the invasion of the Church's territory by an external foe; it sprang from the 'unwise attempt of her rulers to stifle a religious movement which arose spontaneously in her own communion, and amongst her own ministers! The history of that outburst of religious life, which so strangely broke the deadness of an age of spiritual stagnation, is now well known, so far as England is concerned; for who has not read that most readable of biographies, Southey's 'Life of Wesley?' Every one is aware

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\* Some years ago we were in a boat on one of the Cumberland lakes, when we observed upon the road which ran along the shore, a man and woman ride by on the same horse, the man in front, the woman behind. 'There goes our priest and his wife,' said the boatman. On landing, soon after, we saw the worthy couple making hay together, in a small field which the clergyman farmed.

that Wesleyanism was created and organised by ministers of the Church, and that its system was only designed to be subsidiary and supplemental to that of the Establishment. But many will be surprised to learn that this was still more especially the case with the Calvinistic Methodism of Wales, which is now regarded as one of the most hostile forms of dissent. The founders of this sect were all members of the Church, and all but one were clergymen. In the midst of the ignorant bores who then filled most of the Welsh pulpits, there were to be found, here and there, men of a very different stamp; men burning with apostolic zeal for the salvation of souls, and called to the priesthood by a higher ordination than that of human hands. Such was Griffith Jones, vicar of Llandowror, in Carmarthenshire, the father of national education in Wales, who, in 1730, founded the first of those catechetical schools, by which, before his death, a hundred and fifty thousand persons had been taught to read the Scriptures in their native tongue.\* He spent a life of self-denying labour, in establishing schools, and circulating Bibles; for, till his time, the Bible had been an unknown book in the cottages of the poor.† He adopted the practice of field-preaching, and addressed large audiences in the open air, in different parts of Wales, with remarkable effect. Nevertheless, being an incumbent, he could not be deprived of his benefice without a legal cause; and accordingly he lived and died vicar of Llandowror. But his successors and imitators, being only curates, were removable at the pleasure of the bishops; and, one by one, they were ejected from their cures, by worldly prelates, who feared enthusiasm more than sin, and were zealous in nothing but in hating zeal. Such was the fate of Daniel Rowlands, the chief organiser of Calvinistic Methodism; of Williams of Pantycelyn, whose hymns are now sung in a thousand chapels; and of Charles of Bala, who succeeded these early leaders, and introduced Sunday schools into Wales in 1785. Howel Harris, though educated at Oxford, was refused ordination altogether; he afterwards founded the Methodist College of Trevecca, but never quitted the communion of the Church. Such men could not be silenced by episcopal prohibitions. They heard a voice from heaven commanding them to preach the Gospel; they saw that thousands were won by their labours from heathenism to Christianity; and they felt that even if schism were to result from their success, the guilt must rest on those who had cast them out. Meanwhile they

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\* For a full account of this excellent man, see Phillips, p. 284, &c.

† Phillips, pp. 125. 285.

continued members of the Church, and kept their followers in her communion. Nor was it till our own times that the separation occurred between the Welsh Methodists and the Establishment. Until the present century they received the Sacraments exclusively from clergymen of the National Church, and recognised none others as duly ordained. In the year 1811 they first resolved to ordain ministers of their own, and only since that time have they been a dissenting sect. They have now about eight hundred places of worship scattered over every part of Wales, and teach more than a hundred thousand children in their Sunday schools.\*

These Sunday schools exhibit (as Mr. Lingen truly observes) the most characteristic development of the Welsh intellect. 'They have been,' he adds, 'almost the sole, they are still the main and most congenial, centres of education: Through their agency the younger portion of the adult labouring classes in Wales can generally read, or are learning to read, the Scriptures in their native tongue. A fifth of the entire population is returned as attending their schools.† The proportion of teachers is one to every seven scholars; so that a large number of the working classes devote their only day of rest to these labours of love. A considerable amount of theological knowledge is thus diffused among the population, though unhappily it takes the form rather of polemical than of practical divinity. Men utterly destitute of secular information, ignorant of the simplest elements of geography or arithmetic, may be heard discussing deep questions of Scriptural metaphysics or ecclesiastical polity, in the tongue of the ancient Britons.

' Apart they sat upon a hill retired,  
And reasoned of foreknowledge, will, and fate —  
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.'

The language itself has been thus enriched with many new terms, and a native literature has been created by the appetite for theological information.‡ And however we must regret that

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\* See the table given by Sir T. Phillips, p. 171. \* The Sunday scholars of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists are equal in number to those of all the other sects collectively.

† Rep. i. p. 8. For similar testimony from the other commissioners, see Rep. ii. p. 51., and Rep. iii. p. 59. We find from the latter report that in North Wales the Church of England Sunday Schools were only 124 out of 1,161.

‡ On this subject we would refer our readers to the interesting information contained in Mr. Johnson's Report (Rep. iii. p. 59.), and to the list which he gives of the periodicals and other works recently published in the Welsh language. Every sect seems to have its own

these healing springs should be poisoned by the bitterness of party strife, yet we cannot doubt that the intelligence of the peasantry is stimulated by the discussions in which they take part; and we may hope also that their religious feelings are nourished by the devotional ingredients which are mixed, though too sparingly, with their dogmatical repast.

Had the rulers of the Church done their duty during the eighteenth century, all this energy, instead of being driven out from her pale, would have been fostered, guided, and utilised; and thus the evils which have attended its present sectarian development might have been avoided. For sects, like monastic orders, have an invariable tendency to degenerate. The fervour of the first love dies away; the truths which were preached by those who had (as it were) discovered them anew, with such enthusiastic faith, and such life-giving power, turn in the second generation into stereotyped formulas. The regenerating creed is metamorphosed into a dead shibboleth of party. Welsh Methodism has now fallen into this phase of formalism. The distinctive tenets of the sect are carefully inculcated on its members, but the spirit is evaporated. Their Sunday schools vie with each other in committing to memory the *pynciau*\*, in which their dogmas are embodied. The young people of both sexes meet in evening schools to prepare these schemes of doctrine; but, alas, such nocturnal meetings for devotion too often end in immorality.† This is the natural result of appealing to animal excitement as a test of spiritual renovation. Even the first founders of Welsh Methodism, excellent as they were, fell into this error. Whitfield boasts that during the preaching of Rowlands he had seen a congregation of ten thousand persons, 'shouting Gogunniant Bendyitti, and ready to leap for joy;‡ and too soon this readiness to leap turned into actual leaping. These fathers of the sect, however, were educated men; not

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magazine. We learn from Mr. Lingen's Report (Rep. i. p. 7.), that many of the contributors to these magazines are found among the peasantry. It appears also, that three-fourths of the contemporary Welsh literature is theological.

\* A *pwnc* (plural *pynciau*) is a scheme of doctrine printed in question and answer, with Scripture proofs. The different classes in a school learn different parts of it; and when it is completely committed to memory, the school makes a triumphal procession to other chapels to recite it, as a kind of friendly challenge.

† See Rep. i. p. 21., and Rep. ii. p. 60.

‡ See Southey's Wesley, vol. ii. p. 225. Their real cry was Gogunniant Bendith i ti (Glory, Blessing be to Thee), but Whitfield did not understand Welsh.



merely clergymen, but raised above their clerical brethren in intellect and acquirements. Now, on the contrary, the great mass of preachers are utterly illiterate; and the most popular are those who can rake up the expiring embers of enthusiasm into a blaze by violent stimulation. Thus we have a residuum of much flame and little heat, 'the contortions of the sibyl without her inspiration.' Such preachers especially delight in calling forth that disgusting exhibition of folly and fanaticism which has disgraced the very name of religion in Wales—the practice of '*jumping*.' A whole congregation may be seen, drunk with excitement, leaping and shouting in concert, and profaning the most sacred names by frantic invocations.\* We cannot wonder that these bacchanalian orgies end too often in the same manner as their heathen prototypes; for such fervour, being purely of the flesh, is easily turned into the current of mere carnal passion. Moreover, the doctrine of the preachers who stir up such 'revivals,' is frequently of the most antinomian tendency. Hence we must explain the melancholy fact, that the spread of religious knowledge in Wales has not been attended by an improvement in the morality of the people. In no other country has so large a portion of the population been instructed in controversial theology; and we fear that in no other country is there a greater prevalence of unchaste habits among the poor. Such, at least, is the unanimous evidence of the numerous witnesses examined by the Government Commissioners.†

Another evil which has attended the development of Sec-tarianism in Wales is the entire religious separation which it has caused between the higher and lower ranks. Mr. Lingen

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\* These scenes, however, are getting less common than they were, and many preachers discourage them. 'I do make them *wip* (weep) 'and cry for mercy,' said a preacher with a very Welsh accent, to a friend of ours, 'but I do not make them *lip* (leap). I do not wish 'to see them *lipping*.'

† The general result of this evidence may be summed up in the words of one witness (Rep. ii. p. 60.): 'Want of chastity is the 'giant sin of Wales.' Or is, perhaps, still more correctly stated by another, a magistrate of North Wales: 'Fornication is not regarded 'as a vice, scarcely as a frailty, by the common people in Wales' (Rep. ii. p. 68. See also Rep. i. p. 21.). We fear that this unanimous testimony of so many witnesses of all ranks and sects is not shaken by Sir T. Phillips's arguments. He has proved, indeed, that the number of illegitimate births is not greater than the English average; but he has forgotten to notice the evidence given, that a large proportion of the poor women in Wales are pregnant some months before marriage.

too truly says that, 'even in religion the Welsh peasant has 'moved under an isolating destiny; and his worship, like his 'life, has grown different from that of the classes over him.' The cause of piety, and of social order, both suffer from this unnatural isolation. The very idea of the Christian congregation is that it should embrace 'high and low, rich and poor, 'one with another.' Within the walls of the church all disparities are equalised; here, at least, as in apostolic times, 'the 'believers have all things common.' How painfully different is the state of things in Wales, often in the better districts, where the clergy are both educated and efficient. You enter the church, and find perhaps five pews occupied. In one, the squire slumbers in the softest corner of the manorial seat. In another the butler's attitude shows that he is sharing the repose, though not the cushions, of his master. The third pew is filled by the rector's family, the fourth by his domestics. The fifth is occupied by the wife and children of the parish clerk, bound, by virtue of his office, to conform externally to the Church. But where is the population? A glance at the interior of the neighbouring Zoar or Ebeuczer will show you them. There they sit, as thick as bees in a hive, stifling with heat, yet listening patiently to the thundering accents of a native preacher, which you had heard while you were yet afar off, breaking the stillness of the sabbath air. *Tân uffern* (hell fire) is the expression which falls oftenest on the ear. The orator is enforcing his favourite doctrine of reprobation upon his rustic hearers; and you cannot help fearing that they are mentally applying his teaching, by complacently consigning the squire, the rector, and the parish clerk to an uncovenanted doom.

This unhappy condition of things not only severs the strongest bond of union between different ranks of society, but it also renders even the best and ablest clergyman comparatively inefficient. The pastoral position of a Welsh clergyman in most parishes, is indeed of a very hopeless kind; and the more zealous and energetic he is, the more distressing he must find it. Through no fault of his own, he is deserted by his flock; and those among the poor who frequent his ministrations are generally the worst men in the parish, who are rejected by the discipline (lax as it is) of the Dissenters; and to show their spite against those who have excluded them, exercise their legal right of attending the National Church. Such circumstances might well discourage the most sanguine; and it is infinitely to the credit of some among the Welsh clergy (and those no inconsiderable number), that instead of yielding to indolent despair, they have found in the very sterility of the soil en-

trusted to their cultivation only a new call to labour. Repulsed as theological teachers by their people, they have become their best instructors in practical religion. They have built parish schools, and thus taken up the only ground not pre-occupied by dissent; for the Dissenters in general have contented themselves with their Sunday schools, without attempting Day schools. Such clergymen, therefore, have easily become the voluntary schoolmasters of their parishes, and thus secured the affection and respect of the younger generation. While, at the same time, they have been the friends and comforters of the aged, the sick, and the helpless; and by showing a benevolence unrestricted by sectarian distinctions, they have taught their opponents the catholicity of Christian love. But virtue and energy like this cannot be expected from the majority of any profession; and we ought to make some allowance for the indolence and uselessness even of the worst among the Welsh clergy, when we remember the circumstances in which they are placed by the alienation of their flock. Many of them, in fact, occupy the same position with the ministers of the Scotch Establishment in those localities where the whole population has gone over to the Free Kirk; and we know how nearly irresistible is the temptation to such ministers, notwithstanding the stringent discipline of the Presbyterian Church, to convert their office into a sinecure.

But the Church of Wales has to contend with other difficulties, no less formidable than those which arise from dissent. The chief among these, is the prevalence of two languages. The parishes of Wales may be divided into three classes. First, those where Welsh only is the language of the great majority. Secondly, those where English is spoken or understood by all. Thirdly, those in which the population is divided into a Welsh and English portion, neither being inconsiderable in respect of the other. These latter, or bilingual parishes, constitute the chief difficulty. If an Englishman is appointed to them, how can he satisfy the Welsh? if a Welshman, how can he minister to the English? The clergyman should, of course, be able to speak both languages; but he must speak one of them as an acquired, the other as a native tongue; and the very circumstance which attracts his Celtic parishioner will repel the Saxons. Again, how is he to manage about the services? Here he cannot please both nations; so he is reduced to a compromise which pleases neither, by performing service alternately in either tongue.\* The rule adopted by the Welsh

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\* In some of these parishes the clergy adopt a singular mode of pleasing their Welsh parishioners, when the service is in English.

bishops seems, in itself, a right one; namely, that where so much as a sixth part of the parishioners do not understand English, at least half the Church Services should be in Welsh. Yet when, as often happens, the English inhabitants are churchmen and the Welsh dissenters, the action of this rule is unsatisfactory, compelling, in fact, the performance of one service every Sunday to empty walls. In those places where English is either generally unknown, or universally understood, the same perplexities do not occur. But in the former case (where Welsh prevails exclusively), another difficulty is introduced, from the want of a supply of fit persons to undertake the ministerial office. The Bishop of Llandaff, in the valuable charge with which he commenced his Episcopal labours, states it as the result of his previous acquaintance with South Wales, that the only class whence the Welsh-speaking clergy can hope for recruits, is too poor even to afford the small expense of a Lampeter education.\* We may add, that the same fatal difference of language excludes Wales from a source of aid by which England is largely benefited. There we see many of the very poorest livings held by clergymen of independent fortune, who have taken orders from a love for the work of the ministry, and who neither need nor seek more valuable preferment. Such men would gladly help that most ancient branch of their Church which has been established in Britain ever since the time of Constantine. But they are shut out by the impassable barrier of a foreign tongue.

Another cause of the inefficiency of the Welsh Church is the immense size of the parishes into which its territory is divided. As examples, we may mention Llandrillo in St. Asaph diocese, comprising an area of forty-two square miles, and endowed with only 161*l.*; Beddgelert in Bangor, comprising nearly fifty square miles, and endowed with 93*l.*; Ystradyfodwg in Llandaff, containing forty square miles, and endowed with 120*l.*; and Caron in St. David's, comprising about fifty-five square miles, and endowed with 80*l.*† In the English mountains there are to be found parishes of even greater area than these; but there, they have been mostly divided into separate chapel-

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They give out the text of their sermon, and that alone, in Welsh. The effect upon a stranger is sometimes startling. He imagines that the clergyman is suddenly bursting into a paroxysm of 'the unknown tongues.'

\* Primary Charge of Bishop of Llandaff, p. 45—47. The Bishop suggests as a remedy, the foundation of Scholarships or Exhibitions; a recommendation which has been since acted on by some benevolent persons.

† Many similar instances are given by Sir T. Phillips, p. 222—224

ries, of a manageable size\*; whereas, the Welsh parishes have generally remained undivided. It is evident that such an extent of parochial territory renders the full performance of pastoral duties impossible.

The great size of these mountain parishes shows that when our parochial system was originally established, they were very thinly inhabited. And so they remained till the present century. But now, in some parts of Wales, especially in the south, the mineral wealth which has been discovered below the soil has covered its surface with a dense population. The counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth (nearly the whole of which are now included in the diocese of Llandaff) contained 140,000 inhabitants in the year 1821; and 417,000 in 1851. So that the population has trebled in thirty years. Within the last ten years it has risen from 305,000 to 417,000; a greater increase than that of any other portion of Great Britain. Thus the ecclesiastical agency, which was intended to provide for a few shepherds and farmers scattered among the hills, is now called on to meet the wants of overgrown manufacturing towns, which are doubling themselves every twenty years. So that we see 'the machinery and appliances of the Church, originally designed for tens, or at most for hundreds, standing in solemn mockery of the wants of thousands and tens of thousands.'† It might have been hoped that the creators of this vast population would have spent some portion of their enormous wealth for the benefit of those to whose toil they owe all that they possess. But we grieve to say that, with a few noble exceptions‡, they have

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\* Thus the parish of Kendal, in Westmoreland, contains an area of above a hundred square miles; but it has been divided into sixteen chapeltries, each of them under the charge of an incumbent endowed with about 70*l.* per annum. So the large parishes of Crossthwaite in Cumberland, and Kirby Lonsdale in Lancashire, are each divided into seven chapeltries.

† See Letter of the Archdeacon Llandaff on the wants of the Diocese (London, 1850), p. 5. Much interesting information will be found in this pamphlet, the author of which is distinguished not only by his eloquence and ability, but by a practical wisdom to which the Church of Wales is already largely indebted. Among other instances he mentions, that of Bedwelty parish, which in 1801 contained 619 inhabitants, and now contains about 30,000.

‡ Amongst these exceptions the Rhymney Iron Company should be mentioned with honour. In 1838 they unanimously agreed to the following resolution, '*That the Company having caused to locate, on what were before barren mountains, a population of eight thousand souls, is upon every principle bound to provide and endow a church*

hitherto shown themselves insensible to the truth, that property has its duties as well as its rights. One of the Government Commissioners says of this manufacturing population: — ‘I regard their degraded condition as entirely the fault of their employers, who give them far less tendance and care than they bestow on their cattle, and who, with few exceptions, use and regard them as so much brute force instrumental to wealth, but as nowise involving claims on human sympathy.’\* Strong as this language is, we fear it is not exaggerated.

Having then to contend against all these gigantic difficulties, the progress which the Church of Wales has made in the last few years is most creditable to those who have been instrumental in effecting it. And though such improvement has been chiefly in the more civilised districts, yet even among the peasant clergy sufficient amendment has taken place to show the truth of our previous remark, that poverty, though the actual cause, is not a necessary cause, of many blemishes which have disfigured the establishment. In the first place, those gross and scandalous abuses which prevailed in the last century are either entirely swept away, or fast disappearing. Episcopal superintendence has been changed from a name into a reality. Archdeacons visit their archdeaconries, and the obsolete office of rural deans has been revived; so that the bishop is kept constantly supplied with information of the state of every parish in his diocese. The ordinance of Confirmation, which non-resident prelates had suffered to fall into disuse, is now regularly administered. The clergy reside, for the most part, upon their livings, and no longer leave their duties to be discharged ‘by

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*‘for the use of the tenants of the Company.’* Accordingly the Company built or endowed a church or parsonage, and provided schools also. We ought also to acknowledge that some of the mineral proprietors of this district, who sit on opposite sides of the House of Commons (Sir J. Guest, Mr. Clive, and Mr. Booker), have shown a proper sense of their duties, as ironmasters and landlords, towards their workmen. [Since writing the above, we lament to hear of the death of the former; but it is satisfactory to find that his successor in the representation of the great seat of the iron trade, is a man who has specially devoted himself to the moral and intellectual improvement of the working classes.]

\* Rep. ii. p. 293. See also the anecdote at p. 63. We find from the Report of the Diocesan Church Building Society, that 1000*l.* was anonymously given last year, to be expended in building a church in whatever spot might be considered the most spiritually destitute in the diocese. After due consideration it was determined to spend it in building a church for the workpeople of the wealthiest iron master in Great Britain.

half-starved curates. Pluralities are henceforward impossible, and the pluralist will soon be as extinct an animal as the Plesiosaurus. Full services are now performed in churches which had never before been opened twice a Sunday within the memory of man. Glebe houses are rising in every direction.\* New churches are built; and old ones are restored which the slothful negligence of a former generation suffered to fall into ruin. The eighteenth century may be called preeminently the age of ecclesiastical dilapidation. Totally without the sense of architectural beauty, it resigned the glorious masterpieces of Gothic art to the mutilation of the churchwarden; the cheapest patchwork of lath and plaster was good enough to repair a church. But in England there was at least sufficient sense of decency to keep the walls standing, and the roof weather-tight. In Wales, on the contrary, several parishes thought it the cheapest method to let the structure tumble down† altogether: and the negligence of ecclesiastical authorities actually connived at this breach of law. But such slovenly profaneness was not confined to sequestered villages; it extended even to Episcopal residences and Cathedral foundations. The palaces at Llandaff and St. David's were abandoned to the moles and bats. The prebendaries of Brecon suffered their Collegiate Minster to fall into decay. But the ruin of Llandaff Cathedral was the worst example, and most characteristically illustrates the age in which it occurred. The bishop had long ceased to reside; the prebendaries had followed his example; the daily service had been discontinued; the very organ had been broken up, and Willis the antiquary (who visited the Cathedral before its fall) tells us that he found the pipes scattered about the organ-loft. The building itself was suffered to remain utterly without repair, although the Chapter had repeated warnings of its dangerous condition. At last, it was literally blown down by a great storm in 1722. The nave and towers were left in ruins; the choir underwent a more degrading fate, for it was patched up in the worst style of a Baptist Meeting-house; the noble arches being filled up with brickwork, bull's eye windows being added for ornament, and a white-washed ceiling to make all snug. Such was the fate of a cathedral which had been the seat of a

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\* In St. Asaph 70 parsonages have been built or restored in the last 40 years (Canon Williams' Sermon, p. 23.). In Llandaff 60 parsonages were added during the 20 years of Bishop Copleston's episcopate.

† Instances are given at Rep. ii. p. 163., and other parts of the Reports.

Christian bishopric while the Saxons were yet idolators, and when Canterbury was still a pagan city. In this disgraceful condition the fabric remained for 140 years, typifying, by its appearance, the state of the Church to which it belonged; a Church whereof two-thirds exhibited the spectacle of an ancient and venerable institution fallen into uselessness and decay; and the only portion which still served any religious purpose, was transformed into the semblance of the conventicle. Let us hope that as its ruin was thus emblematical of the past, so its restoration may be significant of the future. At all events, its present condition shows that the sordid economy of a former age has been superseded by a very different spirit. Thanks to the conscientious zeal of the late and present deans, it is fast rising from its ruins, in all its original beauty. The Gothic arches have emerged from their plaster covering; the conventicular abomination has utterly disappeared; and the graceful clerestory and lofty roof once more raise the heart heavenwards.

Thus a flagrant instance of ecclesiastical breach of trust has been atoned for, and a foul blot wiped out from the escutcheon of the Church. But this is only one of many examples where the piety of the children is paying the debts of their fathers, in the matter of church-building. By the most strenuous efforts, the Church is striving to keep pace with the increase of population in the manufacturing districts. During the last three years ten additional churches, and nearly twice that number of clergy, have been provided, to meet, in some degree, the most pressing wants of that vast tide of population which has deluged the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan; and this work has been accomplished mainly by the labours of the present bishop. Similar efforts have been made to supply the needs of the Flintshire coal fields, and the Carnarvon stone-quarries. And even in the rural districts, many parish churches have shaken off the slovenly squalidity which so long disgraced them, and are restored to decency, if not to beauty.

But the true edifice of the Church is built, not of stones but of men; and therefore we hail with greater pleasure than any of these external reforms, the proofs furnished by the last few years, that the Welsh clergy, as a body, are beginning to take a zealous and effectual interest in the education of the people. Of this, the Minutes of the Committee of Council furnish the most decisive evidence. Not only do we find a most excellent training college for the Principality, established under the eye of the bishop of St. David's, but diocesan boards of education have sprung up in every diocese, organising masters have been



engaged in visiting and remodelling the Church schools throughout the country, and Her Majesty's Inspectors report more and more favourably of these schools every year. But the most infallible test of their improvement is the rapid increase of *Pupil-teachers* paid by Government; because they are only assigned to schools in a state of thorough efficiency, and are themselves subjected to a severe annual examination before they can receive their salary. In the schools under the superintendence of the Welsh clergy, the number of these pupil-teachers in the year 1849 was 90, in the year 1850 was 125, and in 1851 was 182.\* The Minutes of Council for 1852 are not yet published; but we believe they will show a still greater increase.

In England, the improvement of the mountain clergy has, perhaps, been less marked than in Wales; but still it has been considerable. It was itself a great step in advance, when the Grammar schools were superseded by St. Bees' College; although it is to be regretted that the poverty of that establishment does not allow of the erection of proper collegiate buildings; so that the students, instead of being under the moral control and superintendence which they would enjoy if they resided under the same roof with their teachers, are left to their own guidance in private lodgings. This may, perhaps, account for the fact, that the clergy supplied by St. Bees are less satisfactory than those trained at the new University of Durham, the foundation of which has been the greatest boon conferred upon these poor mountaineers. The number of such Durham graduates is increasing among the clergy, though not so rapidly as could be wished; but no doubt the leaven of their example will in time spread throughout the mass. Already drunkenness (once so common) is considered discreditable; and though not extinct, is very much less prevalent than it was. The immoral clergy (formerly a considerable class in these districts) have disappeared. And an increasing interest is manifested in the education of the people, and in other good works.

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\* See Minutes of Council for 1849-50, 1850-51, and 1851-52. In one of the Inspectors' reports we find the following gratifying statement concerning three great centres of the manufacturing districts. 'The incumbents of Merthyr, Dowlais, and Aberdare, three gentlemen of rare courage and zeal . . . have opened evening schools for adults . . . in which a large corps of volunteers, chosen from among the tradesmen, &c., perform the gratuitous functions of teachers, by monthly and weekly rotation . . . The clergy are always present in these evening schools.' (Minutes for 1849-50, p. 212.).

The reforms which we have described have been mainly effected, both in England and Wales, during the last quarter of a century. The bishops (with scarcely an exception) have taken a leading part in these improvements, which they have frequently themselves originated, and always encouraged by their co-operation. We are anxious to make this acknowledgment distinctly, because we have spoken strongly of the mischief done by the bishops of a former generation; and we desire not to be misunderstood as if we confounded the present with the past. It would be difficult indeed to condemn too harshly the corrupt negligence and interested laxity of those prelates who misgoverned the Church during the last century. The Welsh bishops found it even easier than their English brethren to turn their office into a sinecure. They could despise the censures of a remote and barbarous province, while they spent their time agreeably in the social pleasures of Bath, or the political intrigues of London. Thus sometimes they passed many years without once visiting the flock to which they had sworn to devote their lives. We have seen how they disposed of their patronage, and how faithfully their neglect of duty was copied by their inferiors. But we may form a better notion of what they were, from the autobiography of the man who was one of the last, and was generally considered the best of them, the celebrated Bishop Watson of Llandaff. This prelate held his see for thirty-four years. During all that time he never resided in his diocese, and seldom came near it. During the last twenty years we believe he never visited it. Including his bishopric, he held nine places of preferment, and actually contrived to reside on none of them. He settled in Westmoreland as a country gentleman, and there employed himself (we use his own words) 'principally in building farm houses, blasting rocks, inclosing wastes, and planting larches.\*' During all these years, he compelled the starving curates of his diocese to travel from South Wales to Westmoreland for ordination; a journey which, in those days, must have cost them a year's salary. And yet, at the close of a long life, he looks back upon his career with the most undoubting self-complacency, and evidently considers himself a model of Episcopal merit. And what is still more singular, he was so considered by others,

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\* We cannot quote this autobiography without recommending it to our readers as one of the most amusing books ever published. The picture of Cambridge as it was in the middle of the last century is particularly interesting, and forms a sort of continuation to the period of Bentley and Middleton.

and was generally regarded as an ornament of the bench. So low was the standard of opinion, fifty years ago. By such men irrevocable harm was done, yet they escaped with no censure. And now the sins of the fathers are most unjustly visited, not on their children, but on their successors. This has been especially the case in Wales, where a small but active knot of agitators tries to gain a miserable popularity by rousing the dormant jealousy of race, and stirring up the passions of Celt against Saxon. This party makes the appointment of 'Saxon' bishops a special grievance, and the abuse of existing Welsh bishops a profitable part of their political capital. The Bishop of St. David's has been made the chief mark for their shafts\*; and we honour him for the manly frankness with which he has turned round on his assailants, and exposed the motives by which they are actuated. We fully agree with him, that it is important that the English public and English statesmen should be made aware of the meaning of that clamour for Welsh bishops which sounds at first so plausible. If these agitators contended only that a Welsh bishop is the better for understanding the Welsh tongue, we should quite agree with them. But they are not satisfied with this. The two bishops of South Wales already preach in Welsh. The very prelate whom they chiefly assail, acquired the language so perfectly as to use it in public within a year of his appointment. And any intelligent Englishman might do the same, unless he were made a bishop so late in life as to have lost the faculty of learning a new language, which would make his appointment objectionable on other grounds. But the *Dim Sacsoneg* party tell us that they will have no bishops but those whose mother-tongue is Welsh. The clergy who fulfil this condition we have already described. At any rate, the number of Welsh-speaking clergy otherwise qualified for the episcopal office, is too narrow to afford a proper field for selection; and we leave our readers to judge whether the main body would supply desirable rulers for the Church.

We repeat, then, that the existing bishops are not responsible for the evils which we have mentioned. On the contrary, they have done, and are doing, their best to reform what is amiss. So far as the executive government of the Church can amend its defects, their amendment is secured. But in truth the

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\* The character of these attacks may be imagined from the popular superstitions to which they have given rise. Thus it is said to be believed in Cardiganshire that the bishop is everywhere accompanied by a favourite dog, which is trained to know and bite a snake. We have no doubt that this belief has saved his lordship from many troublesome applications.

changes needed are beyond the power, not only of any individual bishop, but of all the bishops collectively. The reforms required are not administrative but legislative reforms. The thing wanted is a better educated and more respected body of clergy; and this cannot be obtained (speaking generally) without an ampler provision for their education and maintenance. Here then are two desiderata: less poverty and more instruction. A third, is a stricter discipline, to repress scandalous offences. A fourth, more perfect organisation, to make the Church in reality what it is in idea, the dispenser of the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number. How are these four wants to be supplied?

First, the income of every parochial clergyman throughout the Welsh and English mountains should be raised to not less than 200*l.* per annum. This is not the place for discussing the details of such a reform; but we believe that the revenues to be vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will afford the means for effecting it. In these revenues will ultimately be included the *appropriate tithes* (*i.e.* those alienated to ecclesiastical bodies), which amount in Wales to a quarter of the whole tithe rentcharge. However the augmentation of small livings is effected, it ought to take place gradually; the benefices being augmented as they successively fall vacant. Thus a superior class of men would be induced to educate their sons for the ministry of the Church.

As to the second desideratum, of securing a higher education for the mountain clergy, the course of improvement already begun should be farther carried out. Proper buildings should be provided for the College of St. Bees', that its students might be brought under moral and social, as well as intellectual, discipline. The college itself might be incorporated into the University of Durham, on the same principle as so many colleges are affiliated to the University of London. Thus its students would gain the advantage of stricter examinations and academic degrees. In Wales, the College of Lampeter should (as Sir T. Phillips advises) be transformed into the University of St. David's. Its staff of professors should be increased, and its collegiate buildings should be rendered adequate to accommodate a sufficient number of future clergy to supply the demands of the principality. Exhibitions and scholarships ought also to be founded for the support of the poorer theological students; a good work which (as we have mentioned) has been already begun at Lampeter. The funds necessary for these educational purposes can scarcely be now expected from the State; although it would have granted them willingly thirty

years ago, had the rulers of the Church been at that time alive to her wants. But it would not, perhaps, be too much to hope that Parliament might advance to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners what was requisite to render the existing institutions efficient; such loan to be repaid by instalments out of the income at the disposal of the Commissioners, which is increasing annually.

Much aid might also be given to the education of the poorer clergy, if Mr. Lingen's suggestions concerning endowed grammar schools (Rep. i. p. 41.) could be carried out. He proposes that the free nominations in those schools should be thrown open to competition, and bestowed upon the more distinguished scholars of the primary schools; by which means a supply of the fittest material would be continually drawn upwards from below. The same advantage will no doubt result from the creation of the pupil-teacher system; the greatest educational reform which has ever been made in this country.

As to the third desideratum, stricter discipline, it has been long generally acknowledged that some legislative interference is required; yet it has been found very difficult to frame any satisfactory measure on the subject. When a clergyman is notoriously guilty of some flagrant offence, such as drunkenness or immorality, the bishop is often inconsiderately blamed for allowing him to escape with impunity by those who know not how small is the power of a bishop over an incumbent. In such a case the bishop must prosecute the offender at his own expense in the Ecclesiastical Courts; and, from some defect of evidence, or some technical mistake, he may fail at last in obtaining a conviction, after having spent several thousand pounds in vain. Yet we do not blame the law, while the organisation of the Church remains what it now is, for so jealously limiting the exercise of episcopal authority. So long as any power is irresponsible and arbitrary, it ought to be narrowly watched and fenced in with restrictions. Nor would it suffice to surround the bishop with a council of presbyters, as some propose, although that would undoubtedly give greater weight to his decisions. For the laity will always entertain a just jealousy of power wielded only by the clergy, even though it be over a member of their own order. What sort of justice would Mr. Gorham have received had he been tried by a jury of Exeter clergymen? A tribunal consisting exclusively of professional men must necessarily be unfitted for trying a member of their own profession. They know too much about him beforehand; and they are unconsciously swayed by class prejudice or party antipathies. This does not apply peculiarly to the clergy. A

jury of barristers would be a very bad tribunal for the trial of an unpopular advocate. The verdict of a court-martial is notoriously often swayed by considerations extraneous to the justice of the case; though in this instance an exceptional judicature is tolerated by the law, from the absolute necessity for immediate action in military affairs. But ecclesiastical causes may be conducted more deliberately; and the laity have shown that they will rather endure many flagrant scandals than allow of any approximation to priestly tyranny.

The third desideratum, therefore, cannot be supplied without the fourth; better discipline is impossible without better organisation. In order that the Church may be enabled even to repress the offences of her own officers—much more, that she may become the channel of social regeneration to the people—she must comprehend in her practical administration, not only her ministers, but her members. In the words of M. Bunsen, she must cease to be a ‘clergy-church.’ Her laity must find a place in her system; and that a post, not merely of passive obedience, but of active co-operation. As things now are, a layman may pass through life without being once called to perform any ecclesiastical function. In other Protestant Churches and sects, the religious layman is as much an office-bearer as the clergyman; he has a function to discharge, a work to do. The whole ecclesiastical community is thus pervaded by a common life, and all co-operate, with a personal interest, in promoting the ends of the body corporate. So it must be with the Church of England before she can win that triumph over abuses inherited from the past, and difficulties developed by the present, which, we trust, is still before her. She must live as a community, and not only in the lives of isolated individuals. At present she is like those lower orders of animals which are divided into a number of separate centres of nervous action, with no pervading will to give unity to the whole. She must rise to that higher scale of animated being in which the central volition is diffused by a spontaneous action through all the members; ‘the whole body being fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part.’

To accomplish this there would be no need of revolutionary changes. It would be no difficult matter to give a recognised existence and ecclesiastical functions to the communicants of every parish; to unite the clergy of each rural deanery, with lay representatives from their several parishes, into a rural-decanal presbytery; to entrust such presbyteries with the election of a diocesan Convention; and to assign to each of these bodies their

proper work, under the superintendence of the Bishop. The times are ripe for such a reform as this; and till it is effected, the Church must remain mutilated. If it were accomplished, it would probably soon be followed by all and more than all the changes which we have represented as desirable. One consequence to be expected from it would be the reabsorption into the Church of those great bodies of dissenters who agree in her doctrines, and object not to her forms. The natural position of the followers both of Whitfield and Wesley, is the position which they retained for so many years in spite of persecution, that of Religious Orders affiliated to the Church of England, and superadding to her system an internal discipline stricter than it is possible, or would be desirable, to enforce universally in a National Church. Who can doubt that these communities would return to the post which they quitted so reluctantly, if the lay element were duly represented in the councils of the Establishment? Then, and not till then, the Church would include almost the whole population in her pale, and that strength which is now wasted in intestine warfare would be directed against moral evil.

Many of the clergy complain that for a century and a half the Church of England has been left without a government. They say that, had Convocation been suffered to sit during this period, the abuses which we have enumerated would have been impossible. Non-resident bishops (for example) would have been shamed into at least an outward show of decency, if a representative assembly of the Church had annually met, in which their default of duty might have been discussed. We may admit this, and yet maintain that greater evils would have been caused than cured, by committing the government of the Church to the Convocation as it is at present constituted. The laity of England are firmly determined never to entrust the Church of England to the sway of a clerical assembly. As a well-known dignitary wittily observed the other day, the fate of the Church must not be risked on the battle-field of *Stenyclerus*.\* But the feeling would be different, if representatives of the laity, in due proportion, were joined with the representatives of the clergy, as in the Convention of the Episcopal Church of America, or the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. No fear could then be entertained lest the powers necessary for discipline and efficiency should be abused to the promotion of sacerdotal interests. We have the concurrent testimony of two very different authorities, — Lord Shaftesbury, and the Editor of the

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\* See Herodotus, ix. 64.

'Spectator,'\* — to the practical advantages which would be derived from the existence of such a body. Indeed, it must be admitted to be an anomaly, that while we have the Horse Guards to regulate the army, and the Admiralty to watch over the navy, we have provided no instrumentality whatever to superintend a department of the public service surely not less important. If muskets and uniforms require occasional alteration, so also do sees and parishes. If regiments have been sometimes misgoverned, so have dioceses. Our coast defences may need repair to keep out the Pope, as well as to keep out the French. Imagine the condition in which both army and navy would now be, had they been left for a hundred and fifty years to the direct administration of Parliament, with no intermediate machinery provided for adapting them, from time to time, to the changing circumstances of the age.

We do not believe that Parliament would resist any well considered measures for giving the Church a machinery which should enable her to work efficiently. For if the State had ceased to believe in the principle of an Establishment — if it were convinced that the religious instruction of the people would be more wisely entrusted to the Voluntary System — it would carry out this conviction by disestablishing the Church. That is, it would appropriate (with due respect to vested interests) the ecclesiastical revenues to civil purposes. But to this course the Legislature has never yet shown the slightest inclination. It could not therefore consistently, while maintaining an Establishment, refuse to it that government which might be held, after mature consideration, most conducive to the ends for which, and for which alone, the Church has been established. We believe that the great body of the Church, both lay and clerical, are daily becoming more and more of one mind upon this question. And we are convinced that when those who thus agree come at last to learn their strength, and their unanimity, they will find all obstacles disappear before them.

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\* Spectator of November 20. 1852.



ART. IV.— 1. *The Head of a Family.* London : 1852.

2. *Agatha's Husband.* London : 1853.

3. *Villette.* By the Author of 'Jane Eyre.' London : 1853.

4. *Clare Abbey.* By the Author of the 'Discipline of Life.' 1851.

WE do not look upon prose works of fiction as constituting by any means an insignificant or trivial province of literature. In this, as in any other line of exertion, merit is to be measured, not by the department chosen, but by the degree of excellence reached in that department. The glory of an actor is not considered to be indicated by the dignity of the rôle assigned to him, but by the truth and vividness of his representation; and the confidantes, the valets, and the peasants are often the great characters of the piece, while the lovers, kings, and heroes are enacted by any one who can strut and declaim. In like manner, an author is not ennobled by the subject which he chooses, but by the power with which he handles it: an historian may sink below contempt, though he has chosen Europe for his arena, and the most stirring period of its annals for his epoch; a tragedian, though he depicts the most mysterious horrors which humanity has undergone, may justly be hissed off the stage for the imbecility of his performance; an epic poet, though Alfred be his theme, pursued through twelve cantos of sonorous versification, may be saved from damnation only by the obscurity which secures him from perusal;—while the delineator of the simplest and humblest scenes of life, if his pictures be but faithful, his sentiments lofty, his perceptions just, and his colouring natural, may attain a deserved immortality, become a household name at every hearth, a favourite with all ages, and a blessing to all times. Genius stamps its own signet on every performance, whatever be the kind of work it takes in hand; and nowhere is its impress more deep and unmistakeable than in those volumes which reproduce in fiction the richest and most genial realities of life.

Considered merely as artist productions, we are disposed to place the ablest and finest works of fiction in a very high rank among the achievements of human intellect. Many of their characters are absolute *creations*,—an addition to the mind's wealth,—an 'everlasting possession,'—a positive contribution to the world's museum of enduring wonders and unfading beauties,—existences as real as the heroes of ancient story or the worthies of private life. But even writers who do not aspire

or cannot reach so high as this, often leave behind them enduring and beautiful records, 'which aftertimes will not willingly 'let die;' of conceptions lofty and refined, of beings who win their way to every heart; of domestic pictures which all must love and nearly all may emulate; of virtues at once so loving and so real, that scarcely any one can contemplate them without imbibing some good influence from the sight; of victories won in many a moral struggle, which irresistibly suggest a 'go and do 'thou likewise' to every reader. If novels and romances, of which the tone is low, and the taste bad, and the colouring voluptuous, and the morality questionable, are among the subtlest and deadliest poisons cast forth into the world, those of a purer spirit and a higher tenderness are, we honestly believe, among the most effective agencies of good. Hundreds of readers who would sleep over a sermon, or drone over an essay, or yield a cold and barren assent to the deductions of an ethical treatise, will be startled into reflection, or won to emulation, or roused into effort, by the delineations they meet with in a tale which they opened only for the amusement of an idle hour.

' For truth in closest words shall fail,  
When truth embodied in a tale  
Shall enter in at lowly doors.'

The story may not (and never should) have been written with a definite didactic aim; there may be little moralising and no formal exhortation, — the less of either the better; yet the reader may find a chord struck which needed only striking to vibrate to the end of life, but to which the key-note had never yet been found: he may see there depicted with a life-like pencil, the contest with a temptation against which he is himself struggling, the termination of a career in which he has just taken the first hesitating step, the holy endurance and the happy issue of a trial similar to one which is at the moment darkening his own path: he may see how suffering is borne, how victories are won; by what moral alchemy, and through what dread alembic, peace and good may be made to spring out of evil, anguish, and conflict: he may meet with reflections and analogies which reflect a sudden light upon his soul and reveal to him the deepest and saddest secrets of his own being, — till the hour when he perused that humble volume becomes a date and an era in his existence. Nor are works which thus operate upon the reader by any means always or necessarily those which display the greatest genius in the writer: for the production of such effects, simple fidelity to nature, the intuition of real sym-

pathy, or some true and deep experience of life, are often more powerful than the most skilful and high-wrought delineations.

With these views of the possible influence for good of even the less remarkable and celebrated works of fiction, it is a labour of love to us to distinguish from the awful mass of rubbish which issues yearly from the Press, two or three recent novels which deserve a hearty appreciation and a ready welcome. Of writers like Bulwer, Thackeray, and Dickens, we have not a word to say: they have reached a table-land at which the function of periodical criticism ceases. The first of these has now been before the world for a quarter of a century;—has tried first, the fashionable, and then the romantic and *incidentul*, then the sentimental, then the historical, and lastly, the humoristic novel; has been eminently successful in every line, and immeasurably most successful in his latest phase. Nor shall we spend a single remark on the *industrials* of fictitious literature, like Mr. James, who writes novels as a hen lays eggs,—nearly as rapidly and at as uniform intervals, and with quite as few of the throes of parturition. There are other writers almost as voluminous, whom we cannot here pause to criticise, who, having by the exercise of real talent and consummate pains, produced one work of fiction of surpassing merit, which gave promise of great things for the future, have been ruined, but alas! not exhausted, by their first signal and merited success. Having struck a vein, not of mental but of material wealth, they have worked it with relentless diligence, but with no high standard of perfection in themselves, and no worthy conception of the dignity or the obligations of their calling. They have produced year by year novel after novel, each marked by fewer beauties and grosser carelessness than its predecessor; emptier of matter, fuller of grandiloquence; displaying a perpetually diminishing sense of the respect due to themselves, their audience, and their publishers, and deplorably falsifying all the bright promise of their youth. 'Having no root in themselves, they have withered away,'—till the author of 'The Admiral's Daughter,'—about the most exquisitely beautiful and powerful tale of the last thirty years,—at length condescends to manufacture and send forth to the world the inanity and verbiage of 'Castle Avon.'

There are others, again, who—commencing with a natural diffidence in their untried powers, a high standard at which to aim and by which to be guided, and an unfeigned sense of the responsibility which lies upon every one who undertakes to act in any manner on the public mind,—bring all their talents to the task before them; who grudge no labour, spare no pains, and consider no time or effort wasted which can add one redeeming

touch, one finishing perfection to the picture; and to whom, whatever measure of success they may achieve, is only a stimulus to greater exertion and more ceaseless care. When writers begin their career in such a spirit, and are endowed with any fair proportion of natural capacity, failure is scarcely possible, and defects and shortcomings are sure to be leniently dealt with; they are not spoilt by hearty appreciation, nor impervious to discriminating criticism; and, unless fundamentally deficient in the needed gifts, may calculate on steady improvement, and on the attainment in the end of a respectable if not a high position in the fraternity of authors. Of this class, the authoress of the two novels we have placed at the head of this Article is, perhaps, the most promising and successful whom late years have brought forward. Having been necessitated by circumstances to choose a vocation, and having chosen that of fictitious literature as most suited to her powers, she has not sought to evade its obligations, or to shrink from its toils, or to regard it as a merely a holiday amusement, to be got through in any manner and at any time; but has conscientiously kept faith, to the best of her ability, with the public she was addressing, and with her own fame. Her first work was entitled 'The Ogilvies': the style was careful, the narrative interesting, and the characters on the whole attractive, individual, and well-sustained; but it differed from the better sort of ordinary novels chiefly by a fresher spirit and a more thoughtful tone. 'Olive,' her second story, was similar in character and nearly equal in execution; but marked by a tendency to dwell with too prolonged minuteness on the details of severe mental struggles,—always somewhat a morbid symptom. In 'The Head of a Family,' this had disappeared; and, in every respect, this tale was a marked improvement upon its predecessors: altogether it appeared to us one of the most pleasing and beautiful domestic fictions we had ever read; and 'Agatha's Husband,' which has just been published, is equal in interest, and superior in artistic merit. The author treads with a firmer step, handles the pencil with the consciousness of more assured power, and in her pictures and reflections displays the resources of a richer and maturer mind. In both works there is the same deep insight—whether learned in the bitter school of experience, or by simple poetic intuition, we cannot say—into the retired recesses of the human and especially the female heart; the same quick and true comprehension of some of the saddest and rarest secrets in the whole range of the affections; the same gems of reflection, never intruded but scattered up and down when they most naturally suggest themselves; and what is perhaps the greatest charm of all, the same

sustained elevation and purity of tone, unmarred by the slightest admixture of preaching or of cant.

Merits like these must of course be tempered by some defects and blemishes. These novels are not works of *genius*, properly so called, though of great beauty and of real thought; and they are marked by two faults, which we notice the more willingly, because we think both may be amended. The author makes her good characters *too good*—perfect to a degree which is so rare as to be almost unreal:—a natural error in a young writer, for it is always easier to draw a faultless than a chequered character;—and she manifests a certain tendency to *reproduce* and repeat herself,—a peculiarity which indicates a want of scope and variety in her resources, and which clearly points, as its remedy, to the desirableness of a cessation, for a period, from the labour of production—a season or two of fallow, or of other crops. The richest soil becomes impoverished, and bears weeds or thin and stunted harvests, if laboured year after year with no rest and no rotation. This last defect is especially discernible in the author's two latest productions. There is a family likeness, though a subdued one, for example, between Ninian and Nathanael, between Mr. Ulverston and Major Harper, between Tinie and Harriet, between Professor Reay and Mr. Dugdale. Beyond these criticisms we have really no advice to give.

We never like either to read, or to give, extracts from a work of fiction. They forestal and impair the pleasure of the reader when he comes to the book itself, and it is an injury to themselves to take them from their context—an injury directly proportioned to the artistic perfection of the tale. If they bear to be torn from their native place without suffering from the isolation, they must have been misplaced or artificially imbedded there. But we must make the attempt; and we give from the 'Head of a Family' one or two passages illustrative of the descriptive power of the writer, and at the same time bearing on the central interest of the narrative—the struggle between the rising love of Ninian for his young ward Hope Ansted, and his duty towards a large family of brothers and sisters left entirely dependent upon him for education and support.

'It was a goodly night—a night that would bring instinctively to every thoughtful man the deepest feelings of his soul, awakening any secret hidden there, which the habit of daily life glosses over and presses down into insignificance. Ninian stood and looked at the dark broad loch, with the stars overhead, and at the wavy line of hills beyond, brightened by a dim auroral light. A sense of solitude, of unrest, oppressed him; with it came a longing for some tie closer

than that of kindred; some love which should be about him continually, engrossing both soul and sense, giving him those emotions without which existence often declines into blank selfishness, making him acknowledge, as some wise man says, "That to be the husband of a wife and the father of a child is to rise to a higher place as a citizen of God's universe."

'He thought how it would be, if, instead of standing there by himself, he stood and felt arms twining round his neck, closer than Tinie's even clung; or if, climbing up to his stalwart breast and hiding there, were small winsome creatures — a baby-girl nestling to her father with shy sweet eyes — or a sturdy boy, riding on knee and shoulder, blotting out from the young man's heart all its past griefs, broken dreams, or erring follies, and causing it to swell with a new pride—"This is *my son*."

'It was the first time Ninian had clearly thought of these things. He was not a youth wrestling with a vague love-dream; he was a man to whom, with all its bearings, near and remote, the passion came, or at least was coming; not madly, but with a force deep and silent as his own nature. All he had put from him—the ties of husband and father, the sweetest tenderness, the strongest pride, a man can know—began to dawn upon him with a regret, keen and sore, though formless still. Ere it took form, he felt that he must fly from it.

'He turned his eyes from the sky, over which, cast by the yet unseen moon, was floating a light, soft and serene as a virtuous woman's love:—he shut his ear to the ripple of the tide, rising among the stones of the beach, with a sound like little children's laughter. He went in—bolted and barred the door even as he had closed the bars of his own heart—and so passed into his chamber.'

A short time afterwards, he has been nearly drowned and is lying exhausted on the sofa.

'Hope never moved from the foot of the sofa, but stood looking at Ninian, her face perfectly blanched with fear. He smiled and held out his hand. She came and clasped it; not weeping, as Tinie did, but with a deep tenderness which she did not even try to hide. And turn where he would, Ninian felt upon him her eyes, full of that unconscious girlish affection which a breath, a word, might awaken into love.

'Oh! bitter, bitter strait, that what might have been his joy and crown was now an agony, a temptation, a terror, a thought to be smothered or wrestled with, as if it were an evil thing!

'He did wrestle with it. Long after the excitement of the household had subsided, he, having sent them all away with smiles and caresses, lay alone in his chamber, to commune with himself and be still.

'A strong, clear mind he had ever; ay, even amidst the rack of conflicting passions, whose force he now learned for the first time. He tried to put the case before him as though it were another man's, and to reason upon it calmly, if possible. Supposing he and Hope

loved one another — it was best to seize that delirious fancy first and struggle with it — what would be the result? To marry, and add the cares of marriage to his other duties, was, as he had known from the time of his father's death, utterly impracticable. Then if, being betrothed, they waited till his sisters were wedded and his brothers settled in the world, by that time he would be almost an old man. He was old even now, while Hope was a mere child compared to him. Her love might change; she might feel her promise a burden; or if not, what right had he to win that which he could not claim.

'He had not won her heart yet; her open affection forbade that fear — or joy, for so it seemed alternately. If he were never to let her see the anguished passion of his own, she would go away, keeping always a tender reverence for him; but still free to love. For he discerned that hers was the nature of many, nay, of most women, gentle and good; loving — not with that rare ideal devotion, pure as the tenderness of an angel, yet strong and self-sustaining as the passion of a man — but with the mild sweetness which is ever ready to answer love with love, so that the first who worthily woos is almost sure to win.

'Thus, if he let her go, would Hope probably be won. The thought was to him such frightful agony, that for a moment he felt as if he could tear asunder all ties — all duties — snatch the child, and fly with her to some new world, where she should be to him instead of brothers, sisters, land, or home, — in the stead of every thing but conscience. *That*, at least, he knew would never be stilled — never! He knew he should continually hear it and shudder — aye, even on his wife's breast — as though it were a cry like that which haunted Cain: "Where are thy brethren?" Six souls that loved and trusted him balanced against one! Perhaps, even if the sacrifice had included not himself alone, but Hope, it ought to be made. Now, when Hope did not yet love him — when, if he kept firm to his iron will of self-renunciation, she never might love him — yes; the right course must lie there.

' "When two paths of duty bewilder thee, and thou knowest not which is right to follow, choose that which to thyself is most full of thorns."

'This wise, stern saying knelled itself all night into Ninian's soul. Towards morning he slept, and dreamed that he was in a little boat with Hope — she looking at him with sad sweet face, pale as that he had lately seen, but more tender and love-lorn — seeming to say mutely, that no sin towards kindred was greater than that of breaking a fond woman's heart. Then, he thought, the great waves of the Loch rose and rose, rolling over them both. He snatched his darling, covered her eyes and mouth with wild kisses — lover's kisses — such as he had never dared to press there before. And then they sank down — down — to something that he knew was death — yet which was calm and without fear. Until at last they wakened together in the heavenly mansions, where "there is neither marrying nor giving "in marriage," but where all love becomes pure as that of the angels of God.'

'Clare Abbey' is, we believe, the second production of a noble authoress, Lady Emily Ponsonby, and is greatly similar in character to the two novels we have just noticed, with less perhaps of power, but even more refinement. It is full of beautiful pictures of dutiful effort and domestic peace, and is unsurpassed in the tender pathos of many of its scenes. The writer we should surmise to be one who has reflected deeply and suffered much; there is a peculiar something in her tales — though by no means of first-rate artistic merit — which move and delight us much; and if we have any criticism to make, it is that she, like the authoress of 'Agatha's Husband,' is too much given to paint heroes of preternatural excellence. Indeed, as is perhaps natural with ladies, their heroes are almost always morally superior to their heroines.

'Villette,' by the author of 'Jane Eyre,' is a most remarkable work — a production altogether *sui generis*. Fulness and vigour of thought mark almost every sentence, and there is a sort of easy power pervading the whole narrative, such as we have rarely met. There is little of plot or incident in the story; nearly the whole of it is confined to the four walls of a *Pensionnat* at Brussels; but the characters introduced are sketched with a bold and free pencil, and their individuality is sustained with a degree of consistency, which marks a master's hand. The descriptions, too, whether the subjects of them be solemn, ludicrous, or pathetic, are wonderfully graphic and pictorial. It is clear at a glance that the groundwork and many of the details of the story are autobiographic; and we never read a literary production which so betrays at every line the individual character of the writer. Her life has evidently been irradiated by but scanty sunshine, and she is besides disposed to look rather pertinaciously on the shady side of every landscape. With an almost painful and unceasing consciousness of possessing few personal or circumstantial advantages; with spirits naturally the reverse of buoyant; with feelings the reverse of demonstrative; with affections strong rather than warm, and injured by too habitual repression; a keen, shrewd, sagacious, sarcastic, observer of life, rather than a genial partaker in its interests; gifted with intuitive insight into character, and reading it often with too cold and critical an eye; full of sympathy where love and admiration call it forth, but able by long discipline to dispense with it herself; always somewhat too rigidly strung up for the hard struggle of life, but fighting sternly and gallantly its gloomy battle, — the character which Lucy Snowe has here drawn of herself presents rather an interesting study than an attraction or a charm.



The poor friendless English teacher is left alone in the *Pensionnat* during the long vacation.

'My heart almost died within me: miserable longings strained its chords. How long were the September days! How silent, how lifeless! How vast and void seemed the desolate premises! How gloomy the forsaken garden — gray now with the dust of a town — summer departed. Looking forward at the commencement of those eight weeks, I hardly knew how I was to live to the end. My spirits had long been gradually sinking: now that the prop of employment was withdrawn, they went down fast. Even to look forward was not to hope: the dumb future spoke no comfort, offered no promise, gave no inducement to bear present evil in reliance on future good. A sorrowful indifference to existence often pressed on me, — a despairing resignation to reach betimes the end of all things earthly. Alas! when I had full leisure to look on life as life must be looked on by such as me, I found it but a hopeless desert: tawny sands, with no green field, no palm-tree, no well in view. The hopes which are dear to youth, which bear it up and lead it on, I knew not and dared not know. If they knocked at my heart sometimes, an inhospitable bar to admission must be inwardly drawn. When they turned away thus rejected, tears sad enough often flowed; but it could not be helped. I dared not give such guests lodging. So mortally did I fear the sin and weakness of presumption.' . . .

'I sat thinking an hour longer. Reason whispered me, laying on my shoulder a withered hand, and frostily touching my ear with the chill blue lips of eld.

'If (muttered she) he *should* write, what then? Do you meditate pleasure in replying? Ah fool! I warn you! brief be your answer. Hope no delight of heart, — no indulgence of intellect: grant no expansion to feeling, — give holiday to no single faculty: dally with no friendly exchange; foster no genial intercommunion.' . . .

'I groined under her bitter sternness. This hag, this Reason, would not let me look up, or smile, or hope: she could not rest, unless I were altogether crushed, cowed, broken in, and broken down. According to her, I was born only to work for a piece of bread, to await the pains of death, and steadily through all life to despond. Reason might be right; yet no wonder we are glad at times to defy her, to rush from under her rod, and give a truant hour to Imagination — her soft, bright foe, — our sweet Help, our divine Hope. We shall and must break bounds at intervals, despite the terrible revenge that awaits our return. Reason is vindictive as a devil: for me, she was always *envenomed* as a step-mother. If I have obeyed her, it has chiefly been with the obedience of fear, not of love. Long ago I should have died of her ill-usage: her stint, her chill, her barren board, her icy bed, her savage, ceaseless blows, — but for that kinder Power who holds my secret and sworn allegiance. . . . Divine, compassionate, succourable influence! When I bend the knee to other than to God, it shall be at thy white and winged feet, beautiful on mountain or on plain. Temples have been reared to the Sun —

altars dedicated to the Moon. Oh, greater Glory! To thee neither hands build, nor lips consecrate; but hearts, through ages, are faithful to thy worship.

These extracts will give an idea of the heroine's character: for the writer's power of lighter description, take the following passage from a visit to a gallery of paintings.

"Taisez-vous, et asseyez-vous là — là!" Setting down a chair with emphasis in a particularly dull corner, before a series of most specially dreary "cadres."

"Quel triste coin!" cried I, "et quels laids tableaux!"

And "laids" indeed they were; being a set of four, denominated in the catalogue "*La Vie d'une Femme*." They were painted in a rather remarkable style — flat, dead, pale, and formal. The first represented a "*Jeune Fille*," coming out of a church door, a missal in her hand, her dress very prim, her eyes cast down, her mouth pursed up, — the image of a most villanous little precocious she-hypocrite. The second, a "*Mariée*," with a long white veil, kneeling at a prie-dieu in her chamber, holding her hands plastered together, finger to finger, and showing the whites of her eyes in a most exasperating manner. The third, a "*Jeune Mère*," hanging disconsolate over a clayey and puffy baby, with a face like an unwholesome full moon. The fourth, a "*Veuve*," being a black woman, holding by the hand a black little girl, the twain studiously surveying an elegant French monument, set up in a corner of some *Père la Chaise*. All these four "*Anges*" were grim and gray as burglars, and cold and vapid as ghosts.

One more extract of a different character, and we must conclude our notice of a production which really bears the stamp of very wonderful endowments. The heroine is in bed with a nervous fever.

'Sleep came once — but in anger. Impatient at my importunity she brought with her an avenging dream. By the clock of St. Jean Baptiste, that dream remained scarce fifteen minutes — a brief space, but sufficing to wring my whole frame with unknown anguish; to confer a nameless experience that had the hue, the mien, the terror, the very tone of a visitation from eternity. Between twelve and one that night a cup was forced to my lips, black, strong, strange, drawn from no well, but filled up seething from a bottomless and boundless sea. Suffering, brewed in temporal or calculable measure, and mixed for mortal lips, tastes not as this suffering tasted. Having drank and woke, I thought all was over: the end come and past by. Trembling fearfully, as consciousness returned, — ready to cry out for some fellow-creature to help me, only that I knew no fellow creature was near enough to catch the wild summons, — I rose on my knees in bed. Some fearful hours went over me: indescribably was I torn, racked, and oppressed in mind. Amidst the horrors of that dream I think the worst lay here. Methought the well-loved dead, who had loved me well in life, met me elsewhere, alienated: galled was my inmost

spirit with an unutterable sense of despair about the future. Motive there was none why I should try to recover or wish to live; and yet quite unendurable was the pitiless and haughty voice in which Death challenged me to engage his unknown terrors. When I tried to pray I could only utter these words:—

“From my youth up Thy terrors have I suffered with a troubled mind.”

‘Most true it was.’

ART. V. — 1. *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, with Biographical Notices of the Painters.* By RALPH N. WORNUM, revised by Sir CHARLES LOCKE EASTLAKE, P.R.A. By Authority. London: 1852.

2. *Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and near London.* By Mrs. JAMESON. 1841.

3. *Minutes of the Trustees of the National Gallery during the Years 1845 and 1846.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, February 4. 1847.

4. *The National Gallery: Observations on the Unfitness of the present Building for its Purpose.* In a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart. By CHARLES LOCKE EASTLAKE, R.A., Keeper of the National Gallery. London: 1845.

5. *Report from the Select Committee on the National Gallery, together with the Minutes of Evidence.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 25. 1850.

6. *Second Report of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 to the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole, one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.* 1852.

7. *The National Gallery; its Formation and Management.* Considered in a Letter addressed by permission to H. R. H. the Prince Albert, K.G., &c. By WILLIAM DYCE, Esq. R.A. 1853.

**L**ARGE collections of works of Art, such as now grace the European capitals, were by no means a speedy result of revived taste, and of the formation of schools of painting and sculpture on both sides of the Alps during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The early students of long neglected literature, and the harvests of better times still mouldering in many a forgotten storehouse, and, by gathering or transcribing what remained available, they were enabled to commence the great

work of conservation. But in the Fine Arts a more gradual process was required. The soil was to be prepared, the seed sown, the grain matured, ere any crop could be garnered. Present wants had to be provided for before accumulations were practicable. The demands of religion on the pencil and the chisel were general and long continued; her commissions were specific in their object, and specially adapted to their intended sites, often assuming the immovable character of mural or architectural decoration. Besides, although the labourer is worthy of his hire, in sacred as well as profane things, the spirit of early religious Art, and its productions, ill qualified these for becoming matters of ordinary traffic. It was accordingly only when the mission of painting had been extended — we do not with some critics say lowered — to mundane interests, such as history and portraiture, that pictures passed from hand to hand, or were brought together for the gratification of luxury or connoisseurship.

Among the first to seek such indulgences were Cosmo de' Medici, *Pater Patriæ*, and his brother Lorenzo, who, before the middle of the fifteenth century, began to accumulate at Florence whatever was rich, rare, or excellent in Art. Their tastes were shared or followed by Poggio, Niccolo Niccoli, and other scholars, whose classical prepossessions, adopted by their patrons, established there a general preference for remains of antique sculpture over modern productions. On this partiality, Lorenzo the Magnificent engrafted a generous and discriminating encouragement of living artists, not only by liberal commissions, but by throwing open his family collections for their study. The misfortunes which befell his son Pietro, and the iconoclastic zeal of Savonarola, occasioned sad havoc among these treasures, yet a few choice morsels still in the Uffizii Gallery have been transmitted from the elder branch of the Medici.

Next, probably after Cosmo *Pater Patriæ*, as a collector of Art, might be reckoned Duke Federigo, of Urbino, rather, as appears from Mr. Dennistoun's recent researches, on the testimony of his illuminated MSS., than on Castiglione's vague and euphuistic allusions to other but apocryphal furnishings of his famed palace. That we hear little of Leo X. in the same line is a striking proof how seldom at that time amateurs, who combined ample means with taste, employed them for such a purpose. But matters took another turn when Schools of Art had been multiplied, and the gold of a new hemisphere been poured into Western Europe. Princes, and rich men, no longer limiting their outlay to the patronage of contemporary artists, sought to purchase on a wider scale: their accumulations in a gene-

ration or two acquired variety and importance, and not a few existing royal and noble galleries date from the sixteenth century. How soon these took a public or national character it would be difficult exactly to say, for the change was necessarily a gradual one. Exclusiveness is no natural product of intelligent amateurship, but the degenerate growth of a sickly refinement; indeed one of the strongest impulses of a generous and cultivated intellect is to enable others to participate in pursuits worthy of itself. Meaner motives tended to the like result, for ordinary minds love to dazzle by a display of adventitious advantages or possessions. Upon museums formed by princes from independent or hereditary resources, their subjects could have no claim; but in days when popular rights were scarcely yet matter of discussion, a simple-hearted people thankfully profited by the indulgences of their rulers, without either founding on them prescriptive demands, or regarding them as mere anodynes to soothe the grievances of oppression. Thus, on the Continent, most family collections have been always freely opened to all visitors, while some of those ostensibly public are partly or entirely the private property of the Sovereign.

The political and territorial changes consequent on the first French Revolution much affected the subject we are considering. Among other novel doctrines then introduced was one, that ecclesiastical property is fair plunder; and as this dogma was wrought out by confiscating lands, desecrating or levelling churches, demolishing altars, destroying service-books, we may well pardon the comparatively venial sacrilege which filled the Louvre with stolen goods, and consigned to the municipalities of France, Italy, and Germany such works of Art as escaped the rapacity of French officials.\* The work of restoration, in 1815, was but partially effected, witness Perugino's 'Ascension' at Lyons, and 'Sposalizio' at Caen, besides many ill-gotten gains still in the Louvre. It was indeed a political rather than a religious or æsthetic restitution, for most returned altar pictures, instead of finding their way back to the places whence they had been rifled, were retained in a few principal towns of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, founding or augmenting

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\* A 'Catalogue of Chefs-d'œuvre in Painting, Sculpture, &c.,' carried from Italy into France, which was printed at Venice in 1801, but which is by no means complete, includes 223 pictures, 840 drawings, 130 pieces of sculpture and antiquity, 1284 medals and cameos, 2633 MSS. and books, besides many objects of natural history.

municipal museums, and dividing opinions whether the convenience of classing and comparing pictures in a well lighted gallery counterbalances the local, or it may be the intrinsic interest, of studying them *in situ*, and under the very circumstances for which the inventor's genius was called on to provide.

But as church spoils far exceeded in amount the requirements of fresh museums, and even the greed of French marshals or commissaires, a vast quantity passed into commerce, generally at sums regulated rather by a wide-spread impoverishment, and the doubtful title of their vendors, than by their real merits. Of these chances both dealers and amateurs were prompt to avail themselves; indeed, the patriarchs of those respective classes still sigh over 'the good time' of low prices and glutted markets. Then were formed, especially by English millionaires and Northern Courts, collections rivalling or surpassing those which the sovereigns of Italy had amassed during centuries, and thus was gradually awakened, and widely diffused, an interest in names and schools hitherto seldom mentioned on this side the Alps or Pyrenees. This new intelligence became with many a passion, its gratification a popular want, for which governments were expected to provide. National collections attained a national importance, municipal ones sprang up, rivalling each other in extent and administration, and it may now be considered as admitted, that no capital pretending to civilisation and refinement can be without its public galleries.

It would be curious to see in what way this new want has been supplied, and how far the different European States have provided for the eye-teaching of their citizens in the *Fine Arts*.

At Rome, where most excavations for ancient marbles have either been undertaken by the Government, or so conducted as to secure to it the first offer of all discoveries, the national museums of sculpture, which may be dated from Julius II., far exceed the picture galleries in importance and value. Yet the thirty-six pictures placed in the Vatican are of unequalled interest; they admirably illustrate the Roman school in its happiest period, include several of Raffaelc's finest works, and offer a few most choice specimens of some other schools. The collection at the Capitol is six times more numerous; but, apart from the *St. Petronilla* by Guercino, it consists chiefly of inferior pieces, while those in the Lateran palace and Vatican library, begun by the late Pontiff for the illustration of early Christian Art, have scarcely as yet become important. In the *Museo Borbonico* of Naples may be found materials for making acquaintance with most schools of painting, many of which are

illustrated by favourable specimens; and there are only required a more intelligent arrangement, and a more cautious nomenclature, in order to render the collection highly satisfactory for a kingdom of secondary importance. That of Turin is of comparatively recent formation, and its chief interest consists in examples of Flemish and Dutch painting, far excelling what is elsewhere found within the Alps. At Florence, the Uffizii Gallery, and that of the Grand Duke in the Pitti Palace, are each worthy of a first-rate capital, and when taken together, along with the church pictures now at the Belle Arti, form an *ensemble* elsewhere unrivalled. Here may be traced the gradual advance of painting from the semi-Byzantine Cimabue to its perfection in Raffaele; its early but protracted decline during two centuries and a half succeeding his death. No Italian city possesses treasures so extensive and varied: nor is this wonderful, since to collections formed by the Medici during two centuries and a half have been added those of the Urbino dukes, and many French spoils of Tuscan churches. Indeed, even now, there is from time to time brought to light some curious or rare panel from stores yet in reserve. The Duchy of Parma contains in its capital a series of works well illustrating numerous offsets of the great Lombard schools, while, in the provincial cities of Milan, Venice, and Bologna, visitors admire galleries of metropolitan extent and importance, and learn the merits of painters famous in history but elsewhere rarely met with.

In each of the galleries we have named, the Vatican excepted, pictures are numbered by hundreds, few being undistinguished by some excellence or interest, and the same may be said of the national collections of Central Europe. The oldest of these is that of Dresden. Duke Maurice of Saxony was already a friend of the useful and ingenious arts, before the middle of the sixteenth century. His brother and successor, Duke Augustus, extended his patronage to painting, — a course in which he was followed by Dukes Christian I. and II. Maurice the Strong, who reigned in the end of the following century, brought together the works of Art scattered in many palaces, but it was reserved for Augustus III., King of Poland, to raise the reputation of the Dresden Gallery by the finest Italian pictures which had yet crossed the Alps. The Ducal Gallery of Modena, consisting of about three hundred pieces, was acquired by him for 1,500,000 thalers, (about 225,000*l.*), to which he subsequently added the 'Madonna di San Sisto' of Raffaele for 21,000*l.*, Correggio's 'Magdalene' for 6,300*l.*, and Holbein's 'Holy Family' for 2,400*l.*, — prices which, making due allowance for

the now augmented value of money, have never been exceeded. While, however, we mention the Dresden Gallery as containing above 2000 pictures, we cannot consider that great number as quite a test of its real importance. Formed chiefly at a period when purity of taste had ceased to influence collectors as well as artists, it might bear much weeding. Many are avowedly copies, many more are inferior or redundant specimens of the masters or schools to which they are assigned. On its walls there prevails a mediocrity of names as well as of works, and these accordingly either fail to give fame to painters justly obscure, or, when unreasonably multiplied, appear intended to show the weakness as well as the strength of others justly celebrated. Into a collection intended to represent the cycle of European painting, it is surely preposterous to admit sixty-two pictures by Philip Wouvermans, forty-five by John Breughel, or twenty-seven by Sachtleven,—masters sadly given to repeat their ideas and figures. Even of the forty-five Dietrich's, and twenty Rembrandt's, some had better be spared. Against the very exceptionable plan of the rooms, and disposition of the pictures, we say nothing, as both will no doubt be amended in the new building at present in progress; but, after hazarding strictures calculated to question the long-established reputation of this gallery, it is just to say that were the grain winnowed from the chaff, its celebrity would be well sustained, and that the unfavourable comments very generally made on the state of the pictures are by no means well founded. Several Correggio's have no doubt suffered cruelly, nay irretrievably, from atmospheric influences and merciless scrubbing; but, on the whole, we should prefer the dingy aspect of the majority here, to the tea-tray lustre so fatal to harmony in the collection of which we shall next speak.

The Imperial Belvidere gallery at Vienna dates from the Emperor Leopold William, who, when Archduke, began to collect pictures at Brussels in the seventeenth century, and purchased liberally at the dispersion of the collection of our Charles I. By dint of gradual but judicious additions, with little assistance from church plunder, it now consists of about 1700 pieces, and is remarkable for early Teutonic works.\* Whatever exception may be taken to the manner in which many of them have been laid bare by cleaning, and however

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\* In the same city the collections of Prince Lichtenstein, numbering sixteen hundred, and of Prince Esterhazy, containing seven hundred, are open to all comers at all hours; besides those of other great houses, and also a poor one at the Academy.



much a more intelligent technical classification of such varied treasures may be desired, the great masters are seldom more worthily represented, and no pinacothek of its extent is probably so exempt from trash. The Rubenses and Vandykes are truly brilliant, their silvery surfaces having stood the grinding down processes better than the delicate glazings of the Venetian School. The *locale* also merits all commendation. Originally a palatian villa of Prince Rupert, it contains rooms of every size, with lights generally favourable, and is situated apart from the dust and smoke of the vast metropolis.

Uniting in his person the inheritance of several sovereigns of the Wittelsbach race, Louis I. of Bavaria had an excellent foundation for his operations. The pictures at Dusseldorf, Schleisheim, and Augsburg were already numerous and important; but to his taste and public spirit, even their centralised *chefs-d'œuvre* were inadequate. Drawing largely on his private resources for a national object, he scrupled not in return to direct towards the same end public revenues, destined for more prosaic purposes, and thus had ample resources at his command. Informed by ubiquitous agents of all that came into the market worthy of notice, and exercising in his numerous journeys an intelligent connoisseurship to which few amateurs attain, he gradually drew to Munich choice specimens of various schools not hitherto represented there, and nobly encouraged modern artists to construct and decorate fitting receptacles for such treasures. But the chief glory of his acquisitions is the series of early German and Flemish paintings formed by the brothers Boisserée, during the fluctuations of property and desecration of holy places consequent on the French invasion. Such a series is not only unique, but under no circumstances could it again be formed; so that, although mediæval panels of interest are found in the galleries at Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Brussels, Amsterdam, and until recently, at the Hague, no student of Teutonic æsthetics can fully master his subject without a prolonged stay in Munich.

What the Boisserée pictures did for the Pinacothek of Munich was obtained for the Berlin Gallery from Mr. Solly. That gentleman, of English birth, had settled in Prussia, and during the war participated largely in the lucrative Baltic trade. His wealth was spent with lavish hand on pictures, purchased by his agents in various parts of Europe, at a time when the finest works of art were to be had, and no amateur probably ever acquired so many of merit. Nearly 600 of them are deemed worthy of a place in the Royal Museum at Berlin, and of another collection made by him in after life, not a few

merited similar distinction. Early in this century he sold the former one to Frederick William III. of Prussia for above 70,000*l.*: they constitute nearly one half of the Berlin Gallery, and are its more important portion, especially as exhibiting the progress of Art in Italy and Germany. It numbers in all 1252 pieces, and although inferior to that of Munich as regards the history of Teutonic painting, it has no rival in the early Italian schools. Its advantages in this respect are enhanced by an excellent catalogue prepared by Dr. Waagen, which, notwithstanding a somewhat complicated serial arrangement, is full of instruction.

The Louvre, after disgorging most of its ill-gotten treasures, still retains enough to gratify and instruct a nation by whom Art has long been nobly fostered as a source of glory and of material prosperity. From the time of Louis XV., who in 1750 removed from Versailles to the Luxembourg 113 of his best pictures, and made them accessible to the public, the national collections have been liberally cared for under all dynasties and constitutions. After subjecting to summary and too often mischievous restoration the pictures acquired as trophies of war, the Directory opened the Louvre Museums on the 7th of April, 1799. Purchases have since been freely and judiciously made, alike of old works and of contemporary productions; a whole gallery of 400 Spanish pictures has been at once created; and another still more unexpectedly acquired by the bequest of Mr. Standish, an Englishman whose egotistical patriotism was foiled by the economical scruples or punctilio of our Government. When the extensive reorganisation of these collections now in progress has been completed, the Louvre will appear second to none in Europe in extent and importance.

The Prado Gallery at Madrid was formed under the happiest auspices. Charles V. and his three immediate successors were men singularly capable of appreciating Art in its higher developments: their sovereignty embraced, in Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, and Spain, many of its most flourishing schools: the wealth of the Indies enabled them to reward its chief professors, and secure their favourite productions. The vast monument thus reared by their taste and liberality survives the prostration into which Bourbon apathy, political convulsions, and protracted wars have long plunged old Spain, and nowhere else are the greatest pictorial names in Europe so well represented. Compared with this, the national collections of Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, and the new but promising Steidl Gallery at Frankfort, are of subordinate importance, and call for no special criticism.

Such are the chief national collections of pictures on the Continent, apart from many important municipal galleries: let us now see what has been done in England. It would be fallacious to suppose that any general feeling for Art existed at the Court of Henry VII.: it was, however, visited about the close of the fifteenth century by Jan Mabuse, a Hungarian, who had studied in Italy and Holland, when painting had in both countries attained great perfection, and who seems to have been the earliest artist of note in Britain. His portraits of three of the royal children remain at Hampton Court, and repetitions of them at Wilton and Corsham entitle us to presume that he had commissions from some of the English nobles. A second portrait in the same palace of the Princess Margaret, devotionally treated, together with that of her husband, James IV. of Scotland, was probably executed at their marriage in 1503. Three years later, Count Castiglione brought as a beautiful and appropriate gift to the king, on the Duke of Urbino's installation as knight of the Garter, perhaps the first work of high Italian Art which reached the shores of Albion. Raffaele, then rising into precocious fame, had painted for his sovereign a small devotional figure of St. George, as patron of that order, and wearing its badge. Having passed into the Pembroke family, it was recovered from that earl by Charles I., was sold at the dispersion of the royal collections for 150*l*., and from the Crozat Gallery went to St. Petersburg.

During the following reign the tastes of Italy began to spread northwards. Francis I. invited to his Court, Da Vinci and Cellini, and founded the exotic school of Fontainebleau, examples of taste and munificence which his Tudor rival was fain to follow. Mrs. Jameson has traced the names, though not the works, of several Italian and Flemish painters, brought over by Henry VIII., whose patronage must, however, be appreciated through Holbein of Basle. Recommended by Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, he became the king's favourite, as well as his court-painter, with ample allowances, in return for which his pencil has transmitted the lineaments of many of England's worthies,—a branch even then more in vogue than sacred or historical compositions. Henry's collection, including miniatures, has been estimated at 150 pieces; but during the reign of his elder daughter, it was further embellished with some of Titian's glowing canvasses, painted for herself or her Spanish consort. As yet, however, native Art made no onward movement, and Antonio More, Federigo Zuccaro, Lucas de Heere, Ketel, Jansen, Vansomer, and Mytens were successively sought out as portrait painters in her reign, and by the next two sovereigns and their courtiers.

It was not till about a century after the example had been set from Italy that artistic collections began to be formed in England by Prince Henry, Thomas Earl of Arundel\*, and Villiers Duke of Buckingham. But unquestionably no sovereign of his own or preceding times entered upon that pursuit with the spirit, liberality, and intelligence displayed by Charles I., whose reign Walpole justly characterises as the first era of real taste in this country. The opportunity afforded him on his otherwise unpropitious visit to Madrid, of seeing masterpieces such as had never previously met the eye of a British prince, was neglected neither by himself nor his mercurial companion. From that time the highest productions were eagerly sought after by him, and the pursuit was followed under financial difficulties unknown to his predecessors. Induced, perhaps, by the report of Rubens upon its merits, he purchased soon after his accession, the chief portion of the ducal gallery of Mantua, formed by a long succession of wealthy and munificent princes, but cruelly dispersed by the hazards of war. The price, variously stated at 20,000*l.* and 80,000*l.*, has baffled Mrs. Jameson's researches; yet we may conjecture the value and importance of this acquisition from finding in the catalogue of Charles's pictures no less than fifteen by Raffaele; seventeen by Giulio Romano; twelve by Mantegna; eleven by Correggio; eight by Parmegiano; fifty-six by Titian; nineteen by Giorgione and other eminent Venetians; two by Da Vinci; four by Del Sarto, and three by Durer; and this at a period when Art in Italy and Germany had in a great measure lost the impress of genius, and descended from its high mission, — when facility of mechanism superseded lofty aims, and public feeling abroad had generally yielded to these new influences. Not a few, however, of these works were obtained from other sources. His ambassadors as well as agents specially sent abroad, were ever on the look-out; contemporary sovereigns and obsequious courtiers vied with each other in æsthetic offerings. His welcome of Rubens equalled the honours bestowed upon Titian by Charles V.; the patronage he extended to Vandyck was creditable alike to sovereign and artist.

The day-spring of taste and refinement which thus dawned upon England was alas premature, and, long ere its genial influence had been felt, was sadly overcast. Party struggles were

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\* Mrs. Jameson's claim for this Earl as the earliest European virtuoso of private station may be scarcely consistent with what we know of Bembo's cabinet, or of the portrait galleries and portfolios of Giovio and Vasari; but it is difficult to over-estimate his meritorious zeal and connoisseurship, both far in advance of his age.

followed by civil war, and when the Puritans had for a time abolished Monarchy, the king's pictures were confiscated by men incapable of appreciating the qualities of works of Art, or discriminating what possessed intrinsic excellence or value. The whole were brought to the hammer, when only the cartoons of Raffaele and Mantegna were bought in by order of Cromwell, the former for 300*l.*, the latter for 1000*l.* Those who in England could best estimate such objects having fallen under the same calamity, most of the *chefs-d'œuvre* were scattered over the Continent, from whence but a small portion has returned to this country. Indeed not a few of the pictures, drawings, and marbles which in foreign museums call forth the admiration, it may be the envy, of English tourists, would, but for the sale of 1648, have still graced our own. The mischief of this Vandalism may be pretty well understood from the royal catalogue which has been published with prices, and gives a total of 1387 pictures, sold for about 32,000*l.*, besides 588 pieces of sculpture, which fetched not much less than 20,000*l.*

The restoration of the Monarchy was marked by no material revulsion in the Fine Arts. To a certain extent these dilapidations were remedied by repurchases and presents, but Charles II. was too uncultivated and frivolous to care greatly for any canvasses but those whereon his beauties were limned, and even the Vandycks, Rubenses, and Titians collected by Lely were dispersed, while his 'too wanton and magnificent maids of honour' on the royal palace walls numbered above forty. Other foreign artists of merit were, however, patronised by the Court, and it would seem that Charles left nearly 1200 pictures of all sorts. His brother's bigoted attachment to the Roman ritual was exempt from even a cognate and somewhat redeeming sentiment for religious painting, while the portraits, commissioned from Kneller by William III., ill compensated for the loss of many more valuable works at the confiscation of Whitehall palace in 1698. The Stadtholder was a soldier, Anne was frivolous in her tastes; theirs, too, was an age of iron as regards the imitative arts. The Georgian era could, indeed, boast of such names as Wilson, Gainsborough, and Reynolds; but although George III. stepped out of the common course of his family to found and endow a Royal Academy for the encouragement of native artists, who then first rose to eminence, they and the public were still left without the means of improving their taste by an acquaintance with standards of excellence stamped by the approval of preceding generations. Accordingly the transfer, in 1779, for 30,000*l.* of the Houghton Gallery, formed by Sir Robert Walpole, and

illustrated by his son the dilettante Horace, to a country then regarded as but emerging from barbarism, was only the first of a long series of anomalies difficult to explain, perhaps to justify.

The wars and convulsions subsequent on the first French Revolution, among many secondary consequences, occasioned a vast change in the ownership of works of Art. The suppression of convents, the desecration of churches, the pillage of palaces, the ruin of families by plunder or impositions, glutted every market. Altar-pieces, which during centuries had evoked the orisons of admiring devotees; canvasses, long transmitted as unalienable heir-looms, were seized or reluctantly sold. And this occurred when every country in continental Europe was successively ravaged by revolution or devastated by invading armies. Where nearly all were sellers, and money was either extorted or hoarded, prices became almost nominal, and the English alone were in circumstances to profit by chances of such rare recurrence. Then accordingly were founded or formed the principal private collections in Great Britain, and such of them as have recently been resold amply vindicate the prudence of these investments. But while English amateurs of all classes sustained the reputation of their country, their Government kept aloof. Its finances were administered by men who believed that their mission was to save Europe from military invasion, and who would probably have considered such a diversion of any portion of their lavish foreign subsidies as an ill-timed parody on Nero fiddling while Rome was in flames. We who can look calmly back may, however, regret that a few thousands out of our enormous war-sacrifices had not, from time to time, been appropriated for the prospective embellishment of that peace which these sacrifices eventually purchased. And if it be true that an overture was once made to Mr. Pitt to transfer to England the Florence Gallery for 200,000*l.*, few of our readers would probably grudge that our debt should have been increased for such a purpose, however much those who have studied its works under the genial sky and congenial associations which now surround them might regret finding the corridors and halls of the Uffizii bared of its splendours. With that collection as a nucleus, round which to accumulate such acquisitions as were then passing through the hands of Day, Ottley, Sloane, Camuccini, Buchanan, Bryan, Wallis, and other connoisseurs, our National Gallery would, before the continental governments had entered into competition with us, have distanced them all.\* Or had our

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\* During the last half century the collections containing pictures of public importance which have been brought to sale in England or

rulers at once secured the Orleans' Gallery, weeding it afterwards of whatever might be replaced to advantage from other sources, our fathers would, at no heavy cost, have enjoyed advantages for forming public taste which are but indifferently afforded to our generation. The same official apathy defeated the intentions of Sir Francis Bourgeois, who, in 1811, left to Dulwich College a collection of 354 pictures, which he had intended to bequeath to his country, and at a much later date allowed the Standish Gallery to pass as the bequest of an Englishman to the French nation.\*

Whatever excuses may be competent to our administrations during the contest, these cannot avail them from the time that it had vindicated a stable peace. Long was the struggle, costly the effort, yet England was neither weakened nor impoverished at its close. After successfully essaying the hazards of war, it surely became them to cultivate, and to redeem from protracted neglect, those arts which are among the most enduring elements of national glory, as well as of national wealth. But the Liverpool Cabinet thought otherwise. The financial surplus, annually recurring, notwithstanding a rapid repeal of war taxes, was constantly absorbed by a farther reduction of imposts, while countries upon which the recent struggle had fallen far more severely, were already rivalling each other in the formation or extension of their national museums. From this anomalous state of things the country was at length aroused by the generous patriotism of Sir George Beaumont, whose artistic taste and intelligence were united to rare success as an amateur painter. In a debate in the House of Commons, 1st July, 1823, on a proposed extension of the British Museum, it was stated that an offer by that gentleman of his collection of pictures, as a gift to the nation, had been declined from want of any place in which to preserve them. Whereupon Mr. Agar Ellis, afterwards Lord Dover, gave notice of his intention to introduce, in the following Session, a grant for purchasing Mr. Angerstein's collection as the nucleus of a National Gallery, a proposal which was cordially supported by Mr. Baring, and was carried into effect in April, 1824, by a unanimous vote of 60,000*l.* for that purpose. The pictures thus purchased were thirty-eight in number, selected chiefly by Sir

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on the Continent cannot be less than fifty, at only two or three of which have purchases been made for our National Gallery.

\* Such, at least, was the intention of Mr. Standish, whose vanity obtained from the King of the French a suite of rooms in the Louvre expressly for his collection, and bearing his name; but the whole is about to be sold in London! *L'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose.*

Thomas Lawrence, and in all respects well suited to the object in view.

The work thus happily begun seems to have been regarded by our rulers as so far completed that it might be left to the favour of individual donors, aided at intervals by a chance purchase from the public treasury; and as the trustees have consisted chiefly of men connected with or dependant on successive governments, it is not surprising that they tacitly adopted this view. Accordingly, from 1826 to 1834 no money was so expended, and the result has been that in twenty-eight years, since 1824, 91 pictures have been added to the National Gallery by bequest, 65 by donation, but only 33 by purchase; and that while at Munich and Berlin collections many times more numerous and comprehensive have been formed, in ours a majority of the great schools of painting remain almost unrepresented.\* Presuming that this state of matters cannot be regarded as satisfactory, it may be well to consider by what means it has been brought about.

The National Gallery is under the management of fifteen trustees, besides the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer as *ex officio* members. At present the list contains nine peers, one privy councillor, a member of Parliament, the Comptroller General, the Accountant General, a retired banker, and the President of the Royal Academy. Most of these noblemen and gentlemen are more or less known as amateurs of Art, and at least one-half of them possess or have formed collections of pictures. It would be impossible to name individuals more deserving of public confidence and respect, so that whatever defects occur in their administration may be imputed to the system rather than to the men. But that two Cabinet Ministers should be *ex officio* connoisseurs of Art, mainly entrusted with selecting the national pictures, seems a singular plan for a people of eminently practical ideas. It has arisen probably from a confusion of ideas, which mixes up the two essentially distinct considerations,—whether any national funds shall be expended on Art? and, what pictures shall be bought?

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\* The Pinacothek at Munich contains 1269, the Berlin Gallery 1252 pictures. Those in the Louvre are or were nearly 2000; at the Prado of Madrid about as many; in the Uffizii above 1200; in the Museo Borbonico of Naples some 700; in the Vienna Belvedere above 1700. The numbers in our text are exclusive of Mr. Vernon's noble gift of 152 select modern British paintings; and it must be borne in mind that of the 227 pictures which, in February, 1853, compose our Gallery, 44 are by native masters. At Rome the Doria Collection contains 810 works; the Borghese 583.



Let the former point be settled by Parliament, under the guidance of the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but let the moneys so provided be left for distribution to a few competent and in all respects responsible persons.

It would seem from printed Minutes of their proceedings for 1845-46, that the average attendance at ordinary monthly meetings of the trustees during the Parliamentary Session is scarcely four, business being often transacted by two or three. It is not our intention now to examine all details of the establishment and its management, but we shall consider the course usually adopted for the acquisition of pictures. In regard to purchases, it appears that the trustees have frequently offers from dealers or amateurs, the latter being in many instances gentlemen of rank and fortune; only a small portion of these, however, form the subject of inquiry or negotiation, the refusal, which in most instances follows, being unaccompanied by recorded reasons or particulars. Occasionally the matter drops without further notice; at other times an offer is ineffectually made; while, in the rare cases when a purchase is carried through, no minute is entered of the considerations which led to the selection or regulated the price. We look for further information from returns lately moved for by Mr. Hume, but so far as the Trustees' Minutes have as yet been communicated to the public, the end in view seems that of merely recording their decisions. For such a policy one reason is palpable,—to spare the feelings of those whose overtures are rejected. Yet where an expenditure of public money for the advancement of national taste is in question, it may be argued that such reserve is misplaced, and were it not maintained, perhaps fewer indiscreet proposals would be put forward by ignorant or interested parties, while a wholesome check on the trust management would be established. The cloud now resting on its administration is at all events unsatisfactory. The public are not aware in what manner their æsthetic interests are attended to, while individuals willing to cede to the nation, at a fair price, pictures of importance, are left in ignorance how to proceed, and often shrink from exposing themselves to curt refusal. An impression is abroad (which, even if unfounded, must necessarily limit their choice of purchases) that the trustees rarely entertain overtures unless each picture is submitted for inspection at the Gallery; it is, moreover, very generally understood that they habitually refuse to transact with parties wishing to dispose of a number of pictures *en bloc*, upon the ground that they will offer for nothing not individually worthy of its place in a national collection. When

a purchase has been resolved on by the trustees, it is reported by them to the Treasury, by whom, or rather by the *ex officio* trustees, it is authorised, and, when completed, the price is included in the miscellaneous estimates presented to Parliament for the year.

Among other effects of such a system, it is obvious, First, that pictures brought to sale in foreign countries can hardly be proposed for consideration or bid for. Secondly, that the trustees are very much debarred from taking into view collections of merit which come to be disposed of entire; hence single pictures sold in either of these ways only reach our Gallery casually, through intermediate hands, and at enhanced prices. Thirdly, that each purchase, however unimportant, must be formally sanctioned — subject to discussion on its own merits — by the House of Commons, a tribunal in many respects ill fitted for dealing with such details. Fourthly, that the supposed absurdity of asking from that quarter trifling sums tends, in conjunction with other necessary consequences of the present administration, to prevent the acquisition of such pictures as, under various circumstances, might be got far below their value. Fifthly, that opportunities of making important additions to the collection are liable to be irretrievably lost, from considerations of temporary convenience at the Treasury.\*

But these self-evident results are not the only evils practically experienced. A great public library should, in as far as possible, contain the best and most remarkable literature of every country and age; it ought to preserve and transmit works that have promoted or serve to commemorate intellectual progress, however much these may have been superseded by later standards or more advanced tastes; it must store up the muniments of bibliography as well as its perfected productions. On the same principle, a National Gallery, to be worthy of its name, should embrace the whole range of Pictorial Art. Lanzi, the historian of painting in Italy, mentions thirteen schools within that peninsula, and the classification might be carried further: Stirling, in his '*Annals of Spanish Art*,' enumerates five Iberian provinces each entitled to a separate place. Byzantium, Flanders, France, Holland, and England have had also their peculiar styles, while Upper and Lower Germany respectively claim

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\* That some of these restrictions are occasionally relaxed appears from the recent purchase of a Titian at the Soult sale in Paris; and from the mission in the summer of 1851 to Venice, which, though unsuccessful, was a step in the right direction, and may, we trust, be renewed under happier auspices and with better fruits.

consideration. Now it may surprise many of our readers to be told that, after twenty-eight years, and an expenditure of 122,000*l.*, the British nation possesses specimens of at most but fifteen of the twenty-five schools thus reckoned up. Italy had artists of eminence coeval with Dante and Boccaccio; her national style of painting had taken firm root before her language was formed or generally cultivated: her advancement in intellectual refinement may be traced equally through either of these mediums. Yet the trustees of our Gallery have acquired at most four Italian pictures previous to A.D. 1500! While some of these gentlemen, as trustees of the British Museum, have sanctioned the expenditure of large sums for the incunabula of printing, and have unsparingly added editions of the classics, of Chaucer, and of Froissart, they obstinately spurn the antecedents of Raffaele, Leonardo, or Titian; at the same time they freely devote the public money and walls to imitators of these great masters. Thus, of thirty-three pictures purchased under the present system, eleven are of the later Bolognese school, or by Rubens and Rembrandt, all already amply illustrated by the Angerstein Collection, or by gifts and bequests. And why this? Is it that these masters rank highest in the range of Art, or that their influence on public taste and academic teaching is the most favourable? Do they, as types of a cycle, as examples of progress or of decline, possess an adventitious interest for the history of Painting? Can it be that they were recommended as rarities elsewhere inaccessible to Englishmen? By no means, for the Caracci and their followers were clever eclectics; the bright flutter of Rubens and the brown shadows of Rembrandt are perilous prototypes; while to our countrymen all these names are household words, their canvasses hanging in every collection, their reputation already a subject of perhaps exaggerated hero-worship. In this state of matters, it surely cannot be satisfactory that the trustees should go on adding to their Guidos at great prices, while names infinitely more elevated are strangers to their catalogue; nor that we should possess

Eight Rubenses, but no Albert Durer;  
 Nine Rembrandts, without a Holbein;  
 Eight Nicolas Poussins, and one Bellini;  
 Six Gaspare Poussins, and one doubtful Del Sarto;  
 Nine Claudes, and one questionable Giorgione;  
 Twelve Carraccis, and three Raffaeles;  
 Three Molas, and one Velasquez;  
 Eight Guidos, but no Fra Bartolomeo.

‘There are pictures,’ observes Mrs. Jameson, ‘of little in-

‘trinsic beauty or merit, which yet have great value and interest; they mark the transition from one style to another, or they indicate a particular phase in the life of the individual painter, or they illustrate a certain aspect of faith, of civilisation, of morals, in the country which produced them.’ Indeed, the progress of most schools affords interesting episodes in the intellectual development of our species, but also offers to students of Art many warnings, and not a few suggestions vainly sought for in acknowledged masterpieces. It would be beside our present purpose to consider how far it is desirable to encourage among modern artists a return to the conventional motives and feeble mechanism of early painters. That question, long familiar in other countries, is at length occupying the public mind in England; and a fraternity, banded together as Pre-Raphaelites, are now fulsomely lauded, now as much decried as the precursors of an age of mannerism. Such of them as exhibit earnestness of purpose and careful execution, or have the courage to oppose conscientious convictions and close imitation of Nature to popular clamour, merit respect and forbearance; but if the self-appointed regenerators of taste are to be mere imitators, — reproducers of antiquated forms whose spirit is long dead, — it is full time that the public should be enabled to see in our National Collection the wide difference between their prototypes and their performances. To that test, sooner or later, all mere eclectic efforts must be brought; and it is surely the province of national museums not only to facilitate such comparisons, but to offer for inspection curiosities as well as masterpieces of Art, whether in painting, sculpture, or topography. And it is gratifying to find this principle at length admitted in an authoritative quarter. The Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851 avow, in their Second Report, that ‘it is of the greatest importance to collect, while it is possible, good specimens of the various schools, including the earliest masters, so as to enable the spectator to trace the gradual progress in the art of Painting generally, as well as the gradual development of the qualities for which particular schools have been distinguished.’ They add, that the absence of such a series, and of an arrangement with a view to schools and the progress of Art, ‘must be regarded as defeating in a great measure the objects of a National Gallery.’ The past year has, however, given us promise of better things. Two Cabinet Ministers, high in the confidence of their respective parties, have, at a civic banquet, volunteered a more liberal acknowledgment of the claims of Art on the national resources than we are used to hear from quarters so responsible. A Royal Speech also has, for the first time, laid these claims

before Parliament, as justifying a comprehensive scheme, and, we trust, an enlightened policy, for the promotion of such objects.

It remains to notice one more mischief that has arisen under the present administration of the National Gallery — the prices usually paid by its trustees. On this subject we enter with much diffidence. The money-value of works of Art can never be brought to a fixed standard, depending as it does rather on such adventitious circumstances as fashion, or the number and means of competing purchasers. The axiom that they are worth what they will fetch when brought to sale, though reducible to an absurdity, is practically sound. No intelligent connoisseur would appreciate Greuze's dimpled soubrettes higher in 1852 than in 1832, yet these pictures are now sold for ten or twenty times more than they would have brought twenty years ago. Still there are limits between the extremes, which practical good sense will generally observe; and although the Madonna di San Sisto is justly regarded as the masterpiece of Raffaele's easel-pictures, it would, if now offered to public competition, probably not fetch the enormous sum given for it by an Elector of Saxony, when money was at least twice its present value. To us it humbly appears that ten thousand guineas for our two larger Correggios, and 3800*l.* for the small one, excellent as these are, were quite extravagant; that the noble Velasquez landscape, which cost 2200*l.*, would have been well paid at half of the price; that the Umbrian picture, misnamed a Perugino, though by no means in the bad state alleged in the House of Commons, is intrinsically worth little more than the 50*l.* there said to have been paid by Mr. Beckford, who sold it to the trustees for 800*l.*; that the portrait falsely ascribed to Holbein ought not, even if genuine, to have brought a *moitié* of 800*l.*\* As we write these lines, the prices realised for a few *chefs-d'œuvre* of the Soult Gallery at Paris may seem to invalidate them; but the extraordinary inequality in the results of that sale appears to instance the anomalies of auctions under the casual pressure of unflinching competition, rather than to indicate the actual or even comparative value of the pictures so run

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\* While thus protesting against such a payment, we have little sympathy with the virulent outcry raised against this ill-considered purchase. Those initiated into the mysteries of picture-dealing ought to know better. That cavillers have but one such mistake to charge against a body of amateurs, acting for nearly thirty years upon no defined system, and constantly beset by the keenest of interested speculators, is no small compliment to their habitual caution.

up. Two thousand six hundred pounds may or may not be exorbitant for the Titian there acquired by the trustees; but, considering how well that master was already represented in Trafalgar Square, a question arises whether the price might not have been more usefully expended at the sale in half a dozen specimens of good Spanish masters scarcely yet accessible in England. These are, however, merely opinions of an individual, on which we have no wish to dogmatise; and as the British nation can well afford such sums for standard works, it may pay the penalty of coming late into the market. What we do regret is to see purchases made which seem to be recommended chiefly by their high price; and works formerly neglected bought for enhanced sums. Under the former category, we would mention the misnamed Perugino; and, notwithstanding a feeble official denial, the Soult Titian may be quoted as one of several cases belonging to the latter.

It thus appears, First, that the National Gallery is at present neither altogether adequate to accomplish its proper purposes nor worthy of a rich and refined people. Secondly, that many important schools and epochs of painting are not represented in it. Thirdly, that additions are made languidly and at long intervals. Fourthly, that, from a defective system and lack of stated funds, opportunities of rendering it more comprehensive and useful have often been lost. Fifthly, that, owing to a want of proper measures for hearing of or obtaining pictures, when casually brought to sale in various countries, those hitherto purchased have generally cost very large sums.

For the remedy of these evils we venture to offer the following suggestions: — First, that an annual grant, of fixed amount, for the purchase of pictures, be regularly submitted to the House of Commons among the miscellaneous estimates—all unexpended moneys to remain at the credit of the National Gallery Trustees, with power to them, under certain restrictions, to anticipate the regular vote. With such a fund at their disposal, they would be enabled to effect acquisitions as opportunities might occur, in some years within, in others exceeding, the annual grant. And they might freely profit by sudden or passing opportunities of purchase, which the dilatory routine of a Treasury warrant must often frustrate. At all events, they would have no such excuse for those delays in considering or completing acquisitions, which are now sometimes matter of complaint. If judiciously husbanded and applied, the sum need not be large—say 5000*l.* to 10,000*l.* a year. Secondly, such a reconstitution of the administrative body as shall concentrate the whole responsibility of selection in the hands of a few qualified persons.

For this purpose, the number of trustees might be reduced to five or six, three to be a quorum, and no purchase to be made without the written concurrence of three or four trustees, stating the reasons which have guided their choice. Thirdly, the trustees to be men intimately conversant with Art, whether professionally or as amateurs, who will devote a large portion of their time to this duty, and will undertake such journeys as may be desirable for inspecting pictures offered for sale. In order to secure their doing so, they should receive liberal salaries, but no commission on purchases, nor any allowance for journeys beyond actually necessary expenses. Fourthly, a report of their proceedings to be annually submitted to Parliament, and to include a critical account of the pictures acquired, with their prices, and the names and reasons of the trustees by whom these were bought; also a list of pictures offered by gift or bequest, or for purchase, and declined; with the names of parties offering them, and of the prices asked. Fifthly, all new purchases to be placed during six months in a part of the rooms allotted for that purpose, a short notice being appended of the reasons of purchase and prices paid. Sixthly, all pictures once acquired for the Gallery to remain the unalienable property of the nation, but the Lords of the Treasury to have power, on the recommendation of a majority of trustees, temporarily or permanently, to remove into provincial public galleries works of Art which, as duplicates, copies, or otherwise, may be no longer of primary importance in the Metropolis. All pictures so removed to be conspicuously inscribed as belonging to the Gallery, and, if gifts, to bear the name of the donors; and every such removal to be mentioned, with the reasons thereof, in the annual report to Parliament. A judicious application of this rule might enable the trustees to deal with parties willing to sell, on favourable terms, several pictures together; and ought not to discourage individual liberality, while it would solve the difficulty now often experienced of accepting gifts and bequests not entirely suitable for the metropolitan collection. It would also greatly encourage the provincial galleries now beginning to spring up under a statute passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth year of her present Majesty.\* In concluding these suggestions,

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\* We have abstained from noticing the large portion of the Trustees' printed Minutes taken up with the question of pictures offered by gift or bequest which, in a great majority of cases, are declined, from want of space or lack of interest. This department of their duties is necessarily more delicate than negotiations for purchase; and although there can be no good reason for stating demerit

we would propose the formation in our National Gallery of a collection of portraits of artists, whenever possible, by themselves. Although a large hall closely panell'd with uncongenial heads, as at Florence, cannot be otherwise than monotonous and confusing, a well distributed series of such likenesses must have peculiar interest for a people under the influence of whose domestic habits family portraiture has almost taken its place with High Art.

But while we have thus gone into considerable detail regarding such changes as appear to us calculated to improve the Gallery and its administration, we cannot too strongly inculcate on those entrusted with its interests, the propriety of at once deciding upon some general views as to what the National Art-museum ought to be, and how it may best be brought into accordance with these views. This ought to have been done eight and twenty years ago; but, in a matter so momentous, better late than not at all. These points being once fixed and defined, the trustees may proceed systematically to carry them out, while the country will know what it has to look for, and decide what efforts it will make to realise the proposed objects.

The subject of picture-cleaning opens a field of contention on which we enter reluctantly and briefly. From the outset we are met by the most opposite assertions, the most contradictory opinions. Amateurs and artists, picture-restorers and picture-dealers mingle in the fray, occasionally handling their weapons in utter oblivion of the Ovidian apophthegm, — that native ferocity is tempered by a faithful study of those arts which the combatants profess to cultivate. These discrepancies, however, naturally result from the different points of view taken up by the disputants. Indeed, there is no fixed standard for picture-cleaning any more than an accepted canon of pictorial execution or of artistic taste. There are, and always have been, painters of acknowledged genius and talent, whose best works display at first what appears cold colouring, spotty lights, streaky touches, or hard outlines, to intelligent critics who would gladly see those peculiarities subdued and softened, either by judicious glazings, or by ‘the mellowing touch of time,’ — a phrase which

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as a ground of refusal, the considerations inducing acceptance may be important to the public. It is understood that a dread of his favourite works being eventually weeded out for sale chiefly deterred Sir Francis Bourgeois from depositing them in the British Museum; yet the sensitiveness of amateurs might, perhaps, be satisfied by some such regulation as we have suggested, authorising an occasional transfer to other towns of national pictures, without their alienation.



implies, in plain terms, the modifying effect of atmospheric influences, including a gradually accumulated film of dirt. It necessarily follows, that such a removal of dirt and varnish as should replace pictures of this description exactly in their pristine state would be no real improvement, and, to superficial observers, would seem an outrage on the artist's fame, as well as a deterioration of their attractive qualities. Yet those who think that a well-restored picture ought to seem as nearly as possible such as when it left the easel, would be quite entitled to consider such a course of treatment advantageous to the painter and his work, which it clearly would be, where the original aspect of the finished work had been all that could be wished. But how often does it happen that, by reducing the surface to its original purity, the tone of a picture, which constituted its great charm, is destroyed, or, at all events, sacrificed until the new varnish shall again become yellow by age, or dusky from smoke? Thus the whole question resolves itself into one of judgment rather than degree, the very operations adapted to one case being prejudicial in others, and one man impugning as raw what another approves as pure. How far the unveiling of antecedent injuries be a gain or a loss, is a more delicate inquiry, to be disposed of after narrow examination in each particular case. Since, then, there is no absolute criterion of judgment in the matter, there is surely no need for dogmatism. The most experienced cleaners are generally the most cautious; and in nothing is the maxim more appropriate which inculcates endurance of inconvenience rather than rash remedies.

Thus far we speak of such processes as skilful restorers legitimately employ. There are operations of another character, manipulations and applications of a different sort, which cannot be too rigorously dealt with, whether practised by unprincipled quacks, or stupidly committed to rude domestic handling. Corrosive dilutions, scarifying tools, soapy scrubbing-brushes, have ruthlessly ruined easel-pictures of genius, not fewer perhaps in number than the fine frescoes obscured by white-wash. In the latter case, exhumation is occasionally practicable; in the former, our old friends at the best return to us with new faces. In England such barbarities are habitually perpetrated. In the crowded magazine of Signor Basseggio at Rome, it is easy to distinguish the panels and canvasses picked up on his visits to London, which give one the same shudder occasioned by Agrates' too faithful statue of the flayed St. Bartholomew at Milan; but which, after due subjection to the cunning hands of Italian restorers, will emerge with a recent *Velatura* to tempt, as intact specimens, our credulous countrymen, and once

again to reach the shores of Albion. With the chance of such results, picture-owners may well be jealous of picture-cleaners, especially among ourselves. In Italy and other continental countries, the risks are of another and less ruthless kind, consisting rather in defacing than effacing, in laying on than rubbing out. Here the trade is taken up by brethren of the brush, many of whom find it quite as easy to over-paint dirt as to remove it, and who tone a picture into harmony with the broken spot they have repaired, rather than master difficulties of touch and tint in their proper patchwork. Bad as this system is, it proves less destructive than the scarifying one; for a careful removal of the extraneous matter may yet leave the old surface comparatively pure. The most cruel and remorseless of all is the double outrage of rubbing down, until startled 'even at the *voilà* himself has made,' the operator seizes his pencils to repair it, obscuring the whole surface, and most of the merit of the original work.

Although some of these observations may be inapplicable to our National Gallery, the cautions which they suggest can never be misplaced, and we may refer to the strong feelings repeatedly expressed on this subject, in support of our belief, that a better concentrated management is highly desirable, on this as well as on other grounds. As regards the public at large, unable to examine, or incompetent to judge for themselves, the question is simply one of evidence, all nameless witnessess being of course set aside. If so tried, a majority of testimony seems on the whole to absolve most operations undertaken of late years from the charge of *recent damage*. But while we cannot resist this conclusion, we adopt it with hesitation, conscious that it might hereafter be quoted in support of still more doubtful measures, unless qualified by an earnest protest against a persistence in any similar practices, without establishing a more direct responsibility.

The attention of Parliament has been of late given to the building in which our national pictures are placed. Without looking back to the circumstances under which it was erected, we may assume that its unfitness under present ones is admitted, and we believe that the leaders of all parties in the House of Commons stand in a measure pledged to promote some remedy for that evil. The Commissioners named in 1851 to report upon an eligible site for a new Gallery, considered Kensington the most appropriate, and suggested that, in default of funds for purchasing the necessary ground, a portion of the Royal Gardens might be ceded for the purpose. The immense resort of visitors to the Great Exhibition of that year in some

degree obviated any objection of distance, and seemed to demonstrate the advantage of concentrating many different attractions in one establishment for the public instruction and amusement. Part accordingly of the large surplus funds from the Exhibition have been invested in land about Kensington Gore, it would seem, at the very spot vaguely indicated by the Commissioners in 1851; and abundant space having been secured upon what is considered moderate terms, arrangements are understood to be contemplated for the gradual removal thither of various museums and associations, dedicated to Art, Literature, and Science, which are now scattered over the Metropolis. Upon the advantages, demerits, or difficulties of thus centralising numerous institutions, involving a variety of interests, we cannot at present enter, but we may briefly review the inducements to remove the National Gallery almost into the suburbs.

Its present site is at an eddy formed by the meeting of four principal streams which hurry the metropolitan and out-lying population of London, from the east and west, from the north and south. It thus can never be lost sight of or forgotten, but offers an attractive refuge to many a weary passenger, tossed and bewildered in the restless surge. But the proposed locality being at the least crowded space found within a certain distance of the central masses, the new National Gallery will consequently have less numerous casual visitors; and the complaints of its being habitually used as a mere resting-place or rendezvous, irrespective of its proper purposes, will in a great measure cease. Fewer, accordingly, will avail themselves of its free admission, while the class who do so will be rather such as go to admire, learn, or appreciate, than those whose chance entrance may possibly expose them to novel influences of unlooked-for beauty and elevating thought. Amateurs of Art will hail the change, but the million will have less opportunity of improvement.

Again, Trafalgar Square, though the most central and commanding spot that could be desired, very imperfectly fulfils a condition set forth by the Commissioners as requisite, namely, 'an insulated position, where the Gallery may be secured from the obstruction of light and air occasioned by neighbouring buildings, and where additional space may hereafter be provided for the increase of the collections, or for the other departments of Art which it may be deemed desirable to unite with a National Gallery.' But even assuming that, by no excessive outlay, suitable space contiguous to the present site might be obtained, we fear that the dense cloud of all-pervading

smoke could never be so far raised from Charing Cross as to save the pictures from soot, and to supply lights favourable to their beauties. Regent's Park, where the wind rarely draws from the south, is recommended by a comparative exemption from coal-stained atmosphere; but its clay soil is supposed to counteract this advantage. On the whole, therefore, we may assume Kensington Gore as by no means ill adapted for one at least of the purposes for which it has been purchased; but in laying it out, we trust that the last clause just quoted from the Commissioners' Report may be steadily kept in view, and that the new National Gallery fronting the Park will provide ample space for the whole Fine-Arts' collections belonging to the country. Thus far at least centralisation would be an obvious boon; and unless the statuary, drawings, and engravings, the Assyrian, Lycian, Egyptian, and Etruscan remains at the British Museum, be brought into juxtaposition with the national pictures, the scheme will be inadequate, its results a failure. This is the principle adopted in almost every European capital; and in most of those where it is not yet fully carried out, no time is being lost in remedying the defect. It may, indeed, be too late to place in the centre of London such a group of national buildings as are clustered at Berlin, or in the Place du Carousel, but we may at least bring together our æsthetical resources instead of scattering them over the largest city of Europe.

It may be well to consider next, how a large collection of pictures can best be placed and arranged to advantage. On the Continent, buildings originally provided for convents or palaces have been adapted, with more or less success to this purpose, but in no instance with results entirely satisfactory. This is the case at the Vatican, at the Belle Arti in Florence, the Brera in Milan, and the Academies of Bologna and Venice. In the Uffizii at Florence side lights upon spacious corridors and commodious chambers are combined with cupolas over square halls of moderate size. At Dresden, the principle is to appearance simple—a hollow parallelogram with a double file of parallel rooms, unequal in their lengths, the outer suite laterally lighted from the exterior, the inner one from the court; but various inconveniences having been experienced from this arrangement, a new museum is in course of being constructed. The Pinacothek of Munich is an elongated fabric containing a triple range of rooms, the centre ones large and lighted by lanterns, on either side a corridor or series of cabinets with lateral windows for smaller pictures. The Berlin Museum consists of three long galleries at right angles, having full-sized windows on one

side; between each window a transverse wooden screen crosses nearly to the opposite wall, leaving there, however, passage space for communication, while the open portion above the screens remains free from partitions. On these screens and on the inner wall are distributed the pictures, the general effect being that of a suite of rather small rooms, each lighted by its single window. Fenestral reflections on opposite pictures are thus in a great measure avoided, and were the screens somewhat more apart, in consideration of the many large altar-pieces, and of the liability to mutual cross reflections from gilt frames, this arrangement, which greatly facilitates a classification of pictures according to schools and dates, would practically be a perhaps nearly unexceptionable adaptation of the system of high side-lights, except in so far as it sacrifices beauty and symmetry of construction.

In the Galleries of Art now being erected at Edinburgh, Mr. Playfair has adopted, under very favourable circumstances, a different distribution depending entirely on light from above. Two parallel and exactly similar suites are destined respectively for ancient and modern works. Their total length of 190 feet will be divided into five halls communicating longitudinally by wide doorways. The first and last of these halls are 26 feet by 36; the two intermediate ones are octagons of 36 feet; the centre an octagon of 43 feet. Two other octagons of 22 feet are dovetailed between the suites. The walls of all are 30 feet to the cornices, with coved ceilings and ample cupolas. By this arrangement every picture will be favourably placed with reference to the centre of light, although for the delicate beauty of miniatures or drawings, and even for all dark or elaborated cabinet pieces, a less distance from its source is of course desirable. Should this objection be overcome, Mr. Playfair will probably have solved the hitherto puzzling problem of combining with architectural symmetry and pleasing effect a highly satisfactory location for pictures.

A somewhat novel plan has been propounded through the daily press, by one whose signature is a guarantee for earnest if not matured views. The 'Author of Modern Painters,' proposes that in a new National Gallery every picture shall hang 'on the line,'—meaning that its point of view shall be opposite to the spectator's eye, its horizon corresponding with his; that a classification in countries and schools be carried out, all works of each artist being placed in immediate juxtaposition, together with their known sketches, studies, or engravings; that the rooms shall be of such dimensions as to enable every picture to be looked at from the best distance; and that they be all lighted

from above with at least one under storey to the building. Such an arrangement would require; first, that all the rooms should be of width adapted for the largest pictures; second, that they should be cumulatively of enormous extent, so as to accommodate all the collection in a single line. In order to effect these conditions, within any moderate space and attainable cost, it is proposed to mass the whole rooms together, in suites doubling back upon each other, and to devote the under apartments to various extrinsic purposes: but the latter suggestion seems defeated by the former, as side-lights for the lower storeys would be unattainable in a great block of building. Looking to these difficulties, to the value of ground in proper localities, and to the necessary economy in public departments, we may waive consideration on its own merits of a scheme so ingeniously Utopian.

On this subject many valuable suggestions are now derived from science, but all such require the test of experience before they can be accepted as practically useful. The comparative advantage of lateral or vertical lighting still divides the suffrages of connoisseurs, but our own observation is on the whole favourable to the former. Apart from the fact that painters do not prefer to set up their easels under cupolas, it seems that light falls more advantageously on a picture sideways, when so coming from behind the spectator that the window and the object are not at once in his view. It is, however, beyond question that large paintings containing objects of proportionate size, and requiring an elevated place, are favourably viewed when the light is thrown from above; but as the advantage seems mainly to arise from their proximity to the source of light, it must be lost, as regards the lower lines of pictures, especially when these present minute delineation and high finish. The expedient of facing our best pictures with plate glass, recently recommended and partially adopted, may be endurable so long as they remain in their present contaminated atmosphere, but we do trust that, if removed to Kensington, a practice will be dispensed with, under which, in the words of Dr. Waagen, 'an amateur can have no more enjoyment of 'them,' and which unquestionably, in most cases, impedes all satisfactory or improving study of the Masters. As to points of this sort, however, and various minor considerations for the proper exhibition of paintings, we refer to Sir Charles Eastlake's pamphlet, in the earnest hope that these and all such may be considered maturely and without prejudice, before the public taste and public money are once more made responsible for a fitting receptacle for our National Gallery.

The preceding observations were ready for press when Mr. Dyce's letter to H. R. H. Prince Albert reached us. Many of the strictures which we have felt called upon to make on the state and administration of the National Gallery are there ably enforced, and the alleged grievances will, through his pages, reach the highest quarter in plain though courteous terms. Referring to dissatisfaction with the result of past management, expressed when Sir Charles Eastlake was appointed keeper, Mr. Dyce observes:—

‘ There were various grounds for the disappointment which manifested itself; but in one particular all were agreed: whatever might be the cause,—whether it were from a defect in the constitution of the administrative body, or from partial views of Art entertained by them, or from an inadequate conception of the office they were appointed to discharge,—the character and progress of the Collection had not kept pace with public expectation. It neither realised, nor gave evidence of progress towards realising, the idea of a National Collection of Pictures. This was felt even by those (and at that time they were a large majority) who, if the question had been proposed to them, would have found it difficult to say, in very precise terms, what a National Collection of Pictures ought to be. But it was obvious to the most cursory observer that an entire want of system prevailed in the management of the Gallery. Without questioning the desirableness of the additions made to the Collection from time to time, the character of the additions indicated that they were due rather to accident and the bias of individual predilections for certain schools of Art, than to any predetermined plan for the formation of the Gallery. This, indeed, was not left to conjecture. In 1836 the keeper of the Gallery had stated in evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons that, so far as he was aware, no plan had been proposed by the Trustees either for the purchase, or “for the historical arrangement of pictures according to schools, or for making a distinction between the great schools of Italy and the “different national schools;” and nothing had subsequently transpired to evince that any such plan had, up to the period to which I refer, been devised or acted upon. . . . The additions to the Collection made by purchase between the years 1844 and 1847, as well as the known opportunities of purchase overlooked or disregarded, evinced with sufficient clearness that, during that period, the Trustees had made no advances towards the systematic fulfilment of their undertaking. . . . Twenty-eight years have elapsed since the commencement of the Gallery, and yet the question which, one would have thought, must have met the Trustees *in limine*,—at the very threshold of their duties,—remains undecided. They have never informed the public what they conceive the National Gallery ought to be,—what it is to consist of,—how it is to advance towards completion,—how it is to be arranged,—what is to be its purpose; yet these, surely, were matters for preliminary consideration.’  
(Pp. 1—5.)

Mr. Dyce ascribes this unfortunate state of matters to 'the jumbling and confusion of responsibilities,' and especially to the notorious 'inefficiency of unpaid committees of management,'—a position which he strengthens by this dictum in the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1837:—'Our experience of them furnishes but one additional and almost superfluous proof of the folly of expecting efficient labour and systematic care at the hands of a numerous body, unpaid for the discharge of its duties, and occupied by other avocations of a more important, a more imperative, and a wholly foreign nature' (p. 34.). Admitting the eminent personal qualities combined in the existing administration, Mr. Dyce asserts the 'fallacy of measuring the chances of success by an aggregate of the individual talent residing in such commissions, which is in fact never brought to bear on their proceedings' (p. 36.), seeing that, 'in most [such] cases, the actual management is in the hands of one or two individuals, who obtain it, not by the delegation but by the negligence of the majority;' and that 'whether the active minority consists of the most or the least desirable members, its inevitable tendency is towards a certain recklessness and a disregard of public opinion;' for 'whatever its acts, it can always retreat and find shelter behind the impenetrable front of the inert majority' (p. 37.). But further, Mr. Dyce, after alluding pointedly to the 'radical and incurable disease of an original inaptitude or inadequacy of a commission for the peculiar business entrusted to its management' (p. 37.), maintains that 'the trustees have been in a false position from the very first' (p. 42.).

The remedy which Mr. Dyce suggests is an 'entire abolition of the present board' (p. 43.): and he thinks, 'that the management ought to be vested in the Treasury . . . some officer being appointed to take charge of all business relating to the National Gallery, to be responsible for the immediate management, and to whom the public should look for the success or failure of the undertaking.' Very large powers, both for the formation and administration of the Collection, are demanded for such officer, and a suggestion is made that he should nominate 'a certain number of qualified persons to give advice on questions submitted to them, particularly with respect to the merits and value of pictures proposed for purchase' (p. 47.). Mr. Dyce's estimate of the qualities requisite for the officer so made responsible for the formation of our Gallery is naturally high. He 'must be able to exercise a degree of critical acumen, and possess an extended and minute acquaintance especially with the earlier schools of Art, and the peculiarities of individual



‘masters, which not only cannot, with any pretence of truth, be attributed to ordinary connoisseurship among us, but is really ‘not common in any country’ (p. 8.). In the face of such a demand, and believing that this standard is by no means exaggerated, we must demur to the expedient so suggested, and are, on the whole, disposed to revert to the one which we have already offered, should the existing board be superseded.

In regard to the proper object and contents of a National Collection of Pictures, our opinion that an historical series, illustrating the progress of Art and its principal schools, is absolutely requisite, has been already sufficiently expressed, and we entirely concur with Mr. Dyce that the chance assemblage or indiscriminate accumulation of good and desirable pictures is far from all that the public are disposed or entitled to look for from those to whom their artistic interests are committed. But further, he is ‘anxious to press on the consideration of all who ‘are interested in the success of the undertaking, the necessity ‘of defining with exactness before-hand the precise objects to ‘be accomplished’ (p. 51.); and in this view ‘he thinks it might ‘be perhaps satisfactory if, at the outset, a commission of inquiry were appointed, with the view to determine all the objects to be accomplished, and to obtain such information of a ‘preliminary kind as would afford data for the construction of a ‘proper and efficient machinery for the formation and permanent ‘management of the Collection’ (p. 74.). Whatever be the fate of this suggestion, Colonel Mure’s motion for a Select Committee has brought the whole subject under the notice of the House of Commons, and the investigation which it will undergo before the Committee will probably go far to reduce the question to a practical issue.

ART. VI. — 1. *The Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, M.P. A Critical Biography.* By GEORGE HENRY FRANCIS. London : 1852.

2. *Lord George Bentinck. A Political Biography.* By B. DISRAELI, Member of Parliament for the County of Buckingham. Fifth edition — revised. London : 1852.

3. *Venetia.* By B. DISRAELI. A new edition. London: 1853.

**A**BOUT twenty years since a prize was proposed, in an Italian university, for the best essay on the following subject: ‘What individual since the beginning of the world has most occupied ‘the thoughts of mankind?’ The palm was awarded to the essayist who maintained the superior claims of Napoleon to this

world-wide description of notoriety; but the decision was far from commanding universal assent. If, however, a prize were offered at Oxford or Cambridge for a dissertation on the analogous but more limited question — ‘What individual from February 1852 to January 1853 has most occupied the pens, tongues, and ears of Englishmen?’ — the answer would be given by acclamation. The Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, is indisputably the man. His appointment to this post was one of the most startling domestic events that has occurred in our time. People seemed never tired of talking and speculating on it, with its recondite causes and its problematical results. He at once became an inexhaustible topic of animated discussion in society. His portrait was painted by one fashionable artist; his bust was taken in marble, *à la perennius*, by another; what were called likenesses of him appeared in illustrated newspapers by the dozen; and, above all, he was placed in Madame Tussaud’s repository — that British Valhalla in which it is difficult for a civilian to gain a niche without being hanged. He glittered in the political horizon as a phenomenon of the first magnitude; and every glass was turned upon him the more eagerly, because it was impossible to discover, and hazardous to predicate, whether he would turn out a planet, a fixed star, a comet, or a mere vapoury exhalation, or will o’ the wisp, raised by an overheated atmosphere from a rank and unwholesome soil.

To lay aside metaphor — Mr. Disraeli was pretty generally regarded as an intellectual, moral, social, and parliamentary anomaly. His career has been altogether an exceptional one. None but himself can be his parallel; and as all traditional, prescriptive, and familiar tests of character are obviously out of place when applied to that of the ‘successor of Hampden,’ we are by no means surprised to find that the most varying and contradictory opinions still prevail concerning him. There are persons, we hear, who conceive him to be the most profound of modern statesmen; there are others, we know, who contemptuously deny him a title to rank amongst statesmen at all. Some of his admirers declare him to be an orator in the highest sense of the term; whilst his opponents stoutly maintain that he is at best no better than a showy and shallow rhetorician. Favourable critics dwell upon the alleged wit, spirit, cleverness, graphic power, and frequent brilliancy of his writings; whilst those of the severer order profess to be more struck by their meretricious glitter, overwhelming presumption, open disregard of principle, innate vulgarity of conception, and utter absence of earnestness and truth. The very section of the aristocracy which has always

been the last to recognise the claims of genius, points, or very recently did point, to his elevation as an irrefragable proof of the excellence of our institutions; yet the majority of the cultivated classes, whose liberal appreciation of merit for its own sake has been time immemorial exhibited in a thousand ways, were contemporaneously giving vent to a sentiment not much unlike that embodied in the well-known couplet —

‘The thing we know is neither rich nor rare,  
But wonder how the devil it got there.’

That, indeed, is the essential question and real problem. How did he get where we recently gazed upon him with almost as much wonder, though with not exactly the same vague feeling of apprehension, as that with which we contemplated the astounding rise of the new Emperor of the French? How did a gentleman of Jewish extraction, whose previous career was inextricably associated with reminiscences very little calculated to inspire esteem or confidence, manage to become finance-minister of the greatest commercial country, and official leader of the gravest, wisest, and most important representative assembly, in the world? Did he succeed by addressing himself to the good or to the bad feelings of his countrymen? — to their passions and prejudices, or to their reason and good sense? In other words, did he win his position by the fair exercise of talent and industry, or did he steal a march on his competitors, and climb to temporary power upon the shoulders of a well-dressed and wealthy, but turbulent, ill-informed, and irritated, set of agitators, who were marked by many of the most objectionable characteristics of a mob?

We shall endeavour to answer these questions by an impartial review and analysis of the Right Honourable Gentleman's career as illustrated by his writings and speeches, — taking Mr. George Henry Francis as our assistant and occasional guide; for his ‘Critical Biography,’ although frequently betraying an undue partiality for his hero, presents a tolerably correct outline of those events of Mr. Disraeli's life with which we have now to deal. It will speedily be seen, as we proceed, that we are actuated by no party views or motives, but that our main object is to rectify the scale by which our public men are to be judged. Granting that no widespread or lasting injury may result from an insulated example of unmerited promotion to the highest honours of the State, — the case assumes a much more serious aspect when the essential rules of political morality are systematically tampered with, in the hope of making them square with conduct which, so long as their authority remains unim-

paired, must be held emphatically wrong. We are well aware of the delicacy and difficulty of the task; but we have at least one advantage — that, so long as we confine ourselves to what bears on his public career, we need not be overscrupulous in discussing the antecedents of a man who has dealt more largely and profitably in personality than any writer or speaker of our day.

According to the 'Critical Biography,' 'the future orator and statesman was born in the year 1806,' and according to Dodd's Parliamentary Companion, in 1805. He was the first-born of Isaac Disraeli, the eminent author of 'Curiosities of Literature'; a book which, despite of the inaccuracies detected by Mr. Corney and others, has been translated into every modern language that boasts a literature, and must be deemed an indispensable part of every good library. Disraeli the Elder, as he was affectingly designated by the son in the hope of benefiting by the reflected lustre of the paternal fame, was an excellent specimen of the old-fashioned man of letters — amiable, kind-hearted, devoted to his books, and little conversant with the habits or topics of the gay and bustling circles of the metropolis. His claim to an honourable post in the Republic of Letters was unimpeached and is certainly unimpeachable. What, then, do the admirers and followers of Mr. B. Disraeli mean by asserting that, far from being aided by birth and connexion in his social and political aspirations, he had extraordinary disadvantages in this respect to surmount? We know perfectly well that a strong prejudice was entertained against him when he first entered the House of Commons; but this was the natural result of those passages in his life which he now finds it convenient to term his 'wild oats.' If he could have dissociated himself from these, and have moderated his pretensions for an interval, he would have had no reason to complain of his reception; and, to the best of our observation, no *debutant*, in any walk of life, need wish for a better recommendation than an honoured name. In point of hereditary fortune, he was better off than Burke, Sheridan, or Canning; and, with regard to his apparently most serious stumbling-stock, his Jewish extraction, we are by no means sure that, under his adroit and spirited management, it was not, at one period, actually transformed into a stepping-stone.

When 'Pelham' is asked whether illegitimate birth will prevent a person from being a perfect gentleman, he makes answer, that it will not, if the individual feels no consciousness of the stain, for then it will in no respect impair that freedom and independence of bearing which are essential to the character.

To apply this refined remark to the case before us — we conceive that if an Englishman of the Jewish race puts a bold and honest face on the matter, his contemporaries will soon cease to think about it, and that it will speedily become stingless and inoperative as a taunt. So long as Mr. Disraeli was the fearless and uncompromising champion of his oppressed brethren, he carried with him the cordial sympathy of every generous heart and the eager concurrence of every enlightened mind. He participated in the new dignity which he conferred on their cause. Never was there a more striking confirmation of the maxim that ‘honesty is the best policy;’ for it was not until he lowered his tone, and began to capitulate on his own account, that his vulnerable side was laid bare. From the time when he assumed the lead of a party whose watchword is bigotry, and who stand pledged to retain the Jews in their present state of civic inferiority, his Caucasian descent became again the bar sinister of his political shield; but it is his own fault if he selects for his constant associates the hereditary oppressors of his race, and does all that in him lies to fan the smouldering embers of intolerance into a flame. Did he really suppose that he would be allowed to revive the No Popery cry, or to call for fresh penal enactments in favour of our ‘Protestant Constitution,’ without provoking a telling retort? If so, he reckoned without his host; and the mode in which one of his late colleagues alluded to the topic under discussion, might have served as a warning to Mr. Disraeli to get out of their company as fast as possible. Sir John Trollope told his constituents, at his re-election for South Lincolnshire, in March last, that the financial concerns of the country were safe in the guardianship of ‘a gentleman, ‘undoubtedly of ancient blood *but* eastern origin.’ Beginning with a compliment, the Right Honourable Baronet unconsciously ended with a sneer.

It is fortunate, therefore, that the bane is coupled with the antidote; ‘for sufferance is the badge of all our tribe.’ Centuries of oppression have endowed the Jewish race with corresponding habits of endurance. Mr. Disraeli has frequently been subjected to mortifications and disappointments which would have driven a more sensitive man to the very verge of self-destruction. Yet neither insult nor annoyance seemed to make the smallest impression on that imperturbable temper and impassive brow. So long as he could gain anything by being cool, he was cool; and it was only on rare occasions, when the game was up or played out, that he was ever hurried into the display of ill-temper or irritability. That extraordinary faculty of mastering his emotions and biding his time, by dint of which he has so often grasped Fortune by the

forelock, may be clearly traced to his 'eastern origin,' and can hardly be computed as the worst or most profitless part of that 'damnosa hereditas' which descended to him with his blood.

It is rather strange, considering the circumstances and literary position of his father, that Mr. Disraeli did not receive what is called a regular education. He was brought up at a private school, or academy, in the classic shades of Hampstead or Highgate; and at the age when young men commonly commence residence at a University, he was articled to a highly respectable firm of solicitors in the city. 'In his 'adolescence,' says Mr. Francis, 'he was subjected to the 'severe corrective of a city life. The future Chancellor of the Exchequer spent in the hard service of a lawyer's office much of the time he would rather have devoted to the Muses. We do not consider ourselves called upon to enter into mere gossiping details, however interesting, of this period of Mr. Disraeli's career. His native genius soon broke through these 'trammels.' The plain matter of fact is, that these trammels were neither severe nor degrading, although Mr. Francis' language would justify an inference that they were both. An articled clerk's ordinary mode of passing his time is thus described by Cowper in a letter to Lady Hesketh:—"I did 'actually live three years with Mr. Chapman, a solicitor,—that 'is to say, I slept three years in his house; but I lived, that is 'to say, I spent my days, in Southampton Row, as you very 'well remember. There was I and the future Lord Chancellor (Thurlow) constantly employed from morning to night, in 'giggling and making giggle, instead of studying the law. O 'fie, cousin! how could you do so.'

Mr. Disraeli was not the first by hundreds, and very far indeed from being the most distinguished, of the many notable personages who have verified the portrait of—

'Some youth his father's wishes doomed to cross,  
Who pens a stanza when he should engross.'

Nor is it clear to our minds that his sojourn in the metropolis, with leisure and command of books, under this lax apprenticeship, may not have qualified him better for working out his peculiar destiny than the same number of years spent, and haply trifled away, on the banks of the Isis or the Cam. 'Every 'man,' says Gibbon, 'who rises above the common level has 'received two educations,—the first from his teachers,—the 'second, more personal and important, from himself.' That the second was not omitted in Mr. Disraeli's case, he gave ample and speedy evidence. He could hardly have arrived at legal

years of discretion, when he set on foot the earliest of his ambitious projects; for although we are not prepared to specify the precise share he had in getting up or editing the 'Representative' newspaper in January, 1826, we have the strongest direct proof that he was one of the responsible parents of the scheme. The late John Murray, of Albemarle Street, — the most enterprising and liberal-minded of bibliopoles, — who lost more than 20,000*l.* by the undertaking, was wont to declare to his dying-day that he was led into hazarding this large sum by the gorgeous pictures of anticipated profit and influence drawn by the imaginative genius of the precocious ex-clerk. The paper never recovered from the effects of an article beginning — 'As we were sitting in our opera box' — and it was given up after six months' trial, during which half a dozen or more editors were successively employed.\*

In the course of the same year, 1826, Mr. Disraeli, who has a knack of turning failures to account, electrified the novel-reading public by 'Vivian Grey,' the plot of which was understood to be founded on the getting up of the 'Representative' and on the incidental intrigues, — literary, social, and political. We remember seeing a Key, in which the Marquess of Carabas was declared to be neither more nor less than John Murray, — Cleveland, an eminent author and editor, still living — and Mrs. Felix Lorraine, a now forgotten blue-stocking. The suggested analogies are faint, and the points of similarity mostly fanciful, but the novel itself will always remain an object of interest to the metaphysical inquirer as containing the germ, rude outline, and incomplete conception of the career which the author was even then meditating, and in great measure has since contrived to run. We request particular attention to the following passages: —

"At this moment, how many a powerful noble wants only wit to be a Minister; and what wants Vivian Grey to attain the same end? That noble's influence. When two persons can so materially assist each other, why are they not brought together? Shall I, because my birth baulks my fancy — shall I pass my life a moping misanthrope in an old château? Supposing I am in contact with this magnifico, am I prepared? Now, let me probe my very soul. Does my cheek blanch? I have the mind for the conception; and I can perform right skilfully upon the most splendid of musical instruments — the human voice — to make those conceptions beloved by others.

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\* The first Number appeared on the 26th January, and the last on the 28th July, 1826. After making every allowance for the subsequent improvement and raised standard of newspaper writing, we are obliged to own that the 'Representative' richly merited its fate.

There wants but one thing more — *courage*, pure, perfect, courage; — and does Vivian Grey know fear?" He laughed an answer of bitterest derision.' (Vol. i. p. 43.)

'It was a rule with Vivian Grey, never to advance any opinion *as his own*. He had been too deep a student of human nature, not to be aware that the opinions of a boy of twenty, however sound, and however correct, stand but a poor chance of being adopted by his elder, though feebler, fellow-creatures. In attaining any end, it was therefore his system always to advance his opinion as that of some eminent and considered personage; and when, under the sanction of this name, the opinion or advice was entertained and listened to, Vivian Grey had no fear that he could prove its correctness and its expediency. He possessed also the singular faculty of being able to *improvise quotation*, that is, he could unpremeditatedly clothe his conceptions in language characteristic of the style of any particular author: and Vivian Grey was reputed in the world as having the most astonishing memory that ever existed; for there was scarcely a subject of discussion in which he did not gain the victory, by the great names he enlisted on his side of the argument. His father was aware of the existence of this dangerous faculty, and had often remonstrated with his son on the use of it.' (Vol. i. p. 58.)

'I will speak to you (Cleveland) with the frankness which you have merited, and to which I feel you are entitled. I am *not* the dupe of the Marquess of Carabas; I am *not*, I trust, the dupe, or tool, of any one whatever. Believe me, Sir, there is that at work in England, which, taken at the tide, may lead on to fortune. I see this, Sir, — I, a young man, uncommitted in political principles, unconnected in public life, feeling some confidence, I confess, in my own abilities, but desirous of availing myself, at the same time, of the powers of others. Thus situated, I find myself working for the same end as my Lord Carabas, and twenty other men of similar calibre, mental and moral; and, Sir, am I to play the hermit in the drama of life, because, perchance, my fellow-actors may be sometimes fools, and occasionally knaves. Oh! Mr. Cleveland, if the Marquess of Carabas has done you the ill service which Fame says he has, your sweetest revenge will be to make *him*, *your* tool; your most perfect triumph, to rise to power by his influence.' (Vol. i. p. 217.)

None of the maxims or reflections in this book are remarkable for refinement or depth. They lie on the surface, and read like the affected and flippant cynicism which clever youngsters mistake for philosophy, whilst the manner in which they are illustrated and carried out by the *dramatis personæ* of the romance is very far indeed from redeeming them from the imputation of commonplace. Vivian Grey, as portrayed, could not by any possibility have made his way in good company, or have inspired a man like Cleveland with any feeling but distrust. Yet it has been by acting up to, and improving on, the creed of 'Vivian Grey' that the author, after a thousand abortive experiments in the art



of rising, has realised the dream of his boyhood. Although he was speedily precipitated from the dizzy height he had internally vowed to obtain, he *has* stood upon it long enough for a puzzled nation to look up, and wonder, and possibly to blush. He *has* found his Marquis of Carabas, his Lord Courtown, and his Sir Beardmore Scrope; and he *has* revenged himself on the haughty nobles and squires who 'spat upon his Jewish 'gaherdine,' by making tools and fools of them. As it was wittily observed when he compelled his followers to forswear 'Protection,' the country gentlemen used to amuse themselves by drawing the teeth of the Caucasians, but it was now the turn of the Caucasians to draw the teeth of the country gentlemen. Whether this be the kind of a triumph which a good or great man would wish to have recorded in his memoirs or commemorated on his tombstone, is quite another matter — all we venture to assert in this place is, that it was obtained and, we believe, fully enjoyed by 'Disraeli the Younger,' when he donned the blue and gold uniform of a Cabinet Minister.

We noticed the best of his novels at the time of their appearance\*, and feel no inclination to revert to them. The best was 'Contarini Fleming,' and the worst the 'Wondrous Tale of 'Alroy,' in which extravagance and absurdity had reached the culminating point. Results have no longer the smallest connexion with causes, and performance bids audacious defiance to possibility. This work met with precisely the same reception from the literary public which was subsequently accorded to his maiden speech by the House of Commons. It was received with loud laughter, and the versatile writer forthwith betook himself to what he mistook for poetry. His 'Revolutionary 'Epic' appeared in 1832, and was destined, as we learn from the Preface, to place him in the same category with Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton. But he fortunately added, 'that if the decision of the public should be in the negative, then will he, without a pang, hurl his Lyre to Limbo.' He was as good as his word, so far as the continuation of the Epic was concerned. It fell still born, and henceforth we find him playing a conspicuous, if not always a creditable or commendable, part on the political stage.

As the 'Representative' was a high Tory organ, we presume that Mr. Disraeli was professedly a high Tory in 1826. Be this as it may, he started for High Wycombe in 1832 as a Radical, under the auspices of the late Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Hume, with whose letters of recommendation he placarded the

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\* Vol. lxxvi. p. 59, vol. lxxx. p. 517, vol. lxxxvi. p. 138.

borough walls. The sponsor for his fidelity to their known principles was the author of 'Pelham,' who thus explains his share in the transaction:—

' London, 24th July, 1835.

' Sir, — In answer to your letter, I beg to say that Mr. Disraeli first referred me to a printed handbill of his own, espousing short parliaments, vote by ballot, and untaxed knowledge. I conceived these principles to be the polestar of the sincere Reformers, *and to be the reverse of Tory ones*. I showed that handbill to Mr. Hume; hence the letters of that gentleman and of others. Mr. Disraeli does not deny that he professed those opinions at that time, but he has explained that he meant them for adoption, not against the Tories, but Whigs. With his explanation I have nothing to do. I question his philosophy, but I do not doubt his honour. When any man tells me that he votes for ballot, short parliaments, and the abolition of the taxes on knowledge, I can only suppose him to be a Reformer; such being my principles I would always give him my support; and I should never dream of asking whether he called himself a Radical or a Tory.

' I am, Sir,

' E. Cox, Esq.

' E. L. BULWER.'

One of Mr. Hume's commendatory letters contained the following expressions:—

' I hope all Reformers will rally round you who entertain liberal opinions in every branch of government, and are prepared to pledge yourself to support reform and economy in every department.'

If the Financial Reform Association had then existed, Mr. Disraeli would undoubtedly have been a member of it, and he did become a member of the Westminster Reform Club. About the same time, he was introduced, at his own request, to the late Earl of Durham as a Durhamite, and in 1833, he was a candidate for the representation of Marylebone on the ultra-Liberal side.\*

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\* The whole of the documentary and other evidence bearing on this part of Mr. Disraeli's career was collected and published in 1836 by Mr. E. Cox, now a barrister on the Western Circuit and late Derbyshire candidate for Tewkesbury, in a pamphlet, with his name. This pamphlet formed the basis of a series of articles in the 'Globe' (for January 1836), notoriously and avowedly written by an amiable and accomplished member of the House of Commons, whose untimely death was regretted as a national loss. He, with his genial love of fun, was especially delighted when Mr. Disraeli magniloquently demanded in the course of the resulting controversy: 'How could he be gratified by an ignoble controversy with an *obscure animal* like the editor of the "Globe," when his own works had been translated *at least* into the language of polished Europe, and circulated by

We need hardly suggest, that a pledge or profession must be interpreted in the sense in which the maker knew and meant it to be accepted. Yet it is deemed a sufficient answer to the charge of tergiversation brought against Mr. Disraeli, on the strength of his Wycombe and Marylebone candidature, to say that he was a Tory-Radical, or Radical-Tory, and that he was consequently at full liberty to solicit the support of the Ultras of either side. Our own solution of his many Protean transformations is, that he had never any political principles or fixed convictions whatever. The world was all before him where to choose, and he chose what best suited his purpose at the moment. He alternately presented the black side of his shield to the *Neri*, and the white side to the *Bianchi*; or he was the prototype of the Frenchman who was seized in Paris, on the 24th February 1848, with three cockades—white, red, and tricolour—in his pocket, his avowed object being to assume from hour to hour the badge of the faction which seemed to be getting the upper hand. At the same time we are well aware that there may be such a creed, or mixture of creeds, as that which has been attributed to the Right Honourable Gentleman, in the hope of extricating him from his dilemma. *Les extrêmes se touchent*; and he is not the first who has speculated on governing mankind despotically, or in a high Tory sense, by appealing to the numerical majority. It is what Napoleon the Third has done and is doing. It was what the Jacobites, or original ‘Country Party,’ hoped to do at, and for many years after, the accession of the House of Brunswick. The hypothesis on which their hopes rested was that, since the middle class was not to be shaken in its attachment to civil and religious liberty, the fit instruments for revolutionising society must be sought at its bottom and its top. The Extreme Right and the Extreme Left must be persuaded to coalesce against the Right and Left Centres. The reason why Shippen, Bromley, Sir William Windham, and other partisans of the Stuarts, wished to repeal the Septennial Act, is therefore obvious enough. They sought to restore an exiled race of sovereigns by popular suffrage. But what fallen dynasty did Mr. Disraeli seek to restore, when he advocated a return to triennial, annual, or ‘oftener if need be’ parliaments?

This is only one amongst a hundred shallow fallacies by which he sought to pass for an original thinker. The Whigs, forsooth,

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‘thousands in the New World?’—a test of merit, which, in many other instances within our memory, would have placed the authors of ephemeral works of fiction at the head of contemporary literature.

were to be cried down as the enemies of rational government, because they had selected the Venetian constitution for their model, and had laboured unceasingly to reduce an English sovereign to the condition of a Doge. This theory pervades the whole of Mr. Disraeli's political writings; yet it is hardly conceivable that any historical inquirer should risk his reputation upon such trash. A similar accusation might, with equal or greater plausibility, be urged against M. Thiers, for perseveringly endeavouring to compel Louis Philippe to recognise the maxim, '*Le Roi règne et ne gouverne pas.*' If the Whigs ever formed such a design, they failed wofully. The direct personal influence of the sovereign was far greater during the reigns of George I. and George II. than it has been during the reigns of William IV. and Victoria. It will be sufficient to refer to Lord Hervey's (confirmatory of Horace Walpole's) account of the manner in which George II. named his first premier, or to the history of Sir Robert Walpole's administration from 1721 to 1742. We should be glad to know who, from Walpole's rise to his fall, fulfilled the functions of the Council of Ten? Whilst Queen Caroline lived, she exercised more control over her royal spouse than any ten Whig peers that Mr. Disraeli can name. That the Duke of Newcastle (whom Mr. Disraeli, in '*Sybil*,' calls 'the virtual sovereign of England') by his boroughs and his connexions, and the first Pitt by his commanding talents and his popularity, occasionally imposed a galling curb on the inclinations of the sovereign, is true enough; but liability to this description of restraint is of the very essence of a limited monarchy, and suggests not the faintest analogy to the humiliating helplessness of a Doge.

William III., as Mr. Disraeli admits, baffled the combination. The reign of Anne was more like a struggle between the Duchess of Marlborough and Mrs. Masham than between the Venetian and English systems; and public opinion came into full play and regular operation as a controlling power soon after the accession of George III. But if the versatile inventor of this untenable theory will not be persuaded to give it up, or cannot do so without loss of credit, we recommend him to go back a great deal farther than to the accession of William and Mary for his proofs. The points of comparison which he requires will be found most plentiful under the Plantagenets; and if a baronial or aristocratic league to coerce the chief magistrate be the one thing needful to complete the parallel, why not date the rise of the Anglo-Venetian constitution from the signing of Magna Charta by King John?

The same fanciful train of superficial reasoning has constantly

supplied Mr. Disraeli with a convenient excuse for attacking the middle or moderate party, with whom he had, and could have, nothing in common, and who invariably declined his advances and made light of his pretensions. But whatever his object in courting the Radical leaders, and whether he did or did not intend to use their influence merely for the destruction of Whiggism and the advancement of Toryism, there can be no doubt, that until the Reform Bill tide was on the turn, he figured amongst the most uncompromising champions of 'democracy.' It was in this phase of his career that he published '*What Is He?*' a short pamphlet in which, after declaring the House of Lords virtually defunct, he thus marks out the only course left for well wishers to their country: —

'Believing, then, that it is utterly impossible to restore the *aristocratic* principle, and believing that unless some principle of action be infused into the Government a convulsion must ensue, what are the easiest and most obvious methods by which the *democratic* principle may be made predominant? It would appear that the easiest and the most obvious methods are, the instant repeal of the Septennial Act, and the institution of election by ballot, and the immediate dissolution of Parliament.'

Since Mr. Disraeli's accession to office, he has taken the more prudent course of glossing over the first eight or nine years of his public life as his 'wild oats.' But this style of evasion and apology was not open to him when he first joined the Tory ranks. The first symptom of his defection from the Hume, O'Connell, and Bulwer section of Liberals, was of the most unequivocal kind. He stood for Taunton as a declared and fullblown Conservative in 1835; and he instantly proceeded to attack his quondam allies and patrons, particularly the Irish Liberator, in the coarsest terms. Mr. O'Connell replied in his characteristic style, and, after charging his assailant with charlatanism, apostasy, and ingratitude, he wound up his vengeful diatribe by a sarcasm which went straight, like a poisoned arrow, to the mark, and has clung like the shirt of Nessus: 'I cannot,' said O'Connell, 'divest my mind of the belief that, if this fellow's genealogy were traced, it would be found that he was the lineal descendant and true heir-at-law of the *impenitent* thief who atoned for his crimes upon the cross.' Maddened by this terrible hit, Mr. Disraeli made matters worse by the phrenzied indulgence of his exasperation. He covered himself with merited ridicule by inditing a bombastic challenge to Mr. Morgan O'Connell, which, as he might have anticipated, was declined; and the absurdity of his position reached its climax when he wound up an epistle to the great Agitator with: 'We shall

‘meet at Philippi [*i. e.* the House of Commons], where I will ‘seize the first opportunity of inflicting castigation for the insults ‘you have lavished on me;’ — a pledge, by the way, which he never attempted to redeem. He addressed another letter to Mr. Morgan O’Connell, in which he expresses a hope that the father had been so insulted as to render it incumbent on some member of the family to vindicate its outraged honour. ‘The sons of ‘O’Connell, however,’ observes Mr. Francis, ‘looked on the ‘matter as purely ridiculous; and they only published the correspondence in the papers. The public were much of the ‘same opinion. They indulged in a good hearty laugh at the ‘Cambyases’ vein of the would-be champion of Conservatism. ‘His political inconsistency was ascribed to an infirmity of judgment almost amounting to craziness. The extreme rashness ‘and injudicious haste of Mr. Disraeli to achieve greatness had ‘excited strong prejudices against him.’

Mr. Francis adds that his hero ‘had, perhaps, never stood ‘lower in public esteem than at this time.’ But he never cared about public esteem. Dr. Johnson has remarked, that there are persons so besotted with the love of notoriety that they will roll in a gutter rather than not be looked at or talked about. Mr. Disraeli is, or was, a striking specimen of this class. The *quod monstret digito prætereuntium* was his master passion, and, when he had no other means of gratifying it, he would stoop to make people stare by the extravagance of his dress and demeanour, or by the calculated display of a half-genuine and half-simulated self-conceit. He was profoundly indifferent as to the unfavourable impression left on quiet and rational people. If he had made them stare, he had achieved the distinction for which he panted, and which he proposed to turn to account in some way. He had carefully studied the weak side of human nature, and he knew that the multitude are carried away in their own despite by the habitual assumption of superiority. A blot is not a blot till it is hit; and a failure is not a failure till it is acknowledged. The Spartan boy would be no bad model for a political adventurer. It is surprising, too, how frequently, ‘in erring ‘reason’s spite,’ we accept people at their own valuation if they stick to it. The world did not despair of Mr. Disraeli, because he did not despair of himself; and, although he had lost stake after stake, and the odds were desperately against him, he was not yet reduced to the condition of the ruined gamester who has nothing left wherewith to stand again the hazard of the die. He had youth, health, talent, and a reputation which might almost pass muster for fame. The author of ‘Vivian Grey’ would never again enter a London drawing-room unobserved.

He was a notability of the first water, a spirit of the age, a genius of the epoch, and his cry was still — ‘The world’s mine ‘oyster, which I with tongue or pen will open.’

In 1835, he published his ‘Vindication of the English Constitution,’ addressed to Lord Lyndhurst, the professed object of which is to portray the Whigs as a narrow-minded and selfish oligarchy, and to exalt the Tories as the only trustworthy aspirants to political power. Borrowing largely from the brilliant, specious, and thoroughly unprincipled Bolingbroke, Mr. Disraeli laboured to prove that his new friends had merited the confidence of their countrymen by doing the very opposite of what had been expected from them. For example,

‘However irresistible may be the social power of the Tory party, their political power, since 1831, has only been preserved and maintained by a series of *democratic* measures of the greatest importance and most comprehensive character. No sooner was the passing of the Whig Reform Act inevitable, than the Tories introduced a clause into it which added many thousand members to the estate of the Commons. No sooner was the Whig Reform Act passed, and circumstances had proved that with all their machinations, the oligarchy was not yet secure, than the Whigs, under the pretence of reforming the corporations, attempted to compensate themselves for the democratic increase of the third estate, through the Chandos clause, by the political destruction of all the freemen of England; but the Tories again stepped in to the rescue of the nation from the oligarchy, and now preserved the rights of eighty thousand members of the third estate. And not content with adding many thousands to its numbers, and preserving eighty thousand, the Tories, ever since the passing of the oligarchical Reform Act of the Whigs, have organised societies throughout the country for the great *democratic* purpose of increasing to the utmost possible extent the numbers of the third estate of the realm. The clause of Lord Chandos, your lordship’s triumphant defence of the freemen of England, and the last registration, are three great *democratic* movements, and quite in keeping with the original and genuine character of *Toryism*.’ (P. 202.)

In a preceding passage he had stated that ‘Toryism must occasionally represent and reflect *the passions and prejudices of the nation* as well as its purer energies, and its more enlarged and ‘philosophic views.’ No one will deny that it diligently discharged this portion of its functions under the auspices of Lord Derby, and we can now guess ‘the reason why’ the chivalrous Premier consented to take his policy from the country, — why Mr. Walpole proposed to bestow the elective franchise, with such unprecedented liberality, on militia men, — why Mr. Disraeli was eager to recognise the ‘political rights of

'labour,'—and why the Irish tenant leaguers were gratified by a thinly disguised concession to socialist principles. These were 'great democratic movements, and quite in keeping with the 'original and genuine character of Toryism,'—particularly if it 'must occasionally represent the passions and prejudices of 'the nation.' But then, if Toryism be identical with Derbyism, why did Lord Derby undertake to encounter and vanquish this same 'democracy,' which (so says his Caucasian friend) it is the especial vocation of Toryism to strengthen and develop? Here we own ourselves at fault, and the only solution of the problem we can suggest is, that he proposed to control the democratic tendencies of the nation—as St. Evremond tells us *he* conquered his passions—by indulging them; or that the Ex-Premier acted on the drunkard's maxim of 'a hair of the 'dog that bit you;' or that his Lordship had been studying the doctrine of the homœopaths, who maintain that a disease is most effectually cured by drugs which would have created it, had it not pre-existed in the constitution of the patient. But this, at least, we will make bold to predicate, that, if the principles of parliamentary reform advocated by this journal be fairly compared with Mr. Disraeli's and Mr. Walpole's, no impartial arbitrators will hesitate to say that we have a far better title than they, or those whom they represent, to the disputed designation of 'Conservative.'

The 'Letters of Runnymede,' composed in obvious imitation of Junius, and filled with truculent abuse of every contemporary Whig of eminence, were the next notable production from his pen. They first appeared in the 'Times,' and were published in a collected shape in 1836, with a Dedication to Sir Robert Peel, who was then it seems the 'chivalrous' champion who was to transfix the dragon of democracy.

'In your chivalry alone is our hope. Clad in the panoply of your splendid talents and your spotless character, we feel assured that you will subdue this unnatural and unnational monster; and that we may yet see sedition, and treason, and rapine, rampant as they may have of late figured, quail before your power and prowess.' (P. 36.)

In 1837, Mr. Disraeli obtained the long coveted object of his ambition. He was elected member for Maidstone. The effect of his maiden speech in the House of Commons is well known. It was cut short by an irrepressible burst of laughter, and he concluded with the memorable words: 'I 'have begun several times many things, and I have often 'succeeded at last. I shall sit down now, but the time will 'come when you will hear me.' When Woodfall told She-



ridan, after hearing his maiden effort, that public speaking was not his line, the future rival of Pitt and Fox replied, after leaning his head upon his hand for a few moments, — ‘I have it ‘in me, and by G—— it shall come out.’ This was the instinctive consciousness of latent power; and in the same category of sayings may be ranged Nelson’s, when, finding his name omitted in the dispatches, he exclaimed, ‘Never mind, some ‘time or other I will have a Gazette to myself.’ But Mr. Disraeli’s threat, vow, or promise was simply one of his characteristic ebullitions of assurance; for we will answer for it, that he never began any thing yet, without proclaiming that he should succeed. Every one knows the boastful predictions which he put forth from time to time touching his Budget and the certain duration of the Derbyite Government, and the unhesitating confidence which his credulous friends reposed in them until the bubble burst. Moreover, there is nothing particularly remarkable in the intuitive conviction of a very clever man that he should eventually compel attention from the House of Commons. The chief singularity consisted in the unabashed utterance of such an expectation at such a moment; of which, we fully admit, very few embryo orators would be found capable. Charles Fox failed repeatedly during his first session, but it is not recorded that he concluded any one of his unsuccessful efforts with a vow of future excellence.

It also strikes us that, when undue stress is laid on this memorable incident in Mr. Disraeli’s life, his admirers are apt to lose sight of the time he took, and the means he used, to verify the prediction. The House, having had its laugh, was rather favourably disposed than otherwise to give him fair play the next time he rose; but, although he frequently trespassed on its patience between 1837 and the downfall of the Whig Ministry in 1841, his talents for debate were not appreciated; and he did not acquire what is called ‘the ear of the House,’ without first resorting to adventitious aid, and then appealing to the passions and prejudices of its least cultivated members. The adventitious aid in question was that of ‘Young England:’ the passions and prejudices to which we allude were those of the late Protectionists.

• When the ‘Young England’ party were in the zenith of their shortlived celebrity, we endeavoured to form an accurate estimate of their alleged vocation, their merits, and their pretensions.\* Declining to concede to them the full measure of intellectual preeminence which they arrogated, we gave them ample credit

for generous aspirations, and for energy and capacity enough to develop and reduce into definite shape their somewhat dreamy schemes for the regeneration of society. We saw, or thought we saw, the germs of future excellence in the best of their juvenile productions; and we still think that they exercised a wholesome influence on their immediate contemporaries, by freshening and elevating the tone of political discussion, as well as by suggesting some new and useful trains of sentiment and thought. 'It is not always necessary,' observes Goethe, 'for truth to embody itself; enough if it float spiritually about and induce agreement—if, like the deep friendly sound of a bell, it undulates through the air.' But, on the whole, we must admit that experience has shown the vanity of our more flattering anticipations; for 'Young England' has literally left nothing by which its corporate or collective existence can be demonstrated to the satisfaction of an inquisitive posterity, except the recollection of its having been Mr. Disraeli's first stepping-stone to fame. The enthusiastic support of a select band of young admirers gained for him the vantage-ground, for which, insulated and singlehanded, or confounded with the crowd, he had long battled fruitlessly. It was as their Coryphæus that, two years at least before the grand schism of 1846, he began to show signs of marked hostility towards the late Sir Robert Peel; who had been the constant object of the rising rhetorician's exalted eulogy until all rational hope of preferment was at an end.

It is well known that, on the formation of the Conservative Ministry in 1841, Mr. Disraeli considered himself quite sure of office, and was exceedingly surprised at finding that Her Majesty had no need of his services. The truth is, the ludicrous passages of his erratic career were still too freshly remembered, and the austere virtue of the Minister prevented him from closing with a recruit of wavering principles and questionable reputation, whose enmity, if the bare notion of such a thing had flitted across his mind at that time, he would have despised. It must remain, therefore, an unsolved problem whether the Secretaryship of the Admiralty, or a government appointment of inferior responsibility, opportunely offered, would not have effected a most important change in our parliamentary history for the last six years. At all events the strongest presumptive evidence may be adduced to show that Mr. Disraeli was actuated by private and personal motives when he first, with his small band, occupied a position a little in front of the main body of Conservatives, and manœuvred in such a manner as to cause no inconsiderable annoyance to their then honoured

and revered chief. We can understand why the Duke of Buckingham left the Cabinet a few months after he became a member of it, and why other consistent Protectionists were sorely shaken in their allegiance by the 'New Tariff;' but the 'Young England' primary ground of quarrel with Sir Robert Peel was that he did not go far or fast enough in the Liberal direction. So long as they acted in concert, they were the avowed champions of commercial and religious liberty. Why then did Mr. Disraeli support and applaud this illustrious statesman when he assumed the reigns of power for the supposed purpose of upholding 'Protection,' and of carrying out the traditional doctrines of Toryism, yet labour unceasingly to undermine his influence from the time when he manifested a growing predilection for Free Trade, and become his bitterest enemy when he finally abandoned the Corn Laws as hopelessly indefensible? We shall endeavour to throw light on these points by a few extracts from 'Coningsby,' which appeared in 1844, and was loudly heralded by the author's disciples as an authentic exposition of their creed.

In the Preface to the popular edition of 1849, the author claims for it a degree of authority which it could not be expected to command as a mere novel. 'It was not,' he says, 'originally the intention of the writer to adopt the form of fiction 'as the instrument to scatter his suggestions, but after reflection, 'he resolved to avail himself of a method which, in the temper 'of the times, offered the best chance of influencing opinion.' He had another obvious reason for choosing this form of composition. It afforded him increased facilities for gratifying his personal animosities with comparative impunity. It has been objected to the anonymous system of English journalism, that it gives undue scope to personal spite; so that no one can tell whether he may not have made a dangerous enemy by a remark carelessly let drop in the unguarded hours of convivial intercourse. No one, however, has serious cause to dread a newspaper attack, unless he invites criticism by coming voluntarily before the public in some shape. But there is no escaping the novelist, who conceives himself licensed to introduce portraits, sketches, and caricatures under the transparent veil of a pseudonym; for even if the predestined victim should happen to be obscure and unassuming, he or she may be ingeniously brought in as a specimen of mock modesty and real insignificance. We need hardly add that this practice is diametrically opposed to the true principles, and appropriate objects of art; which may be one reason why some of our cleverest female novelists have hitherto tried in vain to

match the exquisite pictures of social life bequeathed to us by the Burneys and Austens. Amongst writers of fiction pretending to respectability, Mr. Disraeli has been by much the worst offender in this line. Indeed we should be puzzled to name a single natural and probable character of his drawing; which is not a servile copy from some living original; and he seems to have lost, if he ever possessed, the Shakspearlike genius for generalisation or creation, by the ruinous habit of rejecting the poetic ideal for the prosaic real, — much as he is supposed to have forfeited the power of convincing the reason of a cultivated audience, by perseveringly acting on the hypothesis that the only effective mode of operating on popular assemblies is to amuse, excite, or mystify them. This glaring defect, however, by no means diminishes the value of his romances when considered as records of his passing opinions on men and things, and it is solely as indications of these that we now beg leave to call attention to the following passages from 'Coningsby.' We have already seen that the ends of Toryism must be attained by democratic measures. Let us now ascertain what the Conservative chief understands by Conservatism. The birth of 'Conservatism' is described in terms which would justify a doubt whether it was in any respect an improvement on old-fashioned true blue Toryism: —

'No one had arisen either in Parliament, or the Universities, or the Press, to lead the public mind to the investigation of principles; and not to mistake, in their reformations, the corruption of practice for fundamental ideas. It was this perplexed, ill-formed, jaded, shallow generation, repeating cries which they did not comprehend, and wearied with the endless ebullitions of their own barren conceit, that Sir Robert Peel was summoned to govern. *It was from such materials, ample in quantity, but in all spiritual qualities most deficient; with great numbers, largely ached, consoled up to their chins, but without knowledge, genius, thought, truth, or faith,* that Sir Robert Peel was to form a "great Conservative party on a comprehensive basis."

So much for the materials; now for the manufactured commodity: —

'Conservatism was an attempt to carry on affairs by substituting the fulfilment of the duties of office for the performance of the functions of government; and to maintain this negative system by the mere influence of property, reputable private conduct, and what are called good connexions. Conservatism discards Prescription, shrinks from Principle, disavows Progress; having rejected all respect for Antiquity, it offers no redress for the Present, and makes no preparation for the Future. It is obvious, that for a time under favourable

circumstances, such a confederation might succeed; but it is equally clear, that on the arrival of one of those critical conjunctures that will periodically occur in all States, and which such an impassioned system is even calculated ultimately to create, all power of resistance will be wanting; the barren curse of political infidelity will paralyse all action; and the Conservative Constitution will be discovered to be a *Caput Mortuum*.' (P. 98.)

The attempt to identify the Conservative cause with 'Protection' is thus keenly satirised:—

'And now, after all, in 1841, it seemed that Taper was right. There was a great clamour in every quarter, and the clamour was against the Whigs and in favour of Conservative principles. What Canadian timber-merchants meant by Conservative principles, it is not difficult to conjecture; or West India planters. *It was tolerably clear on the hustings what squires and farmers and their followers meant by Conservative principles.* What they mean by Conservative principles now is another question; and whether Conservative principles mean something higher than the perpetuation of fiscal arrangements, some of them very impolitic, none of them very important. But no matter what different bodies of men understood by the cry in which they all joined, the cry existed; Taper beat Tadpole; and the great Conservative party beat the shattered and exhausted Whigs.' (P. 457.)

In connexion with this branch of the subject, we must not forget to mention that on the 10th of May, 1842, Mr. Disraeli delivered a carefully prepared speech on the Tariff, in which he expatiated on the 'great and beneficial influence of Mr. Huskisson,' and tried to prove that all eminent Tories, from Pitt to Peel inclusive, had been the champions of Free Trade.

The opinions on ecclesiastical matters, and on the delicate question of the relation of the Church to the State, professed by Mr. Disraeli during his 'Young England' days, were an exaggerated form of what is popularly termed 'Puseyism.' They were thus developed in 'Coningsby':—

"What can be more anomalous than the present connexion between State and Church? Every condition on which it was originally consented to has been cancelled. *That original alliance was, in my view, an equal calamity for the Nation and the Church*; but, at least, it was an intelligible compact. Parliament, then consisting only of members of the Established Church, was, on ecclesiastical matters, a lay synod, and might, in some points of view, be esteemed a necessary portion of Church government. But you have effaced this exclusive character of Parliament; you have determined that a communion with the Established Church shall no longer be part of the qualification for sitting in the House of Commons. There is no reason, as far as the constitution avails, why every member of the House of Commons should not be a dissenter. But the whole power of the country

is concentrated in the House of Commons. The House of Commons virtually appoints the bishops. A sectarian assembly appoints the bishops of the Established Church. They may appoint twenty Hoadleys. (Pp. 251—253.)

‘Divorce the Church from the State, and the spiritual power that struggled against the brute force of the dark ages, against tyrannical monarchs and barbarous barons, will struggle again in opposition to influences of a different form, but of a similar tendency; equally selfish, equally insensible, equally barbarising. The priests of God are the tribunes of the people: O! ignorant! that with such a mission they should ever have cringed in the ante-chambers of ministers, or bowed before parliamentary committees!’ (Pp. 353, 354.)

At the commencement of the year 1846, therefore, when Mr. Disraeli volunteered to become the mouthpiece of a Protectionist, No-Popery, and anti-Tractarian opposition, he himself was a Freetrader and a Puseyite—that is, if he ever was any thing but what appeared to suit his immediate purpose. Most assuredly, the more liberal views then recently announced by Sir Robert Peel in connexion with the Maynooth Grant and the Corn Laws, might have been expected to remove or soften (instead of aggravating) any lurking distrust of that lamented statesman which his unrelenting satirist could have contracted on public grounds. Why, then, did Mr. Disraeli lend himself out, as an intellectual gladiator, to a section of that ‘large-acred squirearchy’ with whom he had no one view, thought, taste, habit, or sentiment in common? The solution of the problem is partly to be found in the circumstance on which Mr. Henry Drummond opportunely fixed attention, namely, that ‘the best heads had gone over to the other side;’ so that Mr. Disraeli might have been actuated by motives very similar to those which induced the Scotch archer to prefer the service of Louis the Eleventh to that of Charles the Bold. ‘The Duke of Burgundy,’ observed Le Balafré to Quentin Durward, ‘charges at the head of his nobles and native knights, his liegemen of Artois and Hainault. Think you, if you were there, or if I were there myself, that we could be much further forward than the Duke and all his own brave nobles of his own land?’ On the other hand, he added, the King of France had alienated or driven away all the best of the hereditary defenders of his throne. ‘Now, see you not,’ concluded the sagacious mercenary, ‘in which of these states a cavalier of fortune holds the highest rank, and must come to the highest fortune?’ Just so, Mr. Disraeli might plausibly have asked himself whether a cavalier of fortune was likely to come to the highest honour by competing fairly with statesmen of acknowledged

reputation, or by contending for the Protectionist leading staff with Lord Granby, Mr. Herries, Mr. Walpole, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Newdegate, and Mr. Christopher.

Strange to say, this mode of accounting for his conduct is far more favourable to the Right Honourable Gentleman than the explanation of it which he has given in the latest of his literary productions, '*Lord George Bentinck: A Political Biography.*' This book was published in January, 1852, about two months before his accession to high office, and considering the period of its appearance, and the author's position at the time, we are lost in wonder at the astounding audacity of its revelations. He unblushingly owns that he was almost uniformly actuated by the least justifiable class of personal motives, and he narrates the factious intrigues which he aided or suggested, with a chuckling self-complacency, indicating about the same notion of political morality which a man born blind may be supposed to have of colours. Mr. Macaulay, after alleging ample reasons for the 'belief that those amongst whom Machiavelli lived, saw nothing 'shocking or incongruous in his writings,' observes, 'it is 'therefore in the state of moral feeling among the Italians of 'his time that we must seek for the real explanation of what 'seems most mysterious in the life and writings of this remarkable man.' The now scattered or defunct 'Country Party,' far from seeing anything objectionable in the '*Political Biography*,' eagerly circulated it as their text-book and guide. By a parity of reasoning, therefore, it is in the state of principle among the late Protectionists, that we must seek for the real explanation of what seems otherwise unaccountable in this book. Their *beau idéal* of a patriotic statesman is, or was, one who should be always prepared to sacrifice his country to his party; and the public virtues on which, if we may credit their chosen and trusted annalist, they laid the greatest stress were cupidity and vindictiveness. For example:—

'The time (the first week in April, 1846) had now arrived when it became necessary for those who were responsible for the conduct of the Protectionist party very gravely to consider the state of affairs, which had become critical, and to decide upon the future course. The large majority in the House of Lords had extinguished the lingering hope that the ministerial scheme might ultimately be defeated. *Vengeance therefore had succeeded in most breasts to the more sanguine sentiment.* The field was lost, but at any rate there should be retribution for those who had betrayed it. Proud in their numbers, confident in their discipline, and elate with their memorable resistance, the Protectionist party as a body had always assumed, that when the occasion was ripe, the career of the Minister might be terminated: it was not until the period had arrived when the means to secure the

catastrophe were to be decided on, that the difficulty of discovering them was generally acknowledged. How was Sir Robert Peel to be turned out? Here was a question which might well occupy the musing hours of a Whitsun recess.' (P. 230.)

The suggestion of a formal vote of want of confidence is discussed, and rejected for the very sufficient reason that it could not have been carried. The writer then proceeds:—

'If indeed the Whigs had been prepared to form a government on the economical principles of their own budget of 1841, the whole of the Protectionist party would have arrayed itself under their banners, and the landed interest, *whose honour they would have then saved*, would have been theirs for ever. This was a result which the Whigs as a party were desirous to accomplish; and a nobleman, whose services have been since prematurely lost to the country, and whose excellent sense, imperturbable temper, and knowledge of mankind, had for many years exercised a leading influence in the councils of the Whigs, and always to their advantage, was extremely anxious, that by a reconstruction in this spirit an end should be put to that balanced state of parties, which, if permitted to continue, frustrated the practicability and even the prospect of a strong government. What he wished particularly to accomplish was, to see Lord George Bentinck in the new Whig cabinet. But though this eminent individual conducted his negotiations under the happiest auspices, for Lord George Bentinck entertained for him great personal regard, and was united to his son by ties of very warm and intimate friendship, his object was not attained. Lord John Russell could not recede from the Edinburgh letter, and he was more valuable to his party than a fixed duty on corn. Lord George Bentinck offered, and promised, to support the Whig government, but would not become a member of any administration that was not prepared to do justice to the land.' (Pp. 231—233.)

The nobleman alluded to is, we believe, the late Earl of Bessborough, who well merited the tribute paid in this passage to his excellent qualities of head and heart; but what Mr. Disraeli terms 'his negotiations' were undertaken on his own responsibility, and were never sanctioned or encouraged by any chief or authorised representative of the Whig party. Nor is it credible that, when the Repeal of the Corn Laws had been once formally proposed by Sir Robert Peel, any leader of that party ever dreamed of proposing a fixed duty. The prominent peculiarity of this passage, however, is quite independent of its historical accuracy. The author's notions of political honour may be collected from it. He boldly asserts that, in 1846, the whole of the Protectionist party might have arrayed itself under the Whig banner without any loss of credit or desertion of principle; and that the honour of the landed interest might have



been saved by reverting to the Whig budget of 1841. Yet every man of them had been elected for the express purpose of opposing that budget. Further comment would be superfluous, and we pass on to other equally illustrative revelations.

‘Although a slight circumstance, it ought perhaps to be noticed that some change took place at the commencement of this Session (’47) in the local position of parties in the House of Commons. On the accession of the Whigs to office in the preceding year, the Protectionists had retained their seats beneath the gangway on the Ministerial side. They did this on the reasonable ground, that as it was their intention to support the general policy of the new Government, it was unnecessary for them to cross the House with the late Cabinet which they had themselves mainly driven from power. But as time advanced, considerable inconvenience was found to result from this arrangement, for the Protectionists were so numerous, that the greater portion of the Whigs were obliged to range themselves on the benches opposite the men whom they had always supported, and with whom they were still voting. This led to some conversation between the Treasury bench and Lord George Bentinck; and it was finally agreed that, on the whole, it would be more convenient that on the meeting of the House in ’47, he should take the seat usually occupied by the leader of the Opposition, and that his friends should fill the benches generally allotted to an adverse party. This was the origin of his taking a position which he assumed with great reluctance, and of his appearing as the chief opponent of a Ministry which he was anxious to uphold.’ (P. 371.)

‘A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls,’ observes Lord Bacon in his ‘Essay on Counsel,’ ‘seem things of form, but are things of substance; for, at a long table, a few at the upper end in effect sway all the business; but, in the other form, there is more use of the counsellor’s opinion that sit lower.’ Just so, as we collect from the foregoing statement, the arrangement and partition of the seats in the House of Commons, or the small or large space below the gangway, may seem things of form, but are things of substance; for they may determine the political position of a great party, and public men will of course consider a crowded bench, or an inconvenient seat, a less tolerable alternative than the obligation to act against a Government with which they are disposed to concur from conviction.

The following is another startling passage: —

‘When all hope of reconstructing the Whig party on a broad basis was reluctantly given up, and the future ministers reconciled themselves to that prospect of a weak government which was so clearly foreseen by their sagacious friend, and has been subsequently so unfortunately realised, those active spirits who busy themselves with

*the measures of parties* fixed upon the sugar duties as the inevitable question on which the Government might be expelled from office. The existing Government, it was understood, had pledged itself to the colonial interest to maintain their old policy of excluding slave-grown sugar; and, in fact, it was only by such an engagement that the votes of those members of the House of Commons connected with the two Indies had been lost to the Protectionists in the division. It was supposed that the agricultural interest, having lost the protection which the land enjoyed, would not be indisposed to console themselves for this deprivation by the enjoyment of cheap sugar, especially when the representatives of dear sugar had exhibited so decided a predilection for cheap bread. But when Lord George Bentinck was sounded on this scheme he shook his head, with that peculiar expression which always conveyed to those who were appealing to him the utter hopelessness of their enterprise. "No," he said, "we have nothing to sustain us but our principles. We are not privy-councillors, but we may be honest men." (Pp. 233, 234.)

If Lord George Bentinck had lived till the middle of 1852, he might have discovered that it was just possible for privy-councillors to be the exact opposite of honest politicians. But here again, what are we to think of 'those active spirits who busy themselves with the measures of parties,' when they complacently relate how they laid themselves open to such a rebuke?

A desperate attempt was made to effect a diversion in favour of the Peel Government, on the night of the division which sealed its fate, by putting up Lord Chandos to appeal to the Conservative sympathies of the Protectionist opposition. The incident is thus graphically related in the 'Political Biography':—

'Very pale, looking like the early portraits of Lord Grenville, determined but impassive and coldly earnest, Lord Chandos, without any affectation of rhetorical prelude, said in a clear and natural tone that he wished to state his intention of recording his vote for the measure of the Government. . . . And he gave succinctly his main reasons for so doing. They were told that the question to-night involved a vote of confidence in the Minister. He did not acknowledge the justness of that conclusion. He gave his vote on this Bill solely with reference to the condition of Ireland, but if he could bring his mind to understand that the question of general confidence in the administration was the principal question on which they were going to decide to-night, and the proper government of Ireland only a secondary one, then he thought it fair to say, that he for one was not prepared to vote a want of confidence in the present Conservative Government. *He supported them as an administration founded on Conservative principles, and he for one did not agree, that Conservative principles depended on tariff regulations, or that the existence of the institutions of the country relied upon the maintenance of a fiscal principle.* Whatever the result of the division, he should have the satisfaction of knowing that his vote would be registered freely and

fairly on the merits of the question, and that he was not actuated by personal prejudice or factious opposition.' (Pp. 296, 297.)

Considered and judged from the Conservative point of view, Lord Chandos' position was unassailable; and in refusing to admit that 'Conservative principles depended on 'tariff regulations,' his Lordship did little more than paraphrase the language of 'Coningsby.' But all the writer's sympathies are reserved for the enlightened patriots who *did* think that the existence of the institutions of the country depended on a fiscal restriction. In the most enthusiastic spirit of hero-worship, and in a style worthy of the late George Robins, he exclaims:—

'They trooped on: all the men of metal and large-acred squires, whose spirit he had so often quickened and whose counsel he had so often solicited in his fine Conservative speeches in Whitehall Gardens. Mr. Bankes, with a parliamentary name of two centuries, and Mr. Christopher, from that broad Lincolnshire which Protection had created; and the Mileses and the Henleys were there; and the Duncombes, the Liddells, and the Yorkes; and Devon had sent there the stout heart of Mr. Buck—and Wiltshire the pleasant presence of Walter Long. Mr. Newdegate was there, whom Sir Robert had himself recommended to the confidence of the electors of Warwickshire, as one of whom he had the highest hopes; and Mr. Alderman Thompson was there, who, also through Sir Robert's selection, had seconded the assault upon the Whigs, led on by Sir John Buller. But the list is too long; or good names remain behind.' (P. 300.)

Most of the self-same worthies 'trooped on' also, with equal docility, when they were required to vote that the very policy for which they had persecuted their former leader had contributed to the prosperity of the nation; and well might they cower and shrink aside to let the avenging bolt pass on to its destined object, when Mr. Sidney Herbert, pointing to the centre figure in a group on the Treasury Benches, exclaimed:—'If you want to see a specimen of humiliation, — which, God knows, is always a painful sight — look there.' Little less mortifying was the high-minded remonstrance addressed to them by Lord Granby, when he reminded them that, if they were honestly and in good faith about to recognise the advantage of 'unrestricted competition,' some expiatory rite was due to the manes of the departed statesman who had been driven from power and denounced as a traitor for preceding them in the same line of policy. It is no excuse to say, that they did not join in the personal invectives which were lavished on the late Sir Robert Peel, but merely sanctioned them by their acquiescence, or animated the actual assailant by their cheers. It was their clamorous, almost savage, applause which

enabled their champion to obtain his semblance of a triumph over their once venerated leader, who, at the very moment when his haughty spirit seemed to quail, might have retorted —

‘Non me tua fervida terrent  
Dicta, ferox, Dii me terrent,’—

the ‘*Dii*’ being about upon a par, in taste, manners, and impartiality, with the ‘*Gods*’ in the shilling gallery of a metropolitan theatre.

It is observed by Mr. Disraeli, in ‘*Vivian Grey*,’ that ‘the only rival to be feared by a man of spirit is a clever boy;’ and the boisterous scenes which too frequently disgraced the House of Commons in 1846, bear a marked analogy to those in which a smart and forward lad is encouraged to make a set at some grave and respectable person, who cannot retort without a loss of dignity. If the attention of the late Protectionists could be recalled to the period of which we speak, some of them would be not a little astonished at the sort of facetiousness which then threw them into convulsions of delight, as well as at the coarse vituperation which they rapturously approved. The following passage from Mr. Disraeli’s speech, on the third reading of the Corn Bill, immediately precedes the peroration, and was received with ‘roars of laughter:’—

‘The day after the Right Honourable Gentleman (Peel) made his first exposition of his scheme, a gentleman well known in this House and learned in all the political secrets behind the scenes, met me, and said, “Well, what do you think of your chief’s plan?” Not knowing exactly what to say; but taking up a phrase which has been much used in this House, I observed, “Well, I suppose it’s a great and comprehensive plan.” “Oh,” he replied, “we know all about it. It was offered to us. “It is not his plan; it’s Popkins’s plan!” And is England to be governed by Popkins’s plan? Will he go to the country with it? Will he go with it to that ancient and famous England, that once was governed by statesmen — by Burleighs and by Walsinghams, by Bolingbrokes and Walpoles, by a Chatham and a Canning — will he go to it with this fantastic scheme of some presumptuous pedant?”’

The sole point, such as it is, of this carefully prepared and eminently successful passage, depends upon the name, Popkins, which, if the story be not altogether apocryphal, was evidently substituted for the real one by the speaker. The notion, however, is not original. In Lord Normanby’s ‘*Yes and No*,’ a fine gentleman bets twenty to one against the favourite for ‘the Derby,’

on the strength of the owner's name,—urging that it was morally impossible for a Snooks to win the ‘blue riband of the Turf.’

‘A jest's prosperity lies in the ear of him who hears it;’ the maxim is no less true of a speech; and a very limited quantity of eloquence will go a long way, when the orator makes it his main business to humour and chime in with the excited feelings and confirmed prejudices of those whose favour he is anxious to conciliate. A thorough appreciation of the prevalent weakness in this respect is the secret of Mr. Disraeli's elevation.

There are two modes of getting on,—by directly appealing to superior minds, or by obtaining the support of numbers through their passions and prejudices, and then demanding power as their representative; in other words, by playing off the nonsense of the country against its sense. Mr. Disraeli has chosen the latter. His principal claim to distinction rests on his adroit management of the foolish and the vain. His admirers do not dwell on the justness of his views, the purity of his motives, the solidity of his acquirements, or the excellence of his measures. They say in effect: ‘See to what a height he ‘has raised himself by his unaided exertions; observe how ‘many “men of metal and large-acred squires” swear by him ‘despite of his race. How could all this have come to pass ‘unless he were an orator and statesman of the first water?’ We admit the premises, but we dispute the inference. The tide which, taken at the flood, led *him* on to fortune, was a phenomenon which may not occur again for centuries, but the qualities required to float upon it were by no means of corresponding rarity. We could name half a dozen public men who could have anticipated him, had they not been restrained by their sense of honour and their convictions. More than one distinguished Peelite would, if he had abandoned his principles, and joined the Protectionists, have been hailed as leader by his new party. ‘Go, my son,’ said Oxenstiern, ‘and see with ‘how little wisdom the world is governed.’ Go, he might have added, and mark with how slender a stock of genuine merit men rise to wealth, station, or celebrity. Little more than a year ago an astonished nation saw thirty or forty very commonplace noblemen and gentlemen appointed to high offices, and sixteen or seventeen of them made Privy Councillors, by way of reward for the intemperate and mischievous advocacy of an exploded error. Would they have been so promoted had they not lagged behind their most enlightened contemporaries? Or what, at this hour, would be the position of Mr. Disraeli himself, had he been uniformly true and consistent—had he conscientiously chosen his party, or side, and stuck to it—had he, above all, abided

gallantly by the only cause which he ever appeared to have thoroughly at heart,—the cause of the oppressed brethren of his race?

This brings us to what might have been the brightest, and is likely to turn out the darkest, chapter in his history. We allude, of course, to his mode of dealing with the Jewish Claims, which he advocated more eloquently than discreetly for many years, and virtually abandoned when he found it more profitable to enlist in the service of intolerance. The matured views of this important subject, which he first developed in 'Tancred,' will be found in the 24th chapter of the 'Political Biography.' Lord George Bentinck, it will be remembered, resigned the leadership to which his Caucasian friend eventually succeeded, rather than humour the Spooners and Newdegates by co-operating with them in their bigotry. 'The difficulty,' observes Mr. Disraeli, 'arose from the member elect for the City of London 'being not only of the Jewish race, but, unfortunately, believing 'only in the *first* part of the Jewish religion.' It follows that Christianity is only the second part of the Jewish religion; and the author deems the second as of less authority than the first, or, at least, as of only equal authority:—

'When the ineffable mystery of the Incarnation was consummated, a divine person moved on the face of the earth in the shape of a child of Israel, not to teach but to expiate. True it is that no word could fall from such lips, whether in the form of profound parable, or witty retort, or preceptive lore, but to guide and enlighten, but they who in those somewhat lax effusions, which in these days are honoured with the holy name of theology, speak of the morality of the Gospel as a thing apart and of novel revelation, would do well to remember that in promulgating such doctrines they are treading on very perilous ground. There cannot be two moralities; and to hold that the Second Person of the Holy Trinity could teach a different morality from that which had been already revealed by the First Person of the Holy Trinity, is a dogma so full of terror that it may perhaps be looked upon as the ineffable sin against the Holy Spirit.' (P. 487.)

He contends, on the strength of a very peculiar theory of vice and virtue—looking, indeed, very like Predestination in its most objectionable shape—that mankind owe a large debt of gratitude to the Jewish race, as well as a tribute of respect to the memory of Pontius Pilate and Judas Iscariot. 'The crucifixion,' he tells us, 'of our blessed Lord in the form of a Jewish prince,' is not their shame, but their glory:—

'If the Jews had not prevailed upon the Romans to crucify our Lord, what would have become of the Atonement? But the human mind cannot contemplate the idea that the most important deed of time could depend upon human will. The immolators were pre-

ordained like the victim, and the holy race supplied both. Could that be a crime which secured for all mankind eternal joy? Which vanquished Satan, and opened the gates of Paradise? Such a tenet would sully and impugn the doctrine that is the corner-stone of our faith and hope.' (Pp. 488, 489.)

Yet this 'sublime claim,' as he terms it, is declared untenable, and cannot be allowed without risking the revival of the Druidical rites and the relapse of the most enlightened nations of the civilised world into Paganism. The 25th chapter of the 'Biography' opens thus:—

'The views expressed in the preceding chapter were *not* those which influenced Lord George Bentinck in forming his opinion that the civil disabilities of those subjects of Her Majesty who profess that limited belief in divine relation which is commonly called the Jewish religion, should be removed. He had supported a measure to this effect in the year 1833, guided in that conduct by his devoted attachment to the *equivocal principle of religious liberty*, the unqualified application of which principle seems hardly consistent with that recognition of religious truth by the State to which we yet adhere, and without which it is highly probable that the northern and western races, after a disturbing and rapidly degrading period of atheistic anarchy, may fatally recur to their old national idolatries, modified and mythically dressed up according to the spirit of the age.' (Pp. 508, 509.)

This is a handsome tribute to the spirit of bigotry, and has doubtless been duly appreciated by his political associates; but between the Puseyism of 'Coningsby' and the Hebraism of this 'Biography,' we should conceive that he will still experience considerable difficulty in getting himself recognised in Exeter Hall, or by the National Club, as the preordained champion of the Church.

Between 1846 and 1852 Mr. Disraeli, as if divining the very post that was in store for him, gave up a great deal of his attention to the study of finance; but he might have said of the elementary doctrines of political economy what the Marechal Duke of Richelieu said of the rules of grammar—that he had quarrelled with them at the outset of life, and could never afterwards make up the difference. Perhaps no embryo Chancellor of the Exchequer ever talked a larger quantity of nonsense on fiscal topics within a given space of time. One year he was to relieve the landed interest by extending the land tax; the year following, he proposed to create an abundance of 'cheap capital' by reducing the National Debt; and then again the British farmers were to be enabled to defy foreign competition by a diminution in 'the cost of production.'

He has recently boasted, that, although a Protectionist leader, he never dreamed of reverting to 'Protection'; yet the 'charmed weapon' with which he entreated the farmers to arm their champion was undoubtedly a system of import duties. His favourite measure, however, was the transfer of local burdens to the Consolidated Fund; and this he reproduced annually, until he was compelled to take a serious view of its justice and practicability, when he suddenly discovered that it had become superfluous. Indeed, it is a remarkable fact, and a striking illustration of the total want of soundness and earnestness in his propositions, that not a single feature of any one of his amateur budgets was retained in his official production of December last. Still he had so far contrived to impose upon the least discerning portion of the public that when, installed in Downing Street, he proclaimed the advent of a new era in finance, many commercial men, who ought to have known better, began to speculate on the possibility of his being able to realise the expectations which he held forth.

As for the vast majority of the Derbyites, the faith they reposed in him was boundless, and he unhesitatingly promised them a long and secure lease of office if they would be implicitly guided by his counsels. In an evil hour they consented. A dull man's best chance of remaining honest, particularly in a speculative and cultivated age, is to stick fast to the political and religious creed in which he has been brought up. If he tries to reason, he is lost. He is caught by sophistries, which would be detected at the first glance by a trained mind of ordinary acuteness; and he is apt to plume himself on being a clever intriguer, when he is neither more nor less than a self-sufficient dupe. When Mr. Cayley, who in point of understanding is considerably above the average of his Protectionist associates, indited a long epistle to the 'Times' to prove that the Free-trade resolution, in which the majority of them concurred, was to be interpreted, in a non-natural sense, he evidently was not aware that he was merely reviving the style of casuistry which had been permanently discredited by the 'Provincial Letters'; and he forgot that, the resolution in question being the result of a compromise, any denial or evasion of its plain meaning might be deemed dishonourable as well as Jesuitical. As for the magnates of Quarter-Session, who went about playing 'Vivian Grey,' making light of principle, and talking of office as the only rational object of a sensible statesman, — they needed a satirist like the famous Duchess of Marlborough, who, having got hold of the youthful production of a heavy nobleman, in which his Lordship had tried to be pleasant and profligate, reprinted it with a frontispiece representing



an elephant dancing on the slack rope. A commonplace, decorous, and respectable politician, who forfeits his respectability, may be compared to an ugly woman who has lost her character. He has thenceforth nothing to fall back upon; and what Dr. Johnson calls the most poignant of all feelings, the remorse for a crime committed in vain, is all that is now left to many of the most prominent members of the 'Country Party.'

So firm, however, was their confidence in their 'mystery-man,' that it was not until some days after the promulgation of his Budget, that they began to entertain misgivings as to his infallibility. They were repeatedly warned that a *coup de main* in English finance would be a gross folly, if it were not fortunately a moral impossibility. They persevered in hoping against hope, that the something 'looming in the future' would prove their salvation after all; and they could hardly credit their senses when they saw their financial Phaeton let go the reins and tumble headlong from his seat. His own astonishment was little inferior to theirs, for he thought his Budget a masterpiece, and is still, we are credibly informed, utterly at a loss to understand why it was unpopular with both town and country, and so rapidly precipitated his fall. The source of their credulity and his confirmed delusion may, we suspect, be traced to some of his personal habits and peculiarities, which are thus described by Mr. Francis:—'Like Sir Robert Peel, he appears to isolate himself—to have no associates in the House, except those forced on him by the immediate necessities of party. This isolation and self-absorption are equally conspicuous, whether he is quiescent or in activity. Observe him any where about the House, in the lobbies or in the committee-rooms; you never see him in confidential communication with any one.'

A self-dependent and self-absorbed man betrays nothing; but, on the other hand, he learns nothing except from books, he loses the advantage of testing his measures or speculations by discussion, and the working every-day world of feeling and opinion remains a sealed volume to him. 'Depend upon it, sir,' observed Dr. Johnson, in reference to Lord Loughborough, 'it is when you come close to a man in conversation that you discover what his real abilities are; to make a speech in a public assembly is a knack. Now, I honour Thurlow; Thurlow is a fine fellow; he fairly puts his mind to yours.'

It has been surmised that Mr. Disraeli, in this respect, bears a closer resemblance to Lord Loughborough than to Lord Thurlow. Nor, indeed, do we well see how he could go on playing his favourite part of 'mystery man,' if he were in the habit of putting mind to mind, or of conversing in the full

meaning of the word, with men and women who might fairly claim to stand on an intellectual level with him,— which is a very different thing from talking over a Marquis of Carabas, or showing off to a select and not over-wise circle of worshippers.\* ‘I wish to Heaven that young man would risk himself,’ exclaimed Canning, on first hearing an embryo orator. The same wish must have risen repeatedly to the lips of many who have marked Mr. Disraeli’s studied caution and absence of excitability at moments which seemed to invite the open and unrestrained interchange of sentiment and thought. Whatever inferences may be drawn from the silence or reserve of authors and heroes whose laurels have been earned in the closet or the field, there must be something wrong in the mental or moral conformation of a man who can make showy speeches in public, and who confessedly possesses a lively fancy, a well-stored memory and a remarkable command of language, yet cannot or will not ‘risk himself’ in the animated and careless intercourse of cultivated society. There must be some designs and motives, or modes of thinking, which will not bear the light; or some weak point which he wishes to cover; or he dreads the consequences of any impulsive movement on his own part, or on that of an antagonist who may resolve to draw him out and try conclusions with him when he is not protected by the forms of parliamentary debate.

A rhetorician devoid of earnestness, and anxious only for self-display, can hardly be subjected to a more embarrassing ordeal than that of good table-talk. Its sudden breaks, quick turns, and elliptical transitions, are fatal to his tactics. He is like a column of infantry vainly endeavouring to deploy into line under fire; or he may be compared to Monsieur Jourdain, when, fresh from his fencing lesson, he is pinned against the wall by one of Toinette’s home-thrusts. By way of illustrating our meaning, let us suppose that the substance of Mr. Disraeli’s first speech on his Budget had been mentioned at a private party. If he had begun to argue there that the Protectionists had never agitated for ‘Protection’ since 1846, because they had never brought the question specifically

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\* ‘Nature descends down to infinite smallness. Mr. — has his parasites; and if you take a large buzzing blue-bottle fly, and look at it in a microscope, you may see twenty or thirty little ugly insects crawling about it, which doubtless think their fly to be the bluest, grandest, and most important animal in the universe, and are convinced that the world would be at an end if it ceased to buz. (*Peter Plymley.*)

before either House of Parliament, he would scarcely have been allowed to finish his sentence. 'What do you say then to 'O'Connell's omission to move for the Repeal of the Union? 'Does it follow that he never agitated for it?' would have been instantly and triumphantly retorted. Or, let us take another instance from his second speech on the same subject, in which, it will be remembered, in answer to the objection, that his reserved surplus of 400,000*l.* was virtually created by adding to the national debt, he expatiated on the abuses of the Loan Fund. If he had attempted such an evasion amongst friends, he would have been checked and told to keep to the point, namely, whether his surplus was or was not the product of a continuing credit. In short, his three, four, and five hours' orations would have been reduced to marvellously small dimensions if he had omitted everything which would have been deemed superfluous by a select company of financiers. But, of course, we must not be understood as maintaining that amplification, with an admixture of commonplace, is always unsuitable in a set speech. All that we venture to suggest is, that it is sometimes easier to dispense with solid materials, and to build on shallow foundations, in a popular assembly than at a dinner-table.

The late Sir Robert Peel's reserve proceeded from a totally distinct cause, and implied high moral courage rather than a moral defect. It was his matured conviction, that a minister ought not to communicate his intentions or meditated measures before the time fixed for their formal announcement; and he was content to endure any extent of obloquy rather than break through what he deemed a salutary rule. He suffered bitterly from over-punctilious attention to it, and there was a period of his career, when a dash of Lord Melbourne's fascinating indiscretion would have been invaluable to the more sedate and cautious statesman. If he had gone about amongst the influential country gentlemen during the autumn of 1845, and frankly communicated the difficulty he felt in acting up to the expectations which he had permitted them to indulge as to the Corn Laws, very few, if any, would have sanctioned a factious combination to run him down. It would be curious if Mr. Disraeli, who rose by this very weakness of his illustrious victim, should find his own fall precipitated by an analogous fault of manner and disposition; which, in his case, must be too deeply rooted to be exchanged for the outward and visible signs of a non-existing congeniality. It is at all events clear, that if a party leader insists on playing the unseen oracle or the Oriental despot with his followers, he fearfully increases his responsibilities; for, if he fails, they will most assuredly exact

ample atonement for the humiliation and disappointment which they have gone through. And fail he must, when he tries to delude a nation by the same arts which have enabled him to figure for a period as the organ and mouthpiece of a faction.

When Mr. Disraeli announced his 'new principles and new policies' on the 17th July last, at Aylesbury, he had evidently not reflected that he was speaking as the finance minister of a mighty commercial empire, which would look for the realisation of his pledge, and whose fiscal relations might be very seriously disturbed by it. We firmly believe that he had neither defined principles nor specific policies in his mind, when he thus took credit for a projected revision of taxation which would please everybody without displeasing anybody; but that he was simply indulging his habitual Cambyzes' vein, and that he trusted to the chapter of accidents, or to his own versatility, for getting him out of the scrape when, if ever, the hour of reckoning should actually arrive. Unluckily for him, people refused to believe that he could so far have forgotten his change of position as to intend nothing more than an *ad captandum* harangue; and when Parliament met, he had no alternative but to introduce a Budget, which, if not decidedly original, should rise above commonplace, or to confess himself a charlatan. If he had regarded the well-understood interests of the Derby Government, he would, notwithstanding, have rested satisfied with the quiet and unpretending application of the calculated or anticipated surplus; but vanity overcame prudence; he could not bear to be twitted as the 'bottle-conjuror,' and he brought forward a bundle of proposals which have earned him a most unenviable preeminence amongst finance-ministers, past, present, or to come. Horace Walpole relates that Sir Francis Dashwood, Lord Bute's Chancellor of the Exchequer, opened his first and only Budget (for 1763) so injudiciously, and with so little intelligence of the exigencies of the period, that he himself was afterwards driven to admit his incapacity, and dolorously observed: 'People will point at me and say, there goes the worst Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever appeared.' Let the manes of this defunct financier be comforted; for Mr. Disraeli, considering his opportunities, will probably rank with posterity as the worst.

Then how happened it that this miracle of ingenuity, who is believed to have had *carte blanche* from his colleagues, and was certainly checked by no convictions of his own — blundered so egregiously when his whole political fortunes, and those of his party, as well as his reputation for practical statesmanship which still trembled in the balance of public opinion, were at stake? Either a good or a popular Budget might have

served his turn; and after three months' study, with all the aids and appliances of office, he produced one which proved both unsound and unpopular, nay, which, whilst running counter to every Tory tradition, and tending to the subversion of the national credit, was coldly received by the agriculturists and clamorously denounced by the town constituencies? The solution of the problem is that Mr. Disraeli never was, and never will be, a practical legislator or a statesman. He is emphatically a rhetorician, a man of words. There are few things that can be done by dint of words, which he cannot or will not do; but as for earnest thought, efficient action, well-defined aim, sound knowledge, or sincere purpose, he has none of them. Endowed with many choice endowments which are requisite to oratorical excellence, he ranks ineffably below the first class of orators who have illustrated our parliamentary history; and it is consolatory to every lover of truth to mark, how invariably his most polished and pointed sarcasms tinkle harmlessly against the impenetrable shield of Mr. Gladstone's moral superiority, or fall upon the proud crest of a high-minded and fearless antagonist of Lord John Russell's stamp, like the foam of a breaker upon a rock. Far from having reason to complain of circumstances, Mr. Disraeli, in our opinion, has been most materially indebted to them for his oratorical triumphs; and the chances are immeasurably against any project which he may entertain of being enabled to play over again the strange game of 1846.

When Walter Scott, on finding the demand for his poetry growing slack, commenced the *Waverley* novels, Byron said of him that, if this new vein should fail or be exhausted, his versatile and copious genius would enable him to strike out a third or a fourth road to renovated and redoubled popularity. An equally acute and more experienced judge of intellectual capabilities—the late Richard Lalor Shiel—took a widely different view of Mr. Disraeli's resources, when he remarked that the death of Sir Robert Peel had left his persecutor much in the condition of a dissecting surgeon without a subject. There were sundry peculiarities of character and position which rendered that lamented statesman both vulnerable and sensitive to a rare and exceptional degree; and the only branch of public speaking in which Mr. Disraeli has hitherto approximated to excellence is aggressive personality. The form may vary; it may be sarcasm, sneer, irony, ridicule, satire, or invective. But all his happiest efforts are marked by the same distinctive quality. He cannot shine without offensiveness. His passages of arms are not worth commemorating unless he draws blood.

He cannot be ranked with debaters, like the late Charles Buller —

‘ Whose wit in the combat, as gentle as bright,  
Never carried a heartstain away on its blade.’

He is more fitted to be ranged in the same category with those who, ‘ when they cannot wield the sword, snatch the dagger, ‘ and when they cannot barb it and make it rankle in the wound, ‘ steep it in venom, that it may fester in the scratch.’ He is the Paganini of the rhetorical art; and his renown as first fiddle depends on the skill and felicity with which he executes so many tunes, with variations, upon one string.

We have carefully perused the whole of Mr. Disraeli’s printed speeches, with the view of making a collection of their ‘ beauties;’ and the result of our search is even more unsatisfactory than we could have anticipated. They possess the high merit of lucidity in statement and narration; but they are deficient in arrangement, condensation, and logical connexion: the transitions are commonly forced, and the ornaments almost always meretricious. They neither instruct nor improve. They do not make his hearers or readers wiser or better. They do not guide the judgment, enlighten the understanding, or exalt the feelings. As Cicero says of Epicurus, ‘ Nil magnificum, nil ‘ generosum sapit.’ Judging either from internal evidence or from their known effects, we should infer that not one of them was seriously framed or intended to persuade or convince, or to advance any affirmative proposition, or any line of policy, or any measure of his own; but that the main aim of each was either to gratify his morbid fondness for notoriety, or to depreciate some individual who had wounded his vanity, stood in the way of his advancement, or provoked his enmity in some manner. For this reason he is most powerful in reply; the more especially because his choicest bits, his *purpurei punni*, are carefully prepared beforehand, and cannot easily be made to wear an impromptu air in an opening speech.

Most of the greatest speakers, ancient and modern, have been eminent in the vituperative branch of the art; but, to the best of our information and belief, it is not true of more than one or two of them that their highest triumphs were achieved in it, and it is true of none that they entirely neglected the other branches, or cultivated them without fruit. But not only has Mr. Disraeli produced nothing comparable to Pitt’s speech on the Slave Trade, or Fox’s on the Westminster Scrutiny, or Burke’s on the American War, or Sheridan’s on the Begums of Oude, or Grattan’s on the Irish Declaration of

Rights, or Plunkett's on the Catholic question, or any one of Lord Lyndhurst's or Lord Brougham's most admired effusions; but, as regards purely ornamental rhetoric, no effort of his fancy deserves to be named in the same day with the glowing and graceful imagery of Canning, — as in the well known allusion to the ships in Plymouth harbour. The finest passage in this line which Mr. Francis can cull from his hero's orations, is the one in which he warns the Manchester school that 'there is no reason why they should form an exception to that which history has mournfully recorded; why they, too, should not fade like the Tyrian dye, and moulder like the Venetian palaces.'

With regard to the distinctive character of Mr. Disraeli's eloquence, Mr. Francis' inquiries and researches have unconsciously led him to the same conclusion. Almost every paragraph, sentence, or phrase which he adduces to illustrate Mr. Disraeli's style, or to raise the critical estimate of his genius, is a personal attack, — express, implied, involved, or insinuated. We will cite a few of the most remarkable quoted for this purpose by the partial biographer. \*He mentions as eminently successful, the imputation levelled against the Premier in 1844, of being 'one who menaced his friends whilst he cringed to his opponents,' — the phrase of 'organised hypocrisy,' as applied to the Peel administration at the same time — the sneering remark in the Maynooth debate of 1845, that 'with him (Peel) great measures were always rested on small precedents, that he always traced the steam engine back to the tea kettle; that, in fact, all his precedents were tea-kettle precedents' — the double-barrel discharged at the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert, by the warning, that 'another place (the House of Lords) may be drilled into a guard-room, and the House of Commons into a vestry;' and the comparison of his illustrious victim, first, to a 'great parliamentary middle man,' and subsequently to a 'great appropriation clause.' Equally cutting and well chosen were his weapons when, returning again and again to the charge, he advised Sir Robert to 'stick to quotation, because he never quoted any passage that had not previously received the meed of parliamentary approbation' — compared him to the Turkish admiral who steered the fleet confided to him straight into the enemy's port; and denounced him as a 'political pedlar, who, adopting the principles of Free-trade, had bought his party in the cheapest market, and sold them in the dearest.' These may be favourable specimens of wit, cleverness, fancy, keen observation, adroit application, or quick perception. But their glitter and

point are not more remarkable than the worthlessness and heaviness of the materials in which they are imbedded, or on which they lie, 'like lumps of marl on a barren moor, encumbering what they cannot fertilise.'

Aware of the limits within which nature or habit had circumscribed the abilities of this remarkable personage, we were consequently by no means disposed, on the occasion of the famous Thiers' plagiarism, to give him credit for being able to compose an original eulogium on the 'hero of a hundred fights,' of equal or greater merit than what he stole ready-made. He is by habit and frame of mind obstructive rather than constructive, better qualified for depreciating objects of popular esteem than for exalting them; and we happen to know that, prior to the detection of the theft, the stolen part (occupying between thirty-five and forty lines in the newspaper reports) of his Wellington performance, was exultingly adduced by his admirers to prove that he could shine, when it suited him, in a line for which he had been deemed radically unfit.\*

We confidently appeal to any one who was present at the delivery of his studied attack on Sir Charles Wood and Sir James Graham in reference to our relations with France, whether — apart from its factious and mischievous spirit — this exhibition was not prosy and wearisome in the extreme, till he began to let off the squibs and crackers which he had reserved for the finale, and most of which, as usual, exploded very much to the annoyance and confusion of his friends. With what face can they attribute revolutionary tendencies to the Aberdeen and Russell Ministry, if, since its formation, 'no Radical can venture abroad for fear of being caught and converted into a 'Conservative statesman?' or how can they affect dread of Sir James Graham's 'progress,' if, as they were antithetically told, 'it consists in standing still.' But his closing speech on his Budget affords the most striking examples to show how habitually and instinctively he resorts to sarcasm or vituperation when he is hard pressed. He had concentrated all his energies to leave a terrible impression of his beak and talons, as he

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\* The passages in question were first quoted in a translated shape in the 'Morning Chronicle' of July 4. 1848, in refutation of some *depreciatory* remarks of Mr. Disraeli's on the 'military mind.' We learn from the same paper of the 25th of November last, that the Right Honourable Gentleman has paid us also the high compliment of printing as his own some striking reflections of a celebrated historian which originally appeared in this Journal. The peroration of his speech on the third reading of the Corn Bill, May 15. 1846, is a mere paraphrase of the concluding paragraphs of Mr. Urquhart's 'Diplomatic Transactions in Central Asia.'



alighted vulture-like on foe after foe. With the look, tone, and attitude of Kean's Shylock, he dealt about him like the Veiled Prophet —

'In vain he yells his desperate curses out;  
Deals death promiscuously to all about;  
To foes that charge, and coward friends that fly,  
And seems of all the Great Arch-Enemy.  
And the sole joy his baffled spirit knows  
In this forced flight is — murdering as he goes.

There is, we regret to say, a prevalent tendency, both in and out of the House of Commons, to admire this description of display, without pausing to consider the precise qualities of head and heart indicated by it. Yet the positive amount of intellectual power demanded for a telling invective is by no means extraordinary, provided its exercise be not restrained by good feeling or good taste. Looking merely to ephemeral effects, it is also an immense advantage, in either speaker or writer, to be emancipated from conventional restraint. We learn from Moore's 'Diary' that this topic was once briefly handled between a friend (Luttrell, we believe,) and himself. 'L. "Between what one *wouldn't* write, and what one *couldn't*, 'tis a hard game to play at." M. "A man must risk the former to attain the latter; and it is the same daring that produced the things we *wouldn't* write, and those we *thought* we *couldn't*."

How many aspirants to political and literary distinction are there, who would accept Mr. Disraeli's position and reputation with the incidental drawbacks and qualifications? To reduce the number of those who might be tempted to envy him, is the main object of this Article; and it is with an especial view to their edification that we have collected the scattered illustrations of his career from its commencement. Each, individually taken, may prove little; but when the whole of them are viewed together, and in connexion with one another, the conclusion is irresistible. His mode of rising in the world then becomes patent to the most cursory observer. He is henceforth like a bee, or wasp, working in a glass case. He has broken Sedley's supplementary commandment — 'Thou shalt not be found out;' and every well-wisher to good government and social order should rejoice in his detection. His twenty-seven years of public life are thus made to assume their genuine form of a tangled mass of disingenuous expedients and contradictory professions, which change their colour, like the hues of shot silk — fade into something else as we are looking at them, like what are called 'shifting views,' — or dazzle the eye like the showy and indistinct figures in a

kaleidoscope. Is it just, wise, or beneficial that the highest honours of a State should be earned by such means or lavished on such men?

It is idle to assert that he won his way, fairly or unfairly, as a man of letters or 'gentleman of the press.' He won it as a parliamentary gladiator; and his books have done him more harm than good with his employers, who do not appreciate their merits, and are constantly liable to be annoyed by their satire or compromised by their revelations. We should no more think of ranking him with Mr. Macaulay, than of placing a successful general of Condottieri, like Sir John Hawkwood, in the same category with Condé, Turenne, and Marlborough. Let those to whom this judgment may seem harsh, reflect on the results which have ensued in a neighbouring country, from the habitual disregard of the moral element in appreciating conduct or character, and from the premium thereby held out to unprincipled ambition. We are fortunately not yet arrived at that lamentable state of social degradation, in which there is no recognised criterion of excellence except success; but we shall rapidly approximate towards it if we tamely permit brazen images, or false idols, to be set up for national worship in the midst of us; whilst, to proclaim that any amount of interested tergiversation or apostasy should be forgiven for the sake of wit, eloquence, or adroit audacity, is to canker public virtue in the bud. The almost total absence of conventional restrictions and civil disabilities in this country, simply adds to the apprehended danger by widening the arena, and by rendering it more easy of access to competitors of all grades, worthy or unworthy. It is, therefore, small merit in our eyes to have dispensed with the adventitious aids of birth and wealth, if the essential distinctions between right and wrong have been simultaneously overlooked; and we speak under a lively sense of our responsibilities as public censors, when we avow, that, far from regarding this Caucasian luminary as having shed a wholesome light over our political firmament, we saw little but what augured evil in its lurid and fitful coruscations, and felt neither regret nor astonishment at its eclipse.

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ART. VII. — *Public Education as affected by the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council from 1846 to 1852; with Suggestions as to future Policy.* By Sir JAMES KAY SHUTTLEWORTH, Bart. London: 1853.

FROM whatever premises opinions are started, they concur in placing Education first among the social questions of the

day in the order of solution. Statesmen find that the franchise cannot be extended and the representation of the people improved until they are better educated. The Church has given a practical evidence of her devotion to the cause by gathering scarcely less than a million of poor children into her schools, upwards of 23,000 in number.

It is now but here and there among the clergy that one will be found to lament that so much is done for the education of poor children, or to maintain that to be thriftless, improvident, and sunk in gross habits of debauchery, is the necessary and normal condition of a labouring population, for which there is no help and in respect to which the Church has no other mission than to sit down and weep. Or that, at best, we should be contented if we can teach them to read the Scriptures, although they remain wholly incapable of comprehending the language of her Liturgy or of sermons, and with no other perception of pleasure or instruction derivable from reading than immoral or seditious publications will gratify.

There are thoughtful men among the clergy now everywhere to be found who are ready to admit that even if the statements made of the progress in knowledge of the children in some of our elementary schools—which we believe to be greatly exaggerated—were true, there would be nothing remarkable or unreasonable in it. People forget, when they express their amazement at such advancement in intelligence among the labouring classes, what strides we have ourselves been making, so that a far wider chasm is interposed between us and them than heretofore—a chasm thus widened by our more rapid progress in knowledge, in civilisation, and in material well being. So that the education of the people does not tend to destroy the old relations of society, but to restore them; and the danger to be averted does not lie in this approximation but in that widening chasm.

We have entered more fully on this question in a former Number.\* The principle on which it rests is strikingly illustrated in the following passage from a description by a Scotch farm servant of the present, as compared with the former, condition of persons of his class. We quote it from 'Chambers' Journal' for the 5th February, 1853. 'Masters and servants have been gradually receding from each other for seventy or eighty years past. Education has been favourable to the former, while the mind of the latter has been left to famish and starve. The masters have become so polished in their

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\* *Edinburgh Review*, No. cxxxv. June, 1850.

‘manners and conversation that they will not hold intercourse with their servants. They not only neglected to order well their household, but they have driven us from under the family roof as a nuisance and assigned us a bothie\*, where we can, without restraint, indulge to excess in those humiliating practices for which many of us are notorious, alike to our own disgrace and to the misfortune of others.’

The authorities of the Horse Guards have established regimental schools, attended in great numbers (voluntarily) by the soldiers. The Rev. G. R. Gleig, the Chaplain-General, is charged with the inspection of these schools; and, to train skilful teachers for them, a normal school has been established at Chelsea. The following extract from the recently published journal of F. S. Larpent, Esq., Judge-Advocate to the British Forces in the Peninsula, bears testimony to the expediency of these measures: — ‘In marching, our men have no chance at all with the French. The latter beat them hollow; and, I believe, principally owing to their being a more intelligent set of beings, seeing consequences more, and feeling them. This makes them sober and orderly; whenever it becomes material and on a pinch, their exertions and individual activity are astonishing. Our men get sulky and desperate, drink excessively, and become daily more weak and unable to proceed, principally from their own conduct. They eat voraciously when opportunity offers, after having had short fare. This brings on fluxes, &c. In every respect, except courage, they are inferior soldiers to the French and Germans.’

The advocates of penal reform tell us that crime strikes its roots deep into childhood; the period of life which immediately follows it being of all others most prolific in criminals. The number of prisoners classed as juveniles in the prison inspectors’ returns was, in the year 1849, no fewer than 12,955; of which number 1431 were under the age of 12, 2,912 from 12 to 14, and the remaining 8,617 from 14 to 17.†

There is no age so prolific of crime as that from 15 to 20. Of the whole number of prisoners committed in the year 1846 one-fourth were between those ages; nevertheless these formed but one-tenth of the population; so that one-fourth of the crime was committed by one-tenth of the population.‡

‘It is not enough for society,’ says Mr. Thompson, of Ban-chory (‘Social Evils and their Causes and Cure,’ Nisbet, 1852,

\* A detached cottage assigned to the unmarried farm labourers. .

† Mr. Fletcher’s ‘The Farm School System of the Continent.’

‡ Edinburgh Review, No. clviii.

quoted by Colonel Jebb, Prison Report, 1852,) 'to reform criminals after they have led lives of crime for years; it has another and a greater, and happily it is an easier work to accomplish, and that is to *prevent* the growth of a population of juvenile offenders ready and willing, year after year, to fill up the places of those who may have been reformed or removed from the country. The work is not to cleanse the polluted stream, after it has long flowed on in its pestilential course, but to purify the fountain whence it draws an unfailling supply.'

Shifting our point of view from the side of crime to that of pauperism, we find Mr. Carleton Tufnell reporting\* that 'Pauper parents rear pauper children, and that their habit of dependence on the poors' rate seems to descend as a part of their natures from generation to generation;' so that 'to stop this hereditary taint would be to annihilate the greater part of the pauperism of the country.' 'I have seen,' says Mr Chadwick (Report on London and Berks, 1833), 'three generations of paupers — the father, the son, and the grandson — with their respective families at their heels, trooping to the overseer every Saturday for their weekly allowances.'

Even the advocates of economy find it in a liberal expenditure for the education of pauper and criminal children. 'All,' says Colonel Jebb, in his able Report on Convict Prisons, 1851, 'who have attentively considered the present neglected state of the lowest classes, and are at all aware of the evils resulting from it, will admit that up to this period a too narrow economy has caused a question of the highest social interest, and even of justice, to be subordinate to one of present *outlay*, I do not say of *economy*, because I believe it would be a wise economy to spend more in the means of *prevention*, with a view to spending less in the *punishment* of crime; and this would be effected by making proper provision for the training of those classes who are now virtually shut out from all the recognised means of suitable instruction, and are left to the unaided exertions of benevolence.' 'It was said by the late Mr. Rushton, stipendiary magistrate at Liverpool, that he had ascertained that ten criminal children under fourteen years of age had cost in apprehension and imprisonment upwards of 600*l.*; and with so little effect that all of them were then in prison, and one, only about ten years of age, lay under sentence of transportation for seven years.†

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\* Report on the Education of Pauper Children, 1839.

† Colonel Jebb's Report.

In those new conditions of social well-being on which we have entered, instruction is found to be necessary to the subordination of common sailors. Speaking of the Royal Navy schools at Greenwich Hospital for the sons of common sailors, which now rank we believe among the best elementary schools in Europe, and which send out some of the very best officers and sailors in Her Majesty's Service and the Mercantile Marine, the Inspector says (Minutes, 1850-51, p. 24.):— 'It is a fact worthy of being recorded, and deserving of observation, that, so long as a low standard was affixed to the education of the boys of the Greenwich schools, lest it should render them dissatisfied with the hardships of a sea-faring life, they were found to be dissatisfied with those hardships — they ran away from their ships — and that *now*, when it is fixed at a high standard, they are not dissatisfied with them — they do not run away from their ships, and are more steady (as it is termed) than other boys.' The Board of Trade, taking at length into its consideration the admitted inferiority of the masters and mates of British merchant ships to those of other countries, and yielding to the stubborn fact of a great annual loss of life and property, caused simply by their ignorance and by that moral debasement which is its inseparable companion, has, under the administration of Lord Colchester, begun to establish navigation schools in the seaports for the education of merchant seamen's apprentices.

And, lastly, we have the great commercial and manufacturing interests of the country importunately demanding the industrial education of the people as a necessity; that we may compete with those foreign countries who have in this respect taken the lead of us. The reports of several of the juries of the Exhibition of 1851 speak this language, and memorials to the same effect from the manufacturers of Birmingham, of Bristol, of Halifax, of Hull, of Oldham, Sheffield, and the Potteries, are appended to the Second Report of the Commissioners. The manufacturers of Halifax say that they 'have long felt, in common with those of other districts, the great disadvantages under which they labour from the lack of a better education of the operative classes, and urge the founding, on a national basis, of a scheme of industrial education, as alike important to the prosperity and welfare of every class of the community.'

The memorialists from Hull 'perceive that unless a system of industrial education is extended to this country, so as to enable our manufacturers to apply increased science and skill to our manufactures, England cannot keep her position in the great industrial competition of all nations.' And the Jury of Ma-

chines expresses an opinion that unless something is done for industrial education in England, 'the superiority which the French have attained in certain branches of industry by their attention to the art of design, will eventually appear, through the agency of the *Ecoles des Arts et Metiers*, in the more scientific character of these machines.'\*

Nor are these fears without foundation. Dr. Lyon Playfair, in his able introductory lecture of the Session 1852-53, at the Museum of Practical Geology, has shown us how perfect a system of industrial education has been organised in the *Real* and the *Gewerbe* schools of Germany, and in the *Ecoles des Arts et Metiers* of France. It is calculated that in Germany alone 13,000 men annually receive the high technical and scientific training of these schools; while more than 30,000 workmen are being systematically taught the elements of Science and of Art in schools which communicate instruction to them in their leisure hours.† Whilst there are no such means of education in England it is not to be wondered at that 'our glass makers, porcelain manufacturers, our calico printers and others, have been obliged to receive from abroad that intellectual element of manufacture which they could not obtain at home—a right policy for the industrial producers, but a miserable one for the State which has neglected to cultivate it within itself.'‡

Influenced by these considerations, the Society of Arts has constituted a Committee of Industrial Instruction, the object of which is announced in the following quotation from their circular under the date of January 25. 1853:—

'The Committee, taking up that portion of the subject which lies more immediately within their province—Industrial Instruction as a means of promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, the chartered objects of their Society—only give expression to a widely-spread opinion—an opinion which has now deepened into conviction since the products of the industry of the nations of the earth were brought into emulative comparison at the Great Exhibition of 1851,—that Industrial Instruction and a suitable training bearing on the realities of life, and fitted to the wants of the times, are the pressing needs of our day.'

These principles have received, however, but a tardy recognition. The Church had gone through a long period of declen-

\* Reports of Juries, p. 176. Jury V.

† Second Report of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851; p. 18.

‡ Dr. Playfair's Lecture, p. 10.

sion — the spreading population had far outgrown her ministrations — the churches began to be deserted by the common people, and their hearts were well nigh estranged from her, before she extended a pastoral care to the children of the poor. Agrarian outrages, strikes, and political unions, Chartism and Socialism, had to do their work, and armed mobs in Kent and Glamorganshire, ready to follow any madman or fanatic who might offer to lead them, were required to bear their testimony to an ignorance in the nineteenth century which finds its historical parallel in the fourteenth and fifteenth, among the followers of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, before the attention of Parliament was awakened to the political necessity of education for the people.

Our poors' rates had been allowed to increase to five millions annually, and the cost of our prisons to two millions, before economists bethought themselves that it would be cheaper to train up children to industry, enterprise, and honesty, than to maintain them when they became men and women as criminals or paupers.

The manufacturing and commercial interests of the country had derived countless profits from the discoveries in science of a few earnest and devoted, but neglected and unrequited, men, and the Art schools of other countries had given to the manufactures of those countries a recognised superiority; before those interests awoke to the consciousness how vast a mine of wealth there lay beneath their feet in the practical application of a few great principles of Science and Art, when once these should penetrate deeper than the classes now distinguished as educated, and reach the artificers and mechanics of the country.

To the honour of the Church be it, however, said, that she was the first to occupy the ground of Education. Of all the different ideas which have been formed as to the form under which the education of the people should be developed, and the principles on which it should be based, the only one which has yet fructified has its source in a religious instinct.

It was a religious impulse which founded the daily school, and it retains possession of it. No scheme to promote education can overlook its religious origin. From the fifth century to the nineteenth, Christianity has ever been in the van of civilisation. It was by missionaries of the early Church that the seeds of humanity, of justice, and mercy, were sown amongst the barbarian tribes, so long withheld by the power of Rome within the boundaries of the Rhine and the Danube, and which, in the fifth century, swept like a hurricane over Southern Europe; and it is Christianity in these latter times,



whose footsteps are seen alone, bearing in her hands the Word of Life, in the alleys, the back courts, the garrets, cellars, and lodging-houses of our cities, where festers a population who unite the crimes of civilisation and of barbarism—the dangerous classes of society—men scarcely withheld by the civil power within the limits of the law—the terrible retribution of whose delinquency would be an age of violence and misrule.

The religious instinct, in which the idea of education for the people unquestionably had its origin, was, nevertheless, long in giving effect to it.

‘It was not until the period immediately preceding the Reformation,’\* says Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, ‘that the practice of founding and endowing schools had commenced,’ before that time ‘few schools existed for the common people. Some children were taught in the *Song Schole* of the cathedral to read as well as to sing. Some poor scholars also received instruction in the chantries and others in the monasteries; but they were chiefly destined, by entering the universities as sizars, to swell the inferior ranks of the clergy.’ That awakening of the human mind, of which the Reformation was the evidence, could not be without its influence on education. With a portion of the spoils of the Church the Reformers founded, therefore, schools and colleges.

One of the first objects of Cranmer and his fellow labourers was to enable the people to join in the public worship of the Church both with the spirit and with the understanding, by having that worship celebrated in their own language; but no means were taken to teach them to read the Scriptures. A century after we find, however, the pilgrim fathers—themselves educated men—devoting themselves to the work of education, in America, under the influence of a public opinion favourable to it, which they cannot but have brought with them from the old country:—‘It was ever the custom,’ says Mr. Bancroft†, quoting the Colonial Laws ‘and it soon became the law, in Puritan New England, that none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to learn the English tongue’ . . . . ‘To the end

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\* The first endowed school for the education of the poor is stated in the ‘Digest of Schools and Charities for Education’ to have been Phillipps’ school at Sutton St. Mary’s, Lincolnshire. The total number of such endowed schools in, 1837, is stated to have been 2217.

† History of the United States, vol. i. c. 10.

‘that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, it was ordered that every township, after the Lord had increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read, and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families; they shall set up a grammar school.’

‘In these measures,’ Mr. Bancroft goes on to say, ‘especially in the laws establishing the common schools—lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and in the statutes of the land received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.’

Whilst the Puritans were thus laying in America the foundation of that system of national common school education of which they are now reaping the fruits—although knowledge and civilisation were making rapid progress in the upper classes in England,—but little was done by private benevolence\* for the education of the people, and nothing by the State. ‘Popular education received its first impulse two centuries after the Reformation,’ not (says Sir James Kay Shuttleworth), from

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\* ‘From this time, similar schools sprang up here and there throughout the country, although very slowly at first. For eleven years after, no other school for the instruction of the poor was established. But at the end of that time, in 1503, we find that four were founded and endowed. A still longer period, forty-six years, then elapsed without the foundation of a single school of the kind. The intervals between their establishment became less and less, however, towards the end of the sixteenth century; and, from 1600 to 1837, there was not a year that was not marked by the foundation of one or more such schools. Several years can count their ten, twenty, or thirty schools; and one year, 1719, as many as forty. The years in which our forefathers were most industrious in establishing these schools were the first thirty-eight years of the eighteenth century, namely, about the time of Queen Anne, who did much to promote their establishment. After this there was a sudden falling off in their annual increase, and then the rate continued low, with a few exceptional years. Towards 1837, they dwindled down again to one a year, somewhat after the fashion in which they had arisen. But, from the commencement of the seventeenth century, when they began to be regular in their establishment, to the year 1837, when the last of which we hear was endowed, the average number per annum was between seven and eight. The total number of such schools, the “Schools not Classical” of the Digest, is 2,217, which gives an average of forty-two or forty-three for each county.’ (*Educational Expositor*, March, 1853.)

‘any act of public policy, but from the spontaneous emotions of Christian charity. In contemplating this phenomenon we at once perceive the evidence of a new and advanced period of civilisation. No great national crisis awakens the Government to a sense of its danger, or impels the people to some act of revolution, but we are called to observe the silent birth of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1701, and the gradual and limited growth of its schools through the succeeding century; — the creation of the first Sunday school in Gloucester, in 1782, by Robert Raikes; the establishment of the Sunday School Union in 1786; the commencement of the labours of Bell and Lancaster in 1797-98; the origin of the Society afterwards called the British and Foreign School Society in 1811; the birth of the first Infant School at New Lanark in 1815, and the foundation of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society in 1836.’

‘It is also important to observe, that the development of Sunday schools for the poor proceeded with gigantic strides, before the labours of Bell and Lancaster gave rise to the two great societies for the establishment of day schools. The idea of education for the poor sprang from a religious impulse, — it was fostered by intense religious zeal, — it regarded the school as the nursery of the Church and congregation, — and confided its management to the chief communicants, to the deacons, elders, and class teachers. Thus the Sunday school became the type of the daily school; and it was natural that elementary education should, even in day-schools at first, comprise only such rudiments of instruction as enabled the scholar to read the Holy Scriptures. How great was the impulse of the Reformation, — and how strong became that flood of Christian zeal whose fountain first welled up in the heart of Robert Raikes, is now known from the fact, that in 1833, the first rudiments of instruction were then given in unendowed schools to 390,734 children; of which number 178,517 were taught in schools supported by subscriptions only, and 212,217 in schools supported in part by subscriptions and in part by the payments of the scholars. Besides which number, 153,764 other children were taught in endowed schools, which have owed their origin either to the impulse of the Reformation, or to the more recent manifestations of religious zeal. So that, in 1833, 544,498 scholars were receiving the elements of education, in schools which had been founded by the influence of religion.’ (P. 34.)

‘No one, therefore, who has examined the history of English Public Education can doubt that to attempt to separate it from religion would be to offer the rudest violence not only to the traditions of the country, but to its institutions, whether they be the growth of centuries or the most modern offspring of the popular will.’ (P. 31.)

‘Precisely in this fact consists the difficulty of the problem in the solution of which he has laboured so long, so devotedly,

and with so large a measure of success. He thus enunciates it:—

‘A system of National Education is necessarily of slow growth. In a country possessing representative institutions, public opinion must first be convinced of the necessity and utility of so vast a creation, as that of universally accessible and efficient elementary schools. To suppose that, in the attainment of this conviction, all difficulties are surmounted, would be a proof of a singular want of political experience. In a mixed constitution, protecting all in the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom, the most difficult problem which can be proposed to a statesman is such a scheme, involving the civil rights and religious privileges of every class, yet in harmony with political justice, and being a full expression of the national power.’ (P. 54.)

The work now before us contains the masterly exposition of so much of this problem as has been solved,—and of what remains to be done. No common interest attaches to it as the labour of a period of retirement from official duties rendered necessary by the sacrifice he had made to them of his health.

The difficulties of the task which the State had undertaken, when it intervened in the education of the people, were soon made apparent. When Parliament, in 1833, on the motion of Lord Althorp, devoted an annual grant of 20,000*l.* to the promotion of education in Great Britain, the money, so long as it was distributed through the intervention of the National and British and Foreign School Societies, to aid in the erection of schools almost unconditionally, was accepted with alacrity. But when, in 1839, Her Majesty, in a letter addressed by Lord John Russell to Lord Lansdowne, signified her gracious intention to create a Committee of Council on Education, whose functions and the principles by which they were to be governed were declared in Her Majesty’s letters as follows—then was commenced one of the most remarkable contests recorded in the constitutional history of the country.

‘Much may be effected by a temperate attention to the claims of the Established Church, and the religious freedom sanctioned by the law.

‘On this subject I need only to say that it is Her Majesty’s wish that the youth of this kingdom should be religiously brought up, and that the rights of conscience should be respected.

‘It is some consolation to Her Majesty to perceive that, of late years, the zeal for popular education has increased; that the Established Church has made great efforts to promote the building of schools, and that the National and British and

' Foreign School Societies have actively endeavoured to stimulate the liberality of the benevolent and enlightened friends of general education.

' Still much remains to be done; and among the chief defects yet subsisting may be reckoned the insufficient number of qualified schoolmasters; the imperfect method of teaching which prevails in, perhaps, the greater number of the schools; the absence of any sufficient inspection of the schools, and examination of the nature of the instruction given; the want of a model school, which might serve for the example of those societies and committees, which anxiously seek to improve their own methods of teaching; and, finally, the neglect of this great subject among the enactments of our voluminous legislation.'

The course pursued by the Committee of Council, from that time to the present, has been in obedience to Her Majesty's commands, and in many important particulars it has accomplished her wishes. Provision has been made, in the Apprenticed Pupil Teachers, for the annual supply of upwards of a thousand candidates for the office of the teacher. Forty training schools have been established to receive them, and to prepare them finally for entering on that office. The schools, upwards of two thousand in number, in which these pupil teachers are apprenticed, are, many of them, *model schools*, scattered over the whole face of the country. To raise the standard of instruction among existing teachers, certificates are granted to them on examination, and augmentations of salary consequent on those certificates and on a faithful and efficient discharge of their duties. And a staff of inspectors and assistant inspectors protects the expenditure of the public money for these objects, and guides, directs, and encourages local efforts in the cause of education, with that ability, and success, to which the minutes of the Committee of Council bear ample testimony.

The illustrious statesmen, who advised Her Majesty in the creation of the Committee of Council on Education, after the lapse of fourteen years are again members of the Cabinet; they still give the aid of their wisdom and experience and the authority of their great names to the cause of national education, and labour together to complete the great work they have undertaken. The official department of the Committee will lose none of its administrative character under the presidency of the Earl of Granville, and no unworthy successor in the place of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth.

The Committee of Council had a prompt experience of the difficulties which were to beset its path.

A government normal and model school was proposed in 1839 to be established, to which students of different religious communions should be admitted, and in which what was termed general religious instruction\* should be given by the master, and special instruction reserved for the clergy and ministers of different communions, who were to impart it at hours appropriated to that purpose. The plan of this school, which was to become the type of other schools to be founded by the Government, was at once and very resolutely opposed, and it was defeated. Sir James speaks somewhat bitterly of this defeat.

'The existence of Lord Melbourne's administration was endangered in 1839 by the attempt to lay the foundations of the education of the people, on the recognition of the equality of their civil rights in matters of religion. The Church was probably less alarmed by the recognition of this civil equality, than by the absence from that scheme of any definition of the limits of the civil power. Such definition was then impossible, but its absence aroused the most extravagant terror. Impelled by this fear, the Church, in the defence of her traditional privileges, assumed the responsibility of resisting, by the utmost exercise of her authority and influence in the country, in both Houses of Parliament, and at the foot of the Throne, the first great plan ever proposed, by any government, for the education of the humblest classes in Great Britain. The statesmen who sustained this grave discomfiture were not, however, discouraged. They failed indeed to establish a normal school, under the direction of the civil power, for training in religion and secular learning the teachers of the poor.'

'But the Committee of Council on Education survived, the principles of a great public policy were in operation, and were silently attracting to themselves, like centres of crystallisation, a mass of precedent and authority, which was destined to become irresistible.'

The measures of 1839, actively supported by many Dissenters, had failed, because they ignored the authority of the Church in education. A scheme by which Sir James Graham endeavoured, in 1842, to organise factory schools in which authority should be given to the teaching of the Church and toleration to Dissent—failed in the opposite sense. The Dissenters overthrew it, and the Church looked on with indifference. Much ground was however gained.

By their Lordships' Minutes, presented to Parliament in 1839-40, it was declared that the right of inspection would be required by them in all cases in which they should make grants of the public money to schools. And that inspectors should be

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\* See a pamphlet called '*The School in its Relations to the State*,' &c. 1850.

appointed 'not to interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management, of the school, it being their object to collect facts and information, and to report the result of their inspection to the Committee of Council.

The institution of this body of inspectors, assented to after much discussion, and under various conditions and restrictions, was one of the boldest and the most successful of the measures of the Committee of Council. To appreciate it the state of public opinion in regard to these measures, from 1839 to 1842, must be recalled—the open opposition of Dissenters, the sullen toleration of the Church. All the ground which was won between that time and 1846, and which prepared in so remarkable a manner for the minutes of that year, was won by the inspectors. A result the more creditable to those gentlemen, as they had not then at their disposal augmentations of salary as rewards for good teachers, or pupil teacherships for good children.

Nothing was to be gained from them but the advice which their examinations suggested; and their encouragement. Men in whom the public had a confidence, had been induced to seek these offices, and Lord Lansdowne and Lord Wharncliffe, on whom successively the appointments devolved, had taken great pains in the selection. That was a wise regulation of the Committee which limited the function of the Inspectors to examination and inquiry, and, to the publicity which they were to give to the results of that examination and inquiry. On this head we have the opinion of a gentleman who has looked at it from a novel and a very instructive point of view. M. Eugene Rendu, formerly private secretary to the Minister of Education, and of Public Worship in France, and Inspector to the Academy of Paris, was commissioned in 1851 to report on the state of elementary instruction in London. Comparing the influence of inspectors in France—whose function, in schools not maintained wholly by the State (*écoles libres*) it apparently is to detect and to punish infractions of the law, but who cannot intervene in anything which belongs to the instruction of those schools—with that of inspection in England, he says:—

' L'inspection, en Angleterre, s'abstient de toute action, avons nous dit, sur la discipline et la direction de l'école; et pourtant son influence y est considérable; plus considérable sur les destinées générales de l'enseignement, je ne crains pas de l'affirmer, qu'en France même; où, cependant, elle a directement la main sur les personnes. J'explique ce phénomène par un mot: *les jugements portés par l'inspection, en Angleterre, sont publics.* L'inspection se borne à constater, à comparer, à discuter des résultats; cela est vrai; mais pour témoin et pour juge de ses ap-

‘préciations elle a la puissance la plus redoutée, l’opinion. Tous les ans, les rapports des *inspecteurs de Sa Majesté*, adressés au *Committee of Council*, sont réunis pour être publiés, et, par ordre de la Reine, présentés aux deux chambres d’Angleterre.

‘Sur les 19 inspecteurs, 13 appartiennent au clergé. Tous sont des hommes pleins de science, et de distinction d’esprit, en état par conséquent d’envisager l’instruction primaire par ses aspects les plus larges, et de saisir les points par lesquels elle entre en contact avec les intérêts sociaux et politiques du pays. Il suffit de jeter les yeux sur les rapports publiés chaque année par le *Committee of Council*, pour se convaincre que l’inspection de l’instruction primaire, dans le Royaume Uni, est confiée à des mains capables d’imprimer à un grand service la plus intelligente direction.’\*

Until the year 1846 the policy of the Committee of Council experienced frequent discomfitures, and the existence of more than one administration was perilled by it, gaining ground however through the popularity of the inspection, and endued in its secretary with no common vitality, it raised itself from every discomfiture and turned every defeat to advantage. It had, in truth, in its Secretary no ordinary public servant. Dedicated to the work he had undertaken with that zeal bordering on enthusiasm—by which, and by which alone, great undertakings are accomplished, of great power, and the ability in council and in action, infinite in resources and unwearied in labours, the administration of the office became in his hands one of constant activity and unceasing educational aggression; until, by the celebrated Minutes of 1846, the question of the education of the people of England was at length placed beyond the possibility of question or doubt. Considered in all their relations and issues, the Minutes of 1846, which provide for an abundant supply of teaching, may be considered to have accomplished the object of the Committee. They have sent the schoolmaster on his mission, to found schools everywhere over the length and breadth of the land. By providing for the creation of good teachers year after year, they have assured the creation of schools, and those good schools, by the only means practicable in a country like ours—and by the best means.

Although cordially and thankfully accepted by the great majority of those clergymen who were labouring for the welfare of their schools, the Minutes were received with great jealousy and some opposition by the leaders of the High Church Party;

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\* ‘De l’Etat de l’Instruction Primaire à Londres,’ par M. Eugene Rendu. Paris: Dupont, 45. Rue Grenelle St. Honoré.



and when, in 1849, the Minutes of Council were followed by the celebrated Management Clauses, the fire which had been smouldering in their bosoms burst out into a flame. The following is Sir James Kay Shuttleworth's *resumé* of the extravagant doctrines of this party. For the authentication of it we must refer to the ample quotations from these writings and speeches given in the notes to pp. 7. 15. of his work.

'In all heterogeneous parties those lead who have a definite doctrine and policy to give earnestness to their efforts. In their wake follow those whose views are more vague; many who halt between two opinions; and generally all who, though incapable of creating a new combination, have a large capacity for antipathy, fear, or suspicion. When all these elements are united, and credit is given them for the scholarship, earnestness, and piety by which they are distinguished, it is almost a subject of surprise that this party has failed to make itself formidable, either in Parliament or in the country. On the contrary, its exertions have often rendered unwitting service to the Committee of Council, by shedding a sudden light on evils and dangers which their Lordships' policy was intended to avert. They represented the interference of the State in public education as an intrusion into the province of the Church—the attempt to establish co-operation between the civil and spiritual power, as a struggle between irreconcilable systems. They required the subordination of the Government to the Church, so that it might help the Church on its own terms. They desired to restore to the Church the power which even in civil matters she possessed, in that mediæval period when learning was chiefly confined to clerks. They even denied that the civil power had any duty in public education, or any connexion with it whatever, except that of providing the means and reaping the benefits. They asserted the divine commission of the Church to teach, and contended that the school was not less her province than the altar or the pulpit; declaring, in the words of Archdeacon Manning, that "the attempt to divide between the religious and secular elements is destructive of the religious character and essential unity of education and of schools." The Master was to be the catechist, or, as some would have had it, the deacon of the clergyman, or to be appointed and dismissed by him, and in any case to be licensed by the ordinary. The clergyman ought to have secured to him such authority in the school as none could dispute; or, if debate arose, he should be at liberty to submit the question to his spiritual superior, whose decision should be final. "The parish school of the English parish is the nursery of Catholic truth and Apostolic discipline." "It was a vicious principle that the management of parochial schools should be put into the hands of a committee, however that committee might be constituted, and not into the hands of the parochial clergyman." Either directly or indirectly the school was to be subjected to a purely spiritual power, of which the laity, if admitted to a nominal participation, were to be the submissive instruments.

The civil power had no right, not merely to interfere with, but even to inspect schools. Its province was to be strictly limited to the duty of promoting by money grants the designs of the ecclesiastical authority. The diocesan boards were, by means of inspectors appointed by themselves, though paid by the State, to estimate in each diocese what was annually needed for building or repairing schools, for their annual support, for the maintenance of training schools, for the retiring pensions of masters, for the charges of the diocesan inspection, and generally for the improvement and extension of education. This estimate was to be forwarded through the Bishop to the Privy Council, who, after having granted the money thus declared to be necessary, were to report what had been done to Parliament. But the scheme reserved neither to the Executive Government nor to Parliament any power to reject the demand, limiting their authority solely to the adjustment of the proportionate claims of different dioceses and different religious bodies.

These doctrines contain their own refutation. Far from serving the object their authors had in view, they plainly advanced the measures of the Committee of Council, not only by throwing a light which served to direct their Lordships' attention to hidden dangers in their path, but by awakening the antagonism of another section of the Church, and rallying other religious communities in the country under their Lordships' banner.

'Such claims excite the deepest apprehension, not only in the laity, but among a very large body of the clergy, whose genuine Protestantism regards, as a mediæval corruption, any attempt to exalt the spiritual order in matters not purely clerical, to privileges which are denied to the laity. Within the Church therefore, a large and increasing body of the clergy and laity have been led, by the very exertions of the Mediæval Party, to regard with greater confidence the Committee of Council on Education. Parliament does not sympathise with that part of the clergy of a Church established for the benefit of the nation who would render instruction inaccessible to any part of the people. Those Churchmen, who deluded themselves with the notion that they could usurp for the Church the authority of the Civil Government in education, forgot that the stream of events had, through the entire progress of our history, flowed in an opposite direction. The party in which these pretensions exist is less formidable by its numbers, than by the learning, the self-devotion, and the ascetic piety of certain of its members, among whom are to be found those who have done much both to improve and to extend education within the Church. But neither their zeal nor the sincerity of their convictions can be permitted to cloak the offence of those who, under a claim of self-government, would usurp the authority of the State, and abuse the name of liberty to the hurt of the defenceless.'

Far aloof, however, at the opposite pole of the religious

polity stands a party which finds ground for antagonism to the State in the independence of religious action and the voluntary principle, not less violent and implacable, and yet more uncharitable, than that which the High Church Party has taken on tradition and authority.

This party, feeble in numbers and in political importance, but strong in the energy and ability of its leader, Mr. Baines, flushed with its victory in 1842 over the educational clauses of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill, made a fierce onslaught on the Minutes of 1846.

'The object of this section of the Congregational Dissenters is, to prevent the smallest interference of Government for the promotion of public education. To this end, they endeavour to prove the sufficiency of the voluntary efforts of the people to educate themselves, and they attribute to the aid of the State, in any form, a tendency to extinguish voluntary charity — to benumb the intellect — to undermine the independence of the managers of schools — to dwarf the energies and to stunt the growth of the freedom of the nation, if not to enslave it by a tyranny worse than that of either force or ignorance — a despotism over thought, which would render religion and truth themselves a state machine.'

'Education and religion, in this system, as well as that of the Mediæval Party, are not regarded simply as inseparable, but rather as synonymous. To apply public funds from all classes to support schools connected with different religious communions, or, as is imputed, to endow both truth and error, is, therefore, declared to be not merely impracticable but an impiety, "preparing the way for the payment and pensioning of the ministers of all denominations, and thus bringing religion into disrepute, promoting indifference and infidelity, and inflicting a lasting injury upon the consciences of all thoughtful and religious men calculated to lead to resistance and to strife, until a principle so unjust, impolitic, and unscriptural, be utterly abandoned." To separate religious from secular instruction in the school, is declared to be impossible. Religion must pervade the atmosphere in which a child is brought up; and to teach only what is common to all Christian sects, leaving what is peculiar to any to separate instruction, would lead to fatal latitudinarianism and indifference.'

Seeing how remarkable a concurrence there is in the opinions of two religious parties, whose principles in religion separate them far as the poles asunder, it is impossible not to reflect that there may be a source of this antagonism other than the parties to it suspect, — a ground lower than their common Christianity.

That antagonism bears a striking testimony to the success which has attended the efforts of the Committee of Council to improve the education of the country. It is based on a common recognition of the influence which the State is exercising to that

end. If the labours of the Committee of Council had been fruitless,—if its efforts to assist the Church, and other religious communities in the training of efficient teachers, and afterwards to augment their salaries, to supplement local contributions for the building of school rooms, and to give to school managers that assistance and advice which can only be supplied by inspection, had been unheeded,—if private benevolence had not by these means been stimulated, or local and voluntary largely called forth,—then these gentlemen would have had no cause to show, no grievance to ventilate.

And, after all, what do their objections amount to, but the denial to the public, as represented by the State, the right of doing that in its collective capacity which every member of it claims the right to do individually? The State is, after all, through the Committee of Council, nothing more than a great subscriber to the schools which it assists. Acting in this matter as a trustee of the money contributed in different proportions by the religious communities in common, it subscribes to the schools of each nearly in the like proportions, and annexes no other condition to its subscription to each school than any other large subscriber might with propriety require as the condition of a subscription, and as a guarantee that it should not be misapplied.

One of these parties would interdict the State from subscribing at all, and rejects its subscriptions; the other claims them upon its own terms, and without those conditions, which, as a trustee for the public purse, the State is bound to require.

Nothing has thrown a greater light on the necessity for such conditions than the controversy raised on the question, whether the Catechism is to be taught to every child who attends the parish school. In rural districts, practically, there can but be one elementary school in a parish. Neither the wealth nor the population of the parish will support two schools. A child not therefore admitted to the national school cannot be educated at all, if it happens to be the child of a conscientious Dissenter. For that reason—on the theory of the theory of the High Church party—no light is to be allowed to penetrate the chambers of its understanding; it must neither learn to read, nor write nor to keep accounts; it can become, at the parish school, the subject of no wholesome admonition or godly reproof. This is the scourge held over the parent of such a child. These are the fruits, this is the punishment, of his Dissent. Unless, indeed, he consent to wink at a falsehood, to allow his child to declare, in the words of the Catechism, that he has partaken in the sacrament of Baptism, in which he has not partaken, or, that he holds opinions in regard to the efficacy of that sacrament which

his parents reprobate. The voluntary system has placed the key of knowledge in the hands of the wealthy inhabitants of the parish, they, in their turn, have entrusted it to the clergyman, and it is in this way that he claims the right to use it: 'abusing the name of liberty to the hurt of the defenceless.' As long as the friends of such a school support it from their own means, they may have that liberty; but when they demand that the public purse should be opened to them for that purpose,—the purse into which these poor Dissenters whom they propose to shut out of the school, have been made, by the indirect if not by the direct taxation of the country, to contribute according to their means,—the question assumes a new character and becomes one of political gravity and importance. It has, accordingly, been the subject of frequent discussions in the Committee of Council of the National Society, and of much correspondence between that Committee and the Committee of Council on Education. Their decision, come to after an anxious consideration of it, is thus stated in their reply to a remonstrance of the united Committee of Privileges and Education of the Wesleyan Conference:—

'Their Lordships greatly regret that the children of Dissenters are not admissible into Church of England schools without these requirements, and they would rejoice in a change in the regulations of such schools, providing for their admission.'

'While, on the one hand, they regard with respect and solicitude the scruples which religious parents among the poor may feel, to permit their children to learn the Catechism of the Church of England, they have felt themselves precluded from insisting upon a condition which might at once exclude Church of England schools, or at least the majority of them, from the advantages to be derived under the Minutes of Council.'

This decision bears ample testimony to their Lordships' forbearance, and, let us add, to their foresight and wisdom. They have a faith in the good sense of the people of England, they have turned the question over to its decision, and the verdict, however long delayed, is certain. This opprobrium of the Church cannot but be done away—this blot upon the Christian benevolence of the country, wiped out.

A large part of the laity observe, with a feeling stronger than regret, that "hundreds, perhaps thousands, of children of Non-conformists in our national schools are taught, religion generally by considering them to be what they are not, i.e. baptized according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and so teaching them that which is not applicable to their case." Is the rite of holy baptism then a fiction, a symbol, or a sacrament? Is the ministration

of sacred things sanctified to an untrue profession? Or are the ignorant parents responsible for the part their children play in it? Or rather does not the responsibility encumber those who palter with holy mysteries, by teaching them on a false assumption.

Many conscientious Churchmen perceive, that this indifference to civil rights endangers the whole structure of Church schools. The claims put forth for the creation of a system of secular education, managed by boards elected by the ratepayers, and supported solely by school rates, are promoted by a sense of the injustice which would be suffered by the minority, if the schools of religious communions were either only open to children belonging by baptism to each, or accessible on conditions inconsistent with the rights of conscience. Moreover, in all populous parishes there are many, and in not a few a majority, who, while they would accept a system of secular education only as a last resort, have so invincible a repugnance, both to any exclusion of the laity from the management, or to any violation of religious liberty, that they withhold their support from schools whose constitutions incorporate these errors. When, therefore, the Church has to appeal either to the public or to Parliament for a large augmentation of its resources to found and maintain schools, either it must recognise the right of the parents to withdraw their children from any matter of instruction to which they may on religious grounds object, or it will find in its path an insurmountable obstacle to any large measures of success.

The advocates of these extreme views are, however, a minority. The great majority interested in the educational question are of that class of men of which England may justly be proud, and to whom the history of civilisation offers no parallel; men, by whose expansive benevolence those great societies have been founded, whose labours in the cause of humanity have no limitation of country or creed, whose sympathies are closed against no appeal of ignorance or of sin, of sorrow or of suffering. It is by these men labouring each in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call him—profiting each by the talents with which his Master hath entrusted him—that the length and breadth of the land has been covered with schools, that the children of the poor may be religiously and virtuously brought up.

‘There is a race of clergymen in our rural parishes, who have learned well from the Man of Sorrows their work among the peasantry. They see the unrepining patience of the poor,—they witness and relieve the straits of their poverty,—they visit them in sickness,—they watch the ineffectual efforts of the dark mind to open its eye on the light of the spiritual world,—they unclasp the Sacred Book which ignorance has sealed, so that it cannot even be read. From the lips of the scholar are heard the Words of Life. He re-enters the parish school with an often repeated vow, that the children shall not inherit the ignorance of their forefathers.’

These men are for the most part too much occupied in their work of Christian benevolence; and too intent on profiting for that end by the aid which the State has placed at their disposal, to give heed to the objections which have been raised against accepting it.

Such men are to be found in every section of the Church, and in every Dissenting community.

One large body of the clergy and laity has recorded its protest against the recent pretensions of the extreme party in the National Society, and its adhesion to the measures of the Committee of Council in a memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the President of the Society, signed by 1,509 clergymen, and 1,336 lay members of the Church of England; and a practical effect has been given to the views of this great and influential section of the Church by the foundation of the great and prosperous training schools at Highbury and Cheltenham. The numerous supporters of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill declare the collective adhesion of another large section of the Church, and the extent to which the Minutes of Council have been brought into operation, and the building grants made annually to from 202 to 278 new schools, are conclusive evidence of the concurrence of the clergy, and the promoters of Church schools in the principles on which these Minutes are founded.

Their cordial acceptance by the Wesleyan Conference, and British and Foreign School Society, is the official adhesion of the great body of the Dissenters; and the opinions of some of the most eminent and influential of that section of them—the Congregationalists—who, as a body, represent the extreme voluntary principle, have been recorded against that principle. Of this number are those able controversialists, Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Binney. Dr. Vaughan contends, with truth, “*that Government MAY be a moral teacher to the extent that it MUST be a moral administrator.*” In accordance with the above reasoning, we do not scruple to say, that it may be the duty of Government to become even a teacher of religion, *within certain limits.* What the civil Government is in itself, it may become as a teacher—in other words, that all the morality, and all the elementary religious truth, that are essential to its nature, may be taught by it. It is in its proper vocation, when it says to society,—‘This work you must do, or we must come in and see to the doing of it.’

This is the argument urged in a former Number of the Edinburgh Review:—‘If the Church were charged with the repression of crime in the case of all that portion of the labouring population which is continually replenished from the

‘million of children in Church schools;—if it undertook to provide for their destitution, to put down the political combinations and agrarian outrages in which they might take a part, and to maintain prisons and penal settlements for them, then it might with some show of justice claim to itself an absolute control over the antecedents of their crime and pauperism, and the entire disposal of them during that period of life when the seeds of these are sown. Under these circumstances there might have been some colour for the claim of the Church, to give what education it chose to the children in its schools, or none at all. But inasmuch as the children, besides being the children of the Church, are the children also of the State; and since their irreligion, their moral degradation, and ignorance, fill our prisons and workhouses, and strike at the roots of the public prosperity and national safety, the State, too, has surely its rights with regard to their education, and also its responsibilities.’\*

Apart from that band of devoted men, who have created and who support the elementary education of the country, and who, whether of the Church or of the Dissenting communions, have sought to found in the Gospel of Jesus Christ,—far aloof stands the Secular Education Party, represented by the National Public School Association.

The pretensions of this party, which propose to establish in every parish, by Act of Parliament, schools to be supported by rates, in which ‘nothing shall be taught which favours the peculiar tenets of any sect of Christians; and no minister of religion shall be capable of holding any salaried office in connexion with the schools;’ are thus effectually disposed of:—

‘It would be difficult to conceive, that any man of parliamentary experience could gravely propose, that local municipal boards should be invested with power to establish rate-supported schools in every parish, with whatever constitution, to the inevitable destruction of the schools of religious communions,—much less, that the constitution of the new schools should exclude all distinctive religious instruction. We should rather be amused, than alarmed, if any public man should offer, as a boon to the religious bodies (in whose instinctive religious feeling the existing schools originated), to purchase or hire their school buildings, in order to appropriate them to a purely secular use. Happily, there is no majority in this country strong enough to perpetrate so gross an outrage. The religious communions regard with unruffled complacency, schemes which threaten to trifle with the greatest power existing in this country—that with which the national faith adheres to the institutions, which its zeal has founded for the

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\* *Edinburgh Review*, No. clxxxv. (July, 1850), p. 119.



diffusion of religious truth. . . . The success of such a scheme could only have been brought about, by the intolerance of a body like that of the Mediæval Party in the Church, ready to deny at once the civil rights of the ratepayer; the religious freedom of the parent and the child; the province of the State in the education of the people; and to arrogate to the spiritual order a supreme authority, both over the conscience, and over all civil powers and resources. From so ghostly a tyranny, the awakened intelligence of this country would have revolted, even if it had no other alternative than the despotism of the majority.

'The untenable position first occupied by the National Association has, however, been abandoned. Their labours have promoted the discussion of the mode in which school rates can be levied and applied most equitably, and in the spirit of our representative institutions. They have successfully vindicated the right of the ratepayer to the control of these funds.'

These rival and antagonistic opinions, and the parties which represent them, are the rocks, amongst which State education has had to steer its way, and amongst which it has yet a good way further to be piloted before it reaches the haven.

What has been effected may shortly be stated as follows:—In 1833, when Parliament first intervened in education, there were, by Lord Kerry's returns, 544,498 scholars receiving instruction in the daily schools of all the different religious communities. In 1846, there were, according to the returns of the National Society, 955,865 scholars in Church schools only; and by a probable computation there are 200,000 children in schools connected with the British and Foreign School Society.

In 1850 there were 38,623 scholars in the Wesleyan daily schools.

In schools connected with the Congregational Board there are at present 6,839 scholars; in Roman Catholic poor schools 34,750; and in Ragged schools, 20,000; making a total of 1,281,077;—in which aggregate it will be observed that by far the largest item, being the 955,865 scholars in National schools, has reference to the year 1846, and that it is in these schools the rate of increase is the most rapid. It is not, therefore, too much to assume that a million and a half of scholars are now attending daily schools in England, and that the number has increased threefold since, twenty years ago, education was first the object of a parliamentary grant.

So much for the *quantity*. Then as to the *quality* of the instruction received, let it be recollected that, in 1833, and for the next thirteen or fourteen years, the method of instruction was that known as the monitorial system, which had transferred the principal task in educating the 'poor' of this country to chil-

dren called 'monitors,' whose average age was ascertained to be *less than eleven years*. This system, as originally propounded by Dr. Bell, never contemplated the action of an intelligent or well-instructed master in the teaching of a school, otherwise than vicariously and through his monitors.

'From his place (chair or desk),' says Dr. Bell, describing the functions of the master, 'he overlooks the whole school, and gives life and motion to every member of it. . . . He is occasionally to hear and instruct the classes, or rather, overlook and direct the teachers and assistants while they do so. . . . The advantage is, that not being perpetually occupied, as at most schools, in hearing or instructing one or other of the classes, which necessarily withdraws his attention for a time from the rest of the school, he has leisure to see that all are employed as they ought to be.'\*

A system like this provided no place in the school for an educated and enlightened teacher, but only for a drill-master. It intended no contact of his mind with the minds of the children of his school, and gave him no opportunity of developing that of which the growth had been kept back, strengthening that which was weak, or supplying that which was deficient. He could not study the child's character, and observe where it was feeble and where faulty, or reprove, correct, strengthen, and establish it. Such functions were never thought of. The qualities chiefly prized in the National schoolmaster were those of a strict disciplinarian.

That school was fortunate, however, which found a man who had energy enough of character to maintain its discipline. The deplorable poverty of the majority was such, that their promoters were obliged to accept the services of such persons as offered themselves on the spot, and whose chief recommendations, next to the indispensable one of high personal character, was often their disqualification for any other pursuit in life. Under the auspices of such teachers, the schools dragged on a spiritless, if not a lifeless, existence; the tangible representatives of that instruction in religious knowledge and in useful secular learning which they did not communicate; fostering the prejudices unfavourable to education which had gained ground among the poor; obstacles to the cause they were established to promote rather than the means of its advancement. This system has been completely discredited. A new race of schoolmasters is abroad.

When, in 1839, the Committee of Council were baffled in

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\* The Madras School by Dr. Bell, 1808.

their plan for founding a Government normal and model school, Sir James Kay, Shuttleworth and Mr. E. Carleton Tufnell established one at Battersea; and Sir James, that nothing might be wanting to its success, went to reside in it, adding to his duties as the secretary of the Committee of Council the cares, the difficulties, and the discomforts of a position in which, surrounded by youths some of them but recently the inmates of workhouses, he sought to lay the foundations of an improved system of popular instruction. The Battersea Training School has been the fruitful parent of thirty-nine others. The office of the teacher has risen in the public estimation, and men now enter upon it who claim to rank, not only as instructors, but as educators.

Thirty-one of the training schools were visited and reported upon by Her Majesty's Inspectors last year (1852). These contained, at the time of inspection, 1,087 students. Several of them have been erected with a special reference to that influx of candidates for admission to such institutions which the pupil teachers apprenticed under the Minutes of 1846 will create, which demand commenced at Christmas, 1852. They afford accommodation collectively for 1,785 students; but in 1854, as various new schools are in progress of erection, they will be able to receive 1,961. It has been hitherto found extremely difficult to fill them with qualified students. By their poverty they are compelled to require a fee, generally of 25*l.* and in some cases of 30*l.* a-year. But the office of the elementary schoolmaster does not offer to a young man in a social position which places his time and an annual fee of 25*l.* at his disposal, sufficient temptations, either by its remuneration or by the estimation in which it is held. If, indeed, a shop-keeper, a warehouseman, a small manufacturer, or a farmer well to do in the world, has a child who, by reason of feebleness of character or infirmity of body, is considered unequal to any more enterprising career in life, the training school and the occupation of the teacher is sometimes sought as an asylum for him; and no small proportion of the students whose fees are paid from their own resources are of this class. There are however, others, and these are the majority, who, having been teachers in Sunday schools, and having shown, in the opinion of the clergyman or of some other benevolent person, an adaptation to the office of the schoolmaster, have been assisted by them in providing the requisite fee, and, what is scarcely less important to them, have the sanction, the guidance, recommendation, and advice of their patrons. This class includes clerks, printers, shopmen, skilled mechanics, and a considerable number of assistants in schools.

‘Some afford the evidence in their attainments previous to their admission of an early thirst for knowledge and habits of study in some degree formed. This is, however, but a small proportion; another and much larger class had possessed some advantages of education, but afford no evidence of a love of knowledge or efforts at self-instruction; and there is a third class who are exceedingly, and many of them hopelessly, ignorant.’\*

These are, however, about to be replaced by another class of students. A new material is to be worked up into the office of the teacher. The class of apprenticed pupil teachers was created by the Minutes of 1846: at the beginning of the year 1852 it numbered 5,607. These young persons, selected as the most promising to become teachers in 2,388 schools, scattered over the country, many of which may be considered model schools, are apprenticed to the teachers of those schools, and supported by Government stipends. Between eight and nine hundred of them completed their apprenticeships at Christmas, 1852, and for the future every year will yield upwards of a thousand of them.

‘On the 31st of December, 1851, the number of pupil teachers apprenticed in Great Britain was 5,607 (3,657 boys and 1,950 girls), who were in the several years of their apprenticeship set forth in the following Table:—

1st Year.		2nd Year.		3rd Year.		4th Year.		5th Year.		Total.	
Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
757	457	797	490	958	452	830	387	315	164	3,657	1,950

To the competition of these new candidates for the training

\* ‘Report on Training Schools,’ 1850-51, p. 38.

‘The following are quotations from the “Exercises,” now before me,’ says the Inspector, ‘of seven out of ten candidates for admission to one of the training-schools, at an examination held for that purpose at midsummer, 1849:—

‘No. 1. “The rich man *owing a greate dale* of Property and Lazarus was poor who was *useually* came to his door *beging*.”

‘No. 2. “The best method a schoolmaster can adopt is, to let the children know *thire* state by *nattire* and *thy* must be by *Gace*.”

‘No. 3. “The four first Commandments *where* on the first Table and the six *remainings* on the second.”  
“Adam eat of the *forbiden* fruit.”

“William III., son of Rollo Prince of Denmark.”

schools the Government offers the Queen's scholarships. These are limited in number to one-fourth the number of students resident in each training school,—a limitation which was not, we believe, in the first instance contemplated, and which should, we think, be relaxed. The certificate being accorded to the teacher, on examination after his course in the training school is completed, he enters upon his profession with advantages of a special education similar to those enjoyed by the members of other professions, and with this additional advantage,—that his office being exercised specially amongst the poor, and his stipend dependent on public benevolence, the State contributes from the public fund an annual augmentation of it so long as it is certified that the duties of the teacher are faithfully and efficiently performed.

The schools, built by the aid of Government grants, on good models, taught by certificated teachers, in which pupil teachers are apprenticed, and which are inspected and reported upon by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, have, many of them, become model schools.

To increase the number of existing schools, so as to provide in *quantity* for the education of the country, and to raise all of them to the level of these model schools, so as to provide for it in *quality*, would be to effect all that may be effected by a system of National education; and it is the object of the three last chapters of the work before us to show how this may be effected.

The present number of elementary schools in England and Wales, the number of children attending them, and the cost of supporting them, are stated in the following table:—

[See Table in next page.]

The population of England and Wales was, by the last census (1851), nearly 18,000,000\*, and four-seventeenths of this number, or 4,500,000, are probably of an age to go to school, from 3 to 13 or 5 to 15.† Sir James Kay Shuttleworth bases his calculations on the hypothesis that half the children ought to be in our elementary schools who are thus of an age to go to school. This appears to us the lowest hypothesis which is consistent with the idea of a national system of education.‡

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\* 17,922,768.

† This was the proportion between those ages according to the census of 1841, it gives 4,217,122 between those ages in 1851.

‡ In Pennsylvania one-fifth of the population had, in 1840, the advantage of instruction in the common school. In Massachusetts the proportion was, in 1844, one in six-and-a-half. (*Minutes, 1843-48*, vol. ii. p. 571.)

**TABULAR VIEW of the SCHOOLS of the Church of England and the other Religious Communions in England and Wales, founded on data referred to in Sir J. Shuttleworth's work, and comprising an Estimate of the probable Sources of their present Income in cases in which such facts have not been otherwise obtained.**

	Number of Schools in each Religious Com.	Total Number of Scholars in Attendance.	Average Number of Scholars in each School.	Total Annual Cost of maintaining these Schools.	Average Cost of each School.	Average Cost of each Scholar.	Average Salary of Masters as reported by Religious com- munion.	Average Salary of Masters as reported by Religious Com- munion.	† Proportions in which the Annual Cost is probably- defrayed from each of the undermentioned Sources of Income.						
									Local Endow- ment.	Local Subscrip- tion.	Local Collec- tion.	School Pence.	Private Donations of Scholars.	(Other Sources.	Teach.
Church of England *	17,015	955,985	561	817,081†	£8 0 5	0 17 1‡			63,724	295,750§	95,596	305,375¶		64,545	817,081‡
British and Foreign School Society -	1,500	225,000	150	161,250	107 10 0	0 14 4			4,687‡	47,912§	11,250	85,078¶		12,422	161,250
Wesleyan Education Committee -	397	38,623	97‡	27,347	68 17 5	0 14 2	70 0 0	40 0 0	483	8,207‡	1,931	14,504¶		2,132	32,358
Congregational Board of Education -	89	5,839	76‡	4,901	55 1 3§	0 14 4	75 0 0	43 0 0	142‡	1,453	342¶	2,585		377‡	4,901
Roman Catholic Schools -	585	34,750	59‡	16,060	27 7 0	0 9 2‡			500	2,620	5,000	4,400	2000	1,500	16,000
Ragged Schools -	270	30,000	74	20,000	74 0 0	1 0 0				20,000					20,000
Total -	19,556	1,281,077	61	1,046,570‡	52 14 3†	0 16 6			69,537	366,572‡	114,109‡	413,044	3000	81,076‡	1,046,570‡

\* The estimate of the sources of Income in Church of England Schools is founded on the average rate of that Income per Scholar, in the superior class of Church of England Schools, respecting which the general results of inspection are given in Table VIII. Vol. I. Minutes for 1851-2, page 144, j, by reducing this average rate of Income, viz. 18s. 0d. to the average rate of expenditure reported the result of the National Society's Inquiry. This reduction is made in the following manner:—  
 The Local Endowment is estimated at 1s. 4d. per Scholar—the Local Subscriptions at 6s.—the Local Collections at 6s.—the School Pence at 6s. 5d., and the money from other sources at 4s. 2d.  
 † The sum of the several sources of Income in the British and Congregational Schools, is derived from the actual Income reported under each head in the Table VIII., Vol. I. Minutes for 1851-2, page 144, where it amounts to rates per Scholar nearly as follows:—viz. 5d. per Scholar from endowment; 4s. 3d. from Local Subscriptions; 1s. from Local Collections; 7s. 6d. from School Pence; and 1s. 14d. from other sources. At the Wesleyan Schools have an Income reported to average nearly 14s. 2d. per Scholar, the difference between 14s. 2d. and 4s. 3d. has been subtracted from the item of Endowment, which, for Wesleyan Schools is estimated at 3d. per Scholar. The rest of the sources of Income in Wesleyan Schools are estimated at the same rates as in British and Congregational Schools.  
 ‡ Contributions from the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee.  
 § This sum exceeds that stated in the fourth column by 117, because the average cost per Scholar is rather less than 14s. 2d., whereas the latter sum has been calculated at that rate, making all sums below 10s. in the several columns.

Two-and-one-eighth millions of children ought, on this supposition, to be in elementary schools in England and Wales. The number actually attending them is about one-and-a-quarter millions, leaving nearly a million (seven-eighths of a million) unprovided for. There are, in connexion with the different religious denominations, 20,000 elementary schools, giving an average attendance of 64 children in each school. If the average attendance could be raised to 90, half-a-million more children would be taught in these 20,000 schools; leaving another half-million for whom schools are yet to be provided.\*

For the education of this half-million of children 5,555 new schools must be built, at a cost of not less than two millions and a quarter,—to contain on an average 90 each,—and 5,555 new teachers must be provided. With reference to this estimate of the required increase in the number of schools, we have to observe that the average number, which Sir J. Shuttleworth has assumed, of 90 children in each school, appears to us higher than is to be expected under any circumstances. The 1,713 schools inspected in 1851, which he assumes (p. 117.) to have had an average attendance of 112 each, were in reality 1,713 sets of schools (see Minutes, 1851-52, p. 143.) each in some instances composed of three schools under one management, and in others of two. They comprised 2,388 individual schools, of which

	858	were boys' schools
	682	.. girls' ..
	667	.. mixed boys and girls
	181	.. infants
Total	- 2388	

is supported by another independent one. It is supported by the Wesleyan and Society's returns for 1846-47, that the number of nonconformist and ecclesiastical districts which possess no school whatever is 1,172, leaving a population, in the aggregate, of 2,144,000. Of these 2,144,000 2,144 possess a Sunday school only, or a dame's school, leaving a population, in the aggregate, of 2,142,000 people live in parishes where there is no school. One-eighth of this number, or nearly 267,750, is the number of children who, on our hypothesis, live in parishes without schools. If we suppose that the proportion who ought to be attending school in the parishes which have schools, after the average attendance is raised to 90, we shall obtain a half million by the addition of the schools of Dissenting communions are omitted, and would obviously not affect the result.

and their total average attendance being stated at 182,519, gives 80 for each school.\* As these schools are, for the most part, situated in populous districts, and conducted under favourable circumstances, an average attendance which is to include all the small rural parishes, must of course be fixed lower, and 70 instead of 90 would be the more reasonable assumption. The number of new schools to be created would thus be increased to 7,143.

In this computation, the fact that strikes us chiefly is the great extent to which, as it regards quantity, the education of the country is already provided for. Our existing schools have only to be increased in number by one-third to be as many as we need. To this extent has private benevolence, and chiefly that of Churchmen, aided by the Government, and stimulated by the Committee of Council, provided schools for the education of the people.

We pass now to the consideration of what belongs to the quality of the instruction in those schools.

They must be taught by competent teachers, aided, where the numbers require it, by assistant masters and apprenticed pupil teachers.

The number of principal teachers is of course fixed by the number of schools. The number of apprenticed pupil teachers is dependent upon the annual number of vacant teacherships and assistant teacherships which they will have to fill as they complete their apprenticeships.

Hitherto there has been no need to place a check on the tendency to create pupil teachers, the number of schools seeking them being comparatively small; but to apprentice them in such numbers as to supply the place of monitors in all national schools, or to provide, by means of them, all that is required to supplement the labours of the principal teachers in schools, would obviously be impossible. It is with this view that the formation of a large class of assistant teachers has been determined upon, receiving augmentation of salary from the State of 20*l.* each, — one assistant teacher being allowed where two pupil teachers would have been appointed.

Sir James proposes that the pupil teachers should enter on the office of the teacher (not necessarily the assistant but rather the probationary teacher) immediately on the completion of

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\* We are disposed to think that a similar error is to be found in the National Society's enumeration of 17,015 schools, with 955,865, giving an average of 56 each. These ought to be *sets* of schools, the number of single schools being greater, and the average attendance less.



their apprenticeships, if they think fit, and that by three years' efficient service in that office they should earn for themselves Queen's Scholarships in the Training Schools.

'The following Table exhibits the number of teachers of these three classes, which he conceives ought to exist in schools having average attendances of progressively greater numbers.

No. of Scholars.	Master.	Assistant Masters.	Pupil Teachers.
Any number between 30 and 60	1	0	1
About 80 - - - -	1	0	2
100 - - - -	1	1	1
140 to 160 - - - -	1	1	3
or - - - -	1	2	1
180 - - - -	1	2	3
200 to 220 - - - -	1	2	4 or 5
240 - - - -	1	3	4

This Table is constructed on the principle that the master or assistant master should not have more than forty scholars under his charge, and the pupil teacher not more than twenty; but that a master, with a pupil teacher, may take charge of sixty scholars.'

The cost of increasing the quantity of education, and improving its quality as proposed, would be incurred:—

1. In the erection of new and more convenient school buildings for many existing schools.
  2. In erecting school houses for new schools for half a million of children.
  3. In the annual expense of educating half as many more scholars in the existing schools.
  4. In the annual expense of educating half a million children in new schools.
  5. In the augmentation of salary of a sufficient number of certificated teachers to teach all elementary schools.
  6. In the augmentation of salary of such a number of assistant teachers, as together with the pupil teachers, are required to supplement the labours of the principal teachers in schools.
  7. In the stipends of an adequate number of pupil teachers.
  8. In grants to Normal Schools.
  9. In allowances for books and school apparatus on the terms stated in the official schedule.
  10. In the cost of inspection.
  11. In the cost of administration.
- The following is the estimate given in the work before us of

the aggregate expenditure which must be made under all these different heads to bring the existing 20,000 to the proposed state of efficiency; supposing them then to educate at 1,836,562 scholars.

' On the buildings of the existing 17,015 Church of England schools - - - - £2,185,800.

*Current Annual Expenditure.*

In Church of England schools by reason of increased number of scholars	-	-	-	£434,676
In the schools of religious communions by reason of ditto	-	-	-	241,900
In Church of England schools for augmentation of salary to teachers and pupil teachers, &c. &c. under Minutes of 1846	-	-	-	1,136,180
In schools of other religious communions by reason of ditto	-	-	-	273,490

Total increase of current annual expenditure - £1,844,246

As the existing annual expenditure of these schools is estimated at 1,046,590*l.*, the total expenditure on them, if rendered efficient, would become 2,890,885*l.* This sum would provide for the education of 1,856,562 children, being one-eighth of a population of 14,852,496, leaving 383,784 children, being one-eighth of the remaining population, to be otherwise provided for. If, for the sake of argument, we suppose the aggregate income required could be derived from the same sources as the present income, but with no aid from the State, and in the same proportions as it is now obtained, then the following table shows what proportions of that income would be derived from each of those sources.

[See Table in next page.]

To bring her schools up to the proposed standard, the Church must, according to this table, add twice as much to all these sources of income; that is, they must all be tripled.

Three times the present endowments must be obtained. Three times the local subscriptions. The collections made in churches must be three times as productive. The children must pay three times as much in school pence. And other miscellaneous sources of income must be increased three times.

Sir James undertakes, with amusing gravity, the inquiry how far it is reasonable to expect an increase of income to this amount.

As applied to the augmentation of endowments this inquiry

TABLE showing the probable relative Incidence of the Charge required for the efficient Education of 1,836,562 Scholars, by the Religious Communions, on the present Local Sources of Income, provided no other source were developed.

Present Sources of Income.	Number of Scholars who are now or will be educated in Schools of Religious Communions, when rendered efficient.		Rate per Scholar, of the several Sources of Income, in the Table page 102., of Schools inspected in 1851.				Average Cost per Scholar of efficient Education, distributed nearly according to the prevailing Rates of the several Sources of Income.				Sum to be charged on each Source of Income, if Cost of efficient Education were distributed from present Local Sources of Income alone.				Sum of present raised from Local Sources of Income to meet this Charge.				Additional Sum which would have to be raised from Local Sources of Income, if the charge were borne by them alone.			
	Church.	Other Communions.	Church.		Other Communions.		Church.		Other Communions.		Church.		Other Communions.		Church.		Other Communions.		Church.		Other Communions.	
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Local Endowment			0 1 5½	0 0 5	0 2 6	0 1 0	191,419	13,260	£	63,724	5,913	£	127,695	9,448								
Local Subscriptions			0 6 3½	0 4 3	0 10 10	0 9 5	829,481	143,704	33,065	£	286,730½	62,073	£	542,730½	81,631							
Local Collections	1,531,350	*305,212	0 2 1½	0 1 0	0 3 8	0 2 2	280,747	893,268	255,615	£	95,586½	18,523	£	185,160½	14,542							
School Pence			0 6 9½	0 7 6½	0 11 8	0 16 9					306,375½	106,668½		586,912½	148,946½							
Other sources			0 1 5½	0 1 1½	0 2 6	0 2 3	191,419	34,336			64,645	16,431½		126,774	17,904½							

\* Ragged Schools, with 20,000 scholars, not included.

leads to an instructive chapter on the administration of charitable trusts.

The Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty in September 1849, to inquire into certain charitable endowments, classify the whole 28,840 charities reported upon into groups according to their income.

The numbers in each class are reported upon by them as follows:—

Charities, the incomes of which do not amount to 5 <i>l.</i> per annum				-	13,331
Amounting to	5 <i>l.</i> and under	10 <i>l.</i>			4,641
"	10	"	20		3,908
"	20	"	30		1,866
"	30	"	50		1,799
"	50	"	100		1,540
"	100	"	500		1,417
"	500	"	1000		209
"	1000	"	2000		73
"	2000 and upwards		-		56
Total				-	28,840

The remarkable number of small charities is the fact most worthy of remark in this table. Such small charities are specially liable to be abused. The same vigilance is not exercised in the appointment of trustees for these as for charities of larger amount, or in the filling up of vacancies in the trusts when they occur. Their incomes often consist of rent-charges, the payment of which, from the smallness of their amount, is not enforced on the one hand, and is omitted on the other.

The rent-charge thus falls into disuse and is forgotten, and when the estate changes hands it is irrecoverably lost. If it is vested in the funds, yet greater perils await it. 'Stock, like other property held jointly by several persons, devolves on the survivor, and after him on his representatives.' It may be difficult or impossible to trace them, or if found they may decline, and not unjustifiably, to transfer it unless to trustees legally appointed. If a small charity property consists of houses, there are no funds to repair them; and if there be neglect in the renewal of the trustees the tenant may discontinue the payment of rent, and end by usurping the property. Sometimes charity property, by the ignorance or carelessness of trustees, is invested on insufficient security, follows the fluctuating fortunes of once wealthy families, and disappears under casual and personal influences.

Nor in case of the abuse of a small charity, could there be

greater enemies to it than honest and conscientious trustees determined to vindicate its rights. That is only to be done by a suit in Chancery, and

“As\* a general rule,” says Mr. Senior, “it may be laid down, that the instant a charity not exceeding 30*l.* a year becomes the subject of a suit, it is gone. One of 60*l.* a year is reduced one-half, one of 100*l.* a year, one third. The prudent friends of such a charity will submit to see it mismanaged to any extent short of the destruction of all its utility, rather than risk its utter annihilation by the ruinous protection of the Court.” But the small charities are so numerous, as to render this complaint an insuperable obstacle to the continuance of even their judicial control in the Court of Chancery.’

The annual income of the whole of the 28,840 charities reported on is 1,209,399*l.* The charity lands measure 442,915 acres, many of them being very valuable from their proximity to populous towns. There are, besides, 6,300 houses, worth on an average 200*l.* each, and personal property amounting to betwixt six and seven millions. On the whole the property of charities may be estimated to be worth 65,000,000*l.* sterling.

‘The Endowments for Education reported upon by the Commissioners of Charities were classified as follows, in the Digest of their Reports:—

Annual Income of Classical or Grammar Schools	-	£152,047
Annual Income of Schools not Classical	-	141,385
Annual Income of Charities given for or applied to Education	-	19,112
Total	-	£312,544

‘Mr. McCulloch remarks on these facts, that “allowing for this deficiency, and supposing that the estates and other property appropriated to educational purposes were reasonably well managed, we believe we shall be within the mark, if we lay it down, that a free income of from 400,000*l.* to 450,000*l.* a year is at present partly, and should be entirely, devoted in England and Wales to the support of School education.” Lord Brougham has estimated this revenue at half a million per annum.’

Of the abuses common to charities, those for education have their full share, and besides these, many peculiar to themselves. The very trust deed not unfrequently entails an abuse on such a charity, of which the following is an amusing example:—

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\* Edin. Review, ‘Administration of Charitable Trusts.’ Mr. Goulburn, in the debate on Lord Cottenham’s Bill, made a similar statement.

‘A charity was applicable to various public objects, but the interference of the Attorney-General was required. Imperfectly acquainted with the facts, a prelate who was visitor of certain of the institutions aided by this charity, represented that he should insist on a strict and literal adherence to the intentions of the testator. It was observed to his Lordship that this might be personally inconvenient, inasmuch as a body of statutes and ordinances prepared with the consent of one of his Lordship’s predecessors (Edwin Sandys), and entered in the ancient school book, with the signature of the Bishop in token of his concurrence, contained the following ordinance, “VI. Also that the “schoolmaster should and might have and take the profits of all such “cockfights and potations as are commonly used in schools.” These statutes are dated 7th March in the eleventh year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.’

Instruction is not unfrequently limited to the dead languages in schools established for the benefit of children to whom the dead languages could now be of no use. Immoral and incompetent teachers are so hedged round and protected by the trust deeds that it is impossible to displace them, and by the competition of better teachers and better schools, the foundation schools fall into disuse; or, which is more frequently the case, standing in the parish as the representative of an education for the poor which it ought to afford them, but does not, the foundation school serves to prevent the establishment of a school which would afford them that education, and is an obstruction to the cause it was founded to promote.

The inquiries into such abuses should be made on the spot, and the scheme submitted to the Court of Chancery for their removal, involving—as it necessarily would—scholastic details, should be framed by that department which is charged with the general interests of public education.

‘This concurrent action would be maintained if the Department of Public Charities were controlled by a Committee of the Privy Council; and if the Education and Charity Committee were represented by the Lord President in the House of Lords, and by a Vice-President in the House of Commons. The organisation of the Department of Public Charities might be separated in all the arrangements of its permanent staff from that of education. It would be necessary to appoint lawyers of great eminence as the chief responsible officers for public charities; but the harmonious co-operation of the two offices would be secured by their subordination to the same political chiefs, representing them in both Houses, and to the same Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of responsible officers of State.’

We shall not follow the author into the discussion of the Bills introduced by Lord Lyndhurst in the successive Sessions of 1844–45–46 for the better administration of charitable trusts,

or the Bills of Lord Cottenham in 1847-48-49-50, which failed to pass into law.

It is sufficient to say, that in the better administration of Charities, under the control of such a department, Parliament has ample resources for providing that portion of the additional income of schools which, according to the estimate given in the Table (page 494.), falls to the share of endowments.

We can encourage, however, no such hopes of the prompt augmentation of the children's pennies to triple their present amount, or of the subscribers giving, with a general consent, three sovereigns where now they give one, or of triple donations at the next Charity Sermon. Yet on these items of income it is that the question chiefly hangs. For the general purposes of National Schools, all that is asked—and as much certainly as is to be expected—is 127,000*l.* more from local endowments; but local subscriptions are (according to the Table) to yield half a million more of annual income, and school-pence another half million; whilst collections in churches, and other miscellaneous sources of income, are to produce an addition of more than 300,000*l.* annually to the fund. To talk of such augmentations is to trifle with the question.

It is an instructive fact, that the only source of income about which there could possibly be a question whether its share of the augmentation might not be yielded is—the children's pence.

It certainly appears, at first sight, remarkable to what an extent the poor will contribute to the support of a school when they believe it to be a good one, by the payments of their children.

The fact, that the Manchester and Salford Education Bill ignores this has been fatal to it. Those pennies which the children carry to the school—often including the widow's mite—are greater in amount than the aggregate contributions of the rich. But the aid they give to the support of the school is not their chief use. They are the exponents of the affection of the parents, and of their desire to promote the best interests of their children. They express their sympathy with the work of the teacher, and are pledges that they will diligently second his labours at home, and cause their children punctually to attend the school. The parent who has not been encouraged to take an honest pride in providing, at the expense of some sacrifices, for the school education of his child, has lost the opportunity of a useful moral training for the home education of his child.

The money we lay out in charity we never lay out with the forethought and caution which marks our other expenditure. This last is expended with a view to a profitable return; the

other is not, but from a religious impulse. Being satisfied with the motive, we are comparatively indifferent to the result. We 'give, and hope to receive nothing again;' but we forget that this precept of the Gospel, whilst it forbids us to consult our own advantage in the gift, leaves it none the less our duty to consider carefully the interests of the recipients of our bounty.

Infinite are the mischiefs of injudicious almsgiving. That which Shakspeare says of Mercy, that

'It is twice blessed;

'It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes,'

is only true of almsgiving in a poetical sense. It blesseth him that gives. Society owes to it in this respect an infinite debt. The great associations in which men unite in this country for charitable purposes are an act of public obedience to the will of Him who hath pronounced upon the merciful this ample benediction, 'that they shall obtain mercy.' They are a national expression of the Spirit of the Gospel, and they tend to conform the public mind to it.

'The aggregate annual income of the religious societies which hold their anniversaries in London in the spring (independently of mere provincial societies), is not less than half a million.

'The stipends of the Nonconformist Ministers in England and Wales are estimated at upwards of one million per annum.

'The support of hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries, requires an ample revenue from private charity.

'On a review of these facts, Mr. Baines exclaims, with a just exultation, it is "not only the benevolence of the people which attracts admiration, but the proof given of a capacity for administration, of a moral energy, of a power of effective and sustained organisation."

'The accomplishment of such great objects, by the voluntary devotion of money, time, thought, and anxious care, are proofs not simply of the energy of the race, but of the power of a genuine Christian civilisation among the middle and upper classes of society.

'To be insensible to the high significance of such statements would be as great a stigma on political science as on religious sentiment. Such gigantic facts are, to the statesman, marks of the vast strides of social progress; and, to the eye of faith, signs of the coming of that kingdom, for which the believer prays, according to the precept of Him whose promise it will fulfil.'

What is true of united acts of charity is true in its degree of individual gifts. The blessing is infinite 'on him that gives;' but alas! not always 'on him that takes.'

It would be instructive to study under what forms, and to what an extent, the people of England have been pauperised by charity. It is the certain result of giving to people what they



can, if they like, pay for. Now this appears to be done to a remarkable extent in education. To a skilled workman who earns as much probably as the curate of the parish, who lives in a comfortable house, and who pays his butcher, and his baker, and his grocer, we affect to *give* the education of his child. Or we give it to a labourer, who manages to pay his way, and to spend half his wages at the public-house.

‘It has been computed, by the late Mr. Porter, that among those whose earnings are from 10s. to 15s. weekly, at least one half is spent by the man upon objects in which the other members of the family have no share. Among artisans, earning from 20s. to 30s. weekly, it is said that at least one-third of the amount is, in many cases, thus selfishly devoted.’\*

It is true that he would never have got an education at all for his child except for the charity of his neighbours; but that was because he had never been taught so to value it as to seek it for his child, and because the State had not been awakened to the necessity of placing it within his reach. But now he begins to value education, it is well to consider whether it ought to remain associated in his mind with a charity school. Why should we any longer *give* it, at any rate, to a class of men to whom we give nothing else? We defeat our own object by doing so. Not only do we ignore his self-respect and his independence as to a matter in which these should specially be consulted, but by lowering his estimation of the school, we encourage him to take away his child from it before the school-master’s work is finished. It is this which is practically neutralising all that is done. ‘The early age at which children are taken away from school is the *great* discouragement of the friends of education; it is the *hopeless* side of the question. No other obstacle appears to them altogether insurmountable but that.’†

We believe that if the parish school ceased to be a charity school, the poor man would be more desirous to keep his child at it, because he would believe it to be a better school.

In this opinion we are confirmed by the following tabular statement, of the ages of the children attending the aggregate of the schools inspected in Wiltshire and Berkshire; and, of those attending one of them which has a great and well-merited reputation as a good school: —

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\* Paper read to the British Association of Science, ‘On the self-imposed Taxation of the Working Classes.’

† Reports on Southern District of England. Minutes, 1849-50-51, vol. i. p. 4.

	NUMBERS PER CENT.								
	Under 7	AGED BETWEEN							Above 14
		7 and 8	8 and 9	9 and 10	10 and 11	11 and 12	12 and 13	13 and 14	
Aggregate of the schools inspected in Wiltshire, and in Berkshire - - }	37.29	13.22	12.83	11.51	9.61	6.97	4.6	3.8	
West Ashton School -	24	5.77	8.65	9.61	12.02	16.34	12.5	5.72	5.29

From this statement, it appears that whereas in the average of schools inspected, 8.43 per cent. only of the children are above twelve years of age; in the good school at West Ashton, 23.51 per cent. are above that age, being nearly three times as many.

Another conspicuous defect of charity education is, that it is often unsuitable to the poor. When we give, we give what we like. The education of the National School is what the subscribers think right for the poor, not what the poor think right for themselves; and often it is but little suited to their wants, or in accordance with their wishes. In general, it may be described as a fragment broken off from our own education, and given to the poor man in charity; neither his opinions nor his independence being much consulted in the matter.

The balance in the school accounts is inclining, however, more and more in favour of the pence; and the poor man's voice will thus begin to be more and more heard in the committee-room.

It is true that the local subscriptions to the maintenance of schools amount, in the aggregate, to the enormous sum of 366,823*l.*, but the pence yield 413,044*l.*; and they are far more rapidly on the increase than the subscriptions. Nor is the sum which they produce considerable when looked at in relation to the means and resources at the disposal of the labouring classes. On the contrary, it is remarkable, and to be considered as a moral phenomenon, that they should tax themselves to so small an amount for the education of their children. They lay out nearly twice as much in tobacco and snuff. The following is an estimate made by the late Mr. Porter of the amount to which they voluntarily tax themselves for three articles only of personal indulgence. We extract it from the work before us (p. 264.):—

British and Colonial Spirits - - -	£20,810,208
Brandy - - -	3,281,250
Total of Spirits - - -	24,091,458
Beer of all kinds, exclusive of that brewed in private families - - -	25,383,165
Tobacco and snuff - - -	7,588,607
	<u>£57,063,230</u>

Nor is it hopeless that they should be prevailed upon to apply to the education of their children any portion of the enormous sum which they now expend on selfish and brutalising indulgences.

The evidence is not wanting of a general amelioration of habits and manners already begun,—due, let us not doubt it, to the more general diffusion of knowledge,—and of an education which, imperfect as it is, is nevertheless founded on a sound religious basis.

Whilst the population increased 24 per cent. between 1831 and 1851, the quantity of malt which paid duty increased only 8 per cent., showing a decline of 16 per cent. in the average consumption per head. Meanwhile, the consumption of tea increased in those twenty years 80 per cent., being 36 per cent. faster than the population, and tenfold faster than the consumption of malt! The consumption of coffee increased 50 per cent., or sixfold faster than malt; and cocoa increased in consumption 300 per cent. During all this period the duty on malt had remained the same: and it must not be forgotten, as adding to the strength of the argument, that at the beginning of (in the year 1831) a duty of three millions was taken off it.

‘From all this, it seems a matter of no doubt whatever that, abating 8 per cent., no less than 24,000,000 pounds of tea, 10,000,000 pounds of coffee, and 2,000,000 pounds of cocoa, have absolutely taken the place of beer and spirits in the general consumption of the inhabitants of these kingdoms.’

To take from the large proportion which the State receives of the sixty millions expended on excisable commodities, two millions, and apply it to the education of the people, would probably, therefore, have the effect of transferring the consumption from intoxicating beverages to articles of clothing, to tea, and sugar,—whereof females and children may be partakers,—and to articles of furniture. And why may we not hope that some of the poor man’s earnings, not spent in debauchery, will be paid for useful and entertaining books, or for objects of art, cheapened to the uses of a cottage, and adapted to cultivate and develop higher tastes, and the perception of new and more refined pleasures? The probability is, that money thus expended would afford greater means for employment throughout the country in other branches of industry, and thus open additional sources of commercial prosperity.

To any such intervention of the State as should make the education of the country commensurate with the real wants of the people, the voluntary principle is, however, an effectual bar. We do not mean the voluntary concurrence in the management

of the school of those locally interested in its welfare, but their voluntary contributions to it.

Every plan which has yet been devised for aiding voluntary contributions for the support of schools from the public purse has been open to one of two fatal objections. It has either provided for a lavish expenditure of the public money on schools which do not want it, to the neglect of those that do; or for the absorption of those local resources which it was intended only to supplement.

If Government aid continues, as at present, to be strictly proportioned to local effort, a large contribution from the friends of every school being required to meet a small grant from the State, then only those schools will be helped which, having zealous and opulent friends, could best do without help; friendless places—which are as yet nine-tenths, and will always be a large proportion of the whole—will remain unaided. If, on the other hand, the State were to undertake, on Archdeacon Sinclair's plan\*, to help only those schools which need help, leaving those which can, to support themselves, then local contributions will be in a great measure annihilated; every school will infallibly sink itself to that level of poverty which entitles it to be supported from the public purse.

The question is but removed from one horn of a dilemma to

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\* *Rules for the Maintenance of Elementary Schools throughout England and Wales.*

The following is Archdeacon Sinclair's plan:—

'1. That an annual grant be given by the Committee of Privy Council, at the rate of four shillings for every scholar educated in any school under Government inspection, which shall have been reported by the Inspector to be efficiently conducted.

'2. That in the case of Church Schools, the Inspector shall be appointed, conformably to the Order in Council, dated the 10th day of August, 1840.

'3. That the annual grants shall not be paid to the managers of schools, but to the Diocesan Board of Education, which shall be entitled to distribute the amount among schools under Government inspection within the diocese, in such a manner and upon such conditions as it may see fit.

'4. That the Diocesan Board shall be so constituted, as fairly to represent the members of the Church, laity as well as clergy, within the diocese.

'5. That similar arrangements shall be made for the appropriation of public grants to schools connected with the British and Foreign School Society, or with any other religious body that now receives assistance from the Parliamentary Vote.'

the other. The building grants of the Committee of Council on Education, and the Minutes of 1846 are wisely framed and firmly administered on the principle, that public aid must be strictly apportioned to local efforts, if the two are to be maintained concurrently. But those Minutes leave, and will continue to leave, the great majority of our schools unhelped.

We do not believe that the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants of the parish are necessary to secure their sympathies to the school. Acknowledging to the fullest extent the necessity of their sanction and support, and believing heartily that a school rarely prospers without somebody besides the schoolmaster to love it, we deny, nevertheless, that these advantages are altogether dependent on the subscriptions. On the contrary, they are often an obstacle to that concurrence and to those sympathies. The clergyman would take a more active part in the school, if it were in his power to make it a good school, without subscribing to its funds more than from his slender income he is justified in subscribing; or if he had not to encounter the frowns of the Squire and fierce denunciations of education from the shopkeepers and farmers when he tries (unsuccessfully alas!) to make up the subscription list; of which universal antipathy of the parish to the school he sees the root plainly enough in this annual claim upon parochial benevolence. Were it possible to provide for the education of the people by voluntary contributions, there would be this injustice in it, that whilst it is a common duty, whilst the good resulting from the discharge of it is a common good, and the evil from the neglect of it a common evil; the burden of it would rest unevenly on the community. Any one will understand this who will take the trouble to look over the subscriptions list of a parish school, and will inquire what proportion the subscriptions bear to the probable wealth of the parties who pay them, or to their stake in the welfare of the community for which the school is provided. If the inhabitants be divided into two groups; one containing those who subscribe liberally to the school, and the other, those who do not, the latter will generally be known as the wealthier group.

It is contrary to its nature, that any result universal and permanent in its operation should be effected on the voluntary principle, and contrary to all experience. Voluntary efforts are, in their nature, variable and partial. Were it otherwise, they would have sufficed for the maintenance of the poor. No claim has received more positive sanctions of the Word of God than theirs, and none is more universally admitted. It was not, we may be assured, because great and remarkable examples of

charity were wanting, or because there were not some parishes in which the poor were adequately provided for, or because something was not done for the poor in every parish, that it was found necessary to levy poor-rates, but because the efforts of private benevolence were not on the whole equal to the emergency, because they were partial in their operation, and fluctuating, and because they were often injudiciously applied; and because it was an injustice, that a burden which ought to be borne in common by all, should be allowed to rest wholly upon the shoulders of a few. Ignorance presents on all these points an exact parallel with pauperism. It is not more unjust that the uncharitable many should shift the duty of supporting the poor to the shoulders of the benevolent few, than that they should impose upon them in the like manner the duty of providing for their education; nor could the resources of private benevolence be more injudiciously applied in the one case than they often are in the other. Voluntary efforts for feeding the hungry and clothing the naked could not have been more uncertain and partial in their operation, or more unequal to the great result to be accomplished, than voluntary efforts have been found to be, for instructing the ignorant; nor does there seem to be any more reasonable ground for believing that the children of the poor should be educated, than for believing that the old and infirm should be maintained on the voluntary principle. It is not easy to see any reason why the one should be left to be performed by those who may be charitable enough to undertake it, and not the other.

It is with much hesitation that we differ from Sir James Kay Shuttleworth in his estimate of the value of voluntary contributions. Placing these out of our view, and considering the intervention of the State with reference to the children's pence, which are, after all, the principal dependence and means of supporting the school, let it be observed that the sum needed for every school is that, and only that, which will supplement the school pence, making up, with them, all that is necessary to the efficient management of the school. The sums so required for different schools will, therefore, be very different, being dependent, among other causes, — and that principally — on the good management of the schools. So to apportion different sums from a common fund to different schools as that some shall not have too much and others too little, would, under these circumstances, be impossible. And if it were possible, it would be unjust, for it would be to pay from a fund to which all had contributed, more to those schools which were needy

because they were ill managed, than to those which were not needy because they were well managed.

If, instead of supplementing the school pence of different schools from a common fund, according to their necessities, capitation grants from such a fund be substituted, we are in danger of falling upon the evil of granting too much for the necessities of prosperous schools, and too little for those of unprosperous ones; and we propose no economical motive to good management. The only solution to these difficulties will, we think, eventually be found in the levying of a parochial school-rate to supplement the school fees of every separate parish school; or, in the case of small parishes, of every school district. Such a rate would give the parishioners a pecuniary interest in the good management of the school, that as many children as possible may attend it, that their parents may be willing to pay liberal fees for their attendance, and that the supplementary rate may thus be reduced to its minimum. The intervention of the State by its inspectors securing the employment of certificated teachers, and an adequate number of assistant or apprenticed pupil teachers, would be a guarantee for the character of the instruction which the school would afford. It was under the influence of these considerations that in a former Number we suggested a plan for a school-rate, of which the following is, with some modifications, an outline:— The State should provide that there be a Church school in every parish or school district, maintained by the fees of the children and by local rates, and governed according to the provisions of the management clauses (the substitution being made of rate-payers for subscribers), which school might, with the consent of the majority of the subscribers, be the national school of the parish. It could not, however, be thus maintained by rates paid by the whole parish, unless it were subject to these two conditions:— 1st. That no child, not being a baptized member of the Church, should be taught the Church Catechism; 2nd. That no child should be instructed in the Catechism, or otherwise in the distinctive doctrines of the Church, if his parents object to his being so instructed. The fulfilment of these conditions being placed under the safeguard of the rate-payers, the Dissenters would probably in many parishes require no further concession. In any parish where they did, it would be competent for them to form a separate school, or to unite with the Dissenters of other parishes in forming such a school, for the maintenance of which they might be rated, instead of being rated to the parish school, and which might be an existing school—a British and Foreign school, for instance, or the

school of any particular dissenting community, as the Wesleyan. Such schools should, like the Church schools, be open to all, with the condition that no child should be taught the distinctive religious doctrines of the school if his parents object to his being so instructed. It should be a further condition that all schools, whether Church or Dissenting schools maintained by rates, be taught by certificated teachers, adequately supplied with assistant or apprenticed pupil teachers, and with books and apparatus, and open to Government inspection.

This plan differs from others which have been proposed in the provision it makes for the independent maintenance of every school by rates levied specially for the maintenance of that school, instead of by the partition of a common fund among different schools. Whilst it provides for the formation of new schools where they are needed, it offers a means by which the promoters of existing schools may, by the method of local assessment, divide equally among themselves, and with the rest of the parish, the burden of supporting them. It involves a recognition on the part of the State of religion as the basis of a system of National Education. So far as the State intervenes directly in the formation of schools, it provides that it should do so in the interest of the religion of the State; but it offers the public aid on equal terms to all communities of Christians for promoting the education of their own children according to their own tenets.

The public mind is not, however, ripe for the adoption of a plan so comprehensive as this; and if it were, the conception of what really belongs to elementary education is not sufficiently formed for carrying it into effect. It supposes an interest in the cause of education more generally diffused, and a knowledge of it more universal, than are, as yet, to be reckoned upon. Opinions are, however, rapidly advancing, and the problem of an education coextensive with the population of the country, and worthy of its religious character, its civil and political freedom, and its manufacturing and commercial prosperity, cannot but, ere long, be forced to a solution.

The progress hitherto made is principally, if not altogether, due to the measures of the Committee of Council; and, above all, to the operation of the Minutes of 1846. We rejoice, therefore, to gather from the series of statesmanlike measures detailed in the sixth chapter of the work before us, that it is upon the basis of those Minutes the voluntary principle is to be placed upon its final trial. The Minutes were framed with reference to a progressive state of the education of the country. They provide for a supply of more than a thousand new teachers



annually, for whom, although there are an abundance of schools there are no adequate stipends. The system has come to a lock. Either the Minutes must be curtailed—their operation, which includes scarcely one-tenth of the schools in the country, must be yet further limited—or something more must be done.

At this crisis, when the intervention of the State has again become necessary, the Committee of Council on Education has resolved on certain measures which are to be considered as a continuation and a further development of those of 1846, and are so far more important than them, as they belong to a more advanced state of educational progress and have a more extended operation. These have been described by Lord John Russell from his place in the House; and they are detailed in the sixth chapter of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth's work. By a Minute of the Committee of Council, annual grants from the funds at their lordships' disposal are to be made towards the support of schools in agricultural districts and in towns not having charters of incorporation in England and Wales, at the rate of seven shillings per scholar in boys' schools and five shillings in girls' schools, on condition that fourteen shillings a year shall be contributed from the other sources of income of the school (not including the rent of the teacher's house), and that it shall be taught by a certificated teacher; and that three-fourths of the children shall pass annually a prescribed examination before one of Her Majesty's Inspectors. Each child for whom a grant is claimed must have attended four days a week for forty-eight weeks, and must pay a fee of at least a penny weekly; and each teacher must receive as his salary at least seven-tenths of the total income of the school; but in schools of more than 120 scholars there is included in this sum the salary of an assistant teacher, provided for by a second Minute.

This second Minute has for its object to check the excessive multiplication of pupil teachers, under the Minutes of 1846, by putting in their places a class of probationary teachers—being pupil teachers whose terms of apprenticeship have expired, and who are candidates for Queen's scholarships. Three years of teaching in an elementary school, to the satisfaction of the parochial clergyman and managers and of Her Majesty's Inspector, by whom they are to be examined annually, will entitle such probationary teachers to Queen's scholarships in whatever training schools under inspectors they may select, and in the meantime each will be allowed a Government stipend of 20*l.*, provided only that such probationary teachers can only be appointed in schools where pupil teachers *might* be appointed, and

right *one* only is allowed where there would be *two* pupil teachers.

The assistance offered by these Minutes will call up, we have no doubt, new efforts in the cause of education. They will encourage and assist the clergy and other managers of schools to undertake improvements in them of which they had heretofore been hopeless; and they are well adapted to the present state of parties and of the public mind. They leave local agencies wholly untouched, and by stimulating and encouraging educational zeal wherever it exists, they will create more of those model schools over the face of the country,—each a centre of educational activity for the surrounding district. Thus, however partial and inadequate in their present operation, they will carry on public opinion; and that the more surely, as they will come slowly into operation—imposing the public burden gradually—leaving time for prejudices to disappear imperceptibly and with decency, and for the national will to concentrate and to strengthen itself.

These measures apply only to England and Wales, but the state of education in Scotland is discussed in the seventh chapter of the work before us in terms which show it also to be under the consideration of the Cabinet.

The fact that Sir James Kay Shuttleworth's works have always appeared at great crises of the Education question will, we trust, be considered to justify our extended notice of this. We close it with a sense of the public gratitude due to him for the history he has given us of that remarkable conflict in which for so many years he has taken a part, and for the labour with which, at a time when he describes himself to be 'worn by work, scathed by former controversies, and restored slowly to life after four years of suffering,' he has accumulated the fruits of a long experience, and recorded the observations which a rare sagacity in the administration of public affairs, and great opportunities, have enabled him to make.

The key-note to his book—the principle which it brings chiefly under discussion, and has for its chief object to develop—is the religious government of the school. His master-thought appears to be the foundation of a sound education for the people of England on a religious basis; and he has in it, we are convinced, the cordial sympathies of the public.

These observations apply with scarcely less force to the second great educational measure which is announced in the work before us, and which is incorporated in an Act for the support of schools in Municipal Boroughs. This Act authorises the levying of a borough rate for the maintenance of schools within

the borough, and constitutes a School Committee for the distribution of it, at the rate of two pence per scholar, provided that the income of the school, from other sources, amounts to three pence per scholar, and that the school be admissible to the benefits of the existing Parliamentary grants. It further provides that the children of the indigent classes, when in the receipt of out-door relief, and not at work, shall be sent to school by the guardians, who are to pay two pence per week for their instruction. Schools thus aided by a borough-rate are, moreover, admissible to the aid granted by the Committee of Council to other schools on the same condition. From these various sources the income of a borough school may amount to thirty-two shillings per scholar.

Lastly, a comprehensive Government measure is announced for the better administration of Charitable Trusts.

NOTE.—We are glad to observe that Sir James Kay Shuttleworth expresses a very decided opinion on a subject which is one of considerable importance, and which has been much discussed. With reference to the publication and trading in school books by the Government, Sir James Kay Shuttleworth remarks:—‘It is essential that the Government should avoid every form of interference which could discourage individual enterprise, the freedom of opinion, and the natural action of literature on the popular intelligence and taste, or of the trade in books in their production and diffusion. The Government is not an author, a holder of copyrights, a publisher of books, nor a patron of methods; much less is it to interfere in the formation of opinion, by making Schools the organs of its own doctrines.’ And he adds, ‘I concur with the great publishing houses of London in their objections to any sale of the books of the Irish Commissioners in Great Britain, except through the ordinary channels of trade.’

This is an opinion founded on sound principles. The act of copyright creates a monopoly for the encouragement of literature, and thus for the benefit of the public. It never was contemplated that the Government should buy up, or in any way hold, these monopolies. If they hold them, they must either trade in books, and carry on the business of booksellers in all its details, or they must restrict the use of their works to their own schools. In the one case they embark in a business they cannot carry on without prejudice to the public interest; in the other, they deprive the public of the books they have every

right to demand, inasmuch as they have been constructed at their own cost. It would, indeed, be a narrow and exclusive policy, little to be commended, were the Government to use the influence they possess, to encourage the most able writers, free of money payment, to write books restricted to the use of their own schools. It cannot be supposed that any writer would, of his own choice, restrict the circulation and utility of his writings to a particular class of schools. On the contrary, he should desire that they might have the widest diffusion, thus extending the public benefit, and at the same time securing to himself, in the most legitimate way, that just reward which should result to him from a public recognition of the value of his services.

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ART. VIII.—*Politique de la Restauration en 1822 et 1823.* Par M. LE COMTE DE MARCELLUS, Ancien Ministre Plénipotentiaire. Paris: 1853.

MONSIEUR DE CHATEAUBRIAND has somewhere observed that the Government of Louis XVIII. was the best resting-place of France on the declivity of revolutions. The force of this remark is increased by the impartiality of advancing time, and the experience of more deplorable vicissitudes. At the present moment especially, when the condition of that great nation is such that we are more disposed to avert our eyes from its voluntary servitude than to commemorate and applaud its sacrifices for freedom, the fifteen years of the Restoration deserve to be remembered as an era of extraordinary promise; and we the more lament the bigotry and the follies which hurried it to a grievous and early termination. The Government of the French Restoration combined the varied and abundant talents of more than one age. Amongst its elder servants and advisers, the lofty traditions, the great names, and the refined manners of the old French Court were not yet extinct, for the Duc de Richelieu and the Duc Mathieu de Montmorency sate in its councils; to these were added the statesmanlike prudence of M. de Villèle, the judgment of M. de Serre, the brilliancy and eloquence of M. de Chateaubriand. The Chamber of Peers, hereditary in rank and independent by position, included all that was most eminent in the military and civil service of the Empire, as well as of the Royalist party. The Chamber of Deputies was alternately swayed by the austere gravity of M. Royer Collard, and the vehement eloquence of Manuel or General Foy. The schools teemed with the instruction and the eloquence of the first thinkers of the age. Guizot had in-

voked the genius of philosophical history and constitutional government; Victor Cousin rekindled among the countrymen of Descartes the august but almost extinct traditions of a school of ideal philosophy; Villemain gave new life to literary criticism; whilst Thierry, Thiers, and Mignet, opened their career by the narrative of revolutions whose influence was heightened by the force and fidelity of their language. Even poetry revived once more on the prosaic soil of France; for Lamartine opened a vein of sentiment in meditative verse which none of his countrymen had attempted; Casimir Delavigne and Victor Hugo gave a romantic colour to the lyrics of a new age; and Béranger, the most national of French writers since La Fontaine, found, in the slight melody of his songs, touches to stir the hearts of a people. Why pursue the contrast which these recollections, scarce a quarter of a century old, suggest to the mind? We cannot recall a more mysterious reverse in human affairs than that this short and splendid period should have left no traces on the French nation, except in the imperishable pages of her literature; and that by far the greater part of the men we have named — illustrious in every department of philosophy and government — should have survived the constitution they founded, the monarchy they served, the liberty they loved, and even the epoch they adorned.

This reflection may suffice to account for the peculiar interest with which we turn to the political annals of the Restoration, even in the diffuse and inaccurate pages of M. de Lamartine's last historical production. But Louis XVIII. deserves a more trustworthy historian, and we have no doubt that the memoirs and the correspondence of his reign will gradually disclose to the world the existence of far greater ability and liberality than was supposed to exist at the Bourbon Court; especially, for example, the extensive collection of historical and personal reminiscences, still in manuscript, to which the venerable Chancellor Duke Pasquier is understood to have recently put the finishing touch. The volume before us is one of the earliest contributions to the history of this period; and although we can place neither M. de Chateaubriand nor M. de Marcellus in the first rank of the political servants of the Crown of France, their private and authentic correspondence is extremely characteristic, and it deserves the more notice in this country, as it concerns transactions in which the British Cabinet of 1823 played a very prominent part.

It was upon the 16th of September, 1822, that Mr. Canning relinquished the Governor-Generalship of India to which he had been appointed, and received, for the second time, the seals of

the Foreign Office, then vacant by the death of Lord Londonderry, which had taken place about a month before. M. de Chateaubriand had been up to that time the ambassador of France in London; and M. de Marcellus, then a young diplomatist of twenty-four, had just joined the Embassy as its secretary. The moment was one pregnant with interest, for the Congress of Verona was about to assemble. The question of the intervention of the Holy Alliance in the internal affairs of Spain lowered on the political horizon. The Eastern question was to be considered; the ascendancy of Austria over Italy consolidated; and the questions of the Slave Trade and of piracy in the American seas discussed. But, more than all the rest, a change of vital moment had taken place, for the first time since 1815, in the spirit of the Foreign Minister of England. Lord Castlereagh had framed and followed a system of policy more conformable to the views of Prince Metternich than to the public opinion and interests of the English people, for he had sacrificed the popularity and, in some degree, the influence of the British Cabinet to an habitual compliance with the views of the continental confederacy. Upon the occurrence of the melancholy event which terminated his career, Prince Metternich spoke of it as 'an irreparable loss,' and the expression was never forgotten or forgiven by Lord Londonderry's successor. Mr. Canning was often wrong in his judgment, often misled by his own vivid imaginative powers; but he aspired to restore England to the independence and the spirit of her own proud and free policy in the councils of Europe; and whilst the House of Commons rang with his eloquence, and the world with his fame, he found himself opposed by the diplomatic maxims, the manœuvres, the artifices, and the resentment of every other Court, not excepting that of France. This change might have given an immediate and peculiar interest to the duties which M. de Chateaubriand still discharged at the Court of St. James. But the ambition of that singular personage was already directed to higher objects. London afforded no sufficient field to his insatiable vanity. At the very moment when Mr. Canning took office, Chateaubriand aspired to figure amongst the plenipotentiaries of France at Verona, to defeat his rivals and to supplant his colleagues on the most active scene of European politics, and eventually to assume, on the fall of M. de Montmorency, the direction of the foreign policy of the House of Bourbon. Never were the emulous and often conflicting tendencies of French and English diplomacy swayed by two men in whom an enthusiastic temperament and inordinate personal ambition were more conspicuous than in M. de Chateaubriand and in Mr.

Canning; never did these dangerous gifts acquire a greater ascendancy over the traditions of official routine and the rules of public law. The contest, which began in a familiar correspondence between the two Ministers, ended in a duel of orations, from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies to the Treasury bench in the House of Commons; and the world was as much interested and excited by the knightly bearing of the two antagonists as by the questions which called them into the lists and agitated the world.

When M. de Chateaubriand extorted, not without difficulty, from M. de Villèle, his nomination as plenipotentiary to the Congress of Verona, he retained his titular appointment as French ambassador in London; and M. de Marcellus, who had joined the Embassy only a few days before, was left in the responsible position of *chargé d'affaires*. The position of the young diplomatist was a singular one. He had not completed his twenty-fifth year, but his rise had been rapid, and his talents were remarkable. The property of his family was considerable, and its royalism enthusiastic. Young Marcellus entered the diplomatic service early, by an appointment to the Turkish Embassy, in which capacity he learned modern Greek, and performed at least one service which deserves to perpetuate his name. He had the good fortune to purchase the Venus of Milo for the French Government, and to place in the noble statue gallery of the Louvre its most beautiful and precious ornament. Chateaubriand and Marcellus had met in the East, and were afterwards wont to console themselves for the fogs of London and the turmoil of diplomacy, by wafting a sigh to the Egean for the glory and freedom of Greece. They were thus designated to act together in Portland Place, but owing to the departure of M. de Chateaubriand the correspondence now before us is the chief record of their intimacy. Marcellus was directed to supply his chief at Verona with ample private information as to the state of affairs in England, whilst his official despatches were addressed to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Paris: and he acquitted himself so agreeably of this task that the secret correspondence was kept up in this form after M. de Chateaubriand became Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the great amusement not only of the Minister himself, but of the King, who combined a royal appetite for gossip, with a taste for the art of diplomacy and the refined pastimes of social life.

M. de Chateaubriand has himself informed the world in that portion of his reminiscences which he called the 'Congress of Verona,' that the intervention of France in the internal affairs of Spain had been an object of his constant and passionate

solicitude during the whole period of his embassy to this country. He regarded a diplomatic triumph by the Ministers of Louis XVIII. as a necessary compensation for the Treaties of 1815, and a military expedition under the Duke of Angoulême as no less essential to the stability of the monarchy and the honour of the King's arms; but he had to brave the opposition of England and to surmount the manifest repugnance of the ablest counsellor of the Crown, M. de Villèle, and possibly of Louis XVIII. himself. Two years earlier Lord Castlereagh had expressed, in a confidential minute on the affairs of Spain, communicated to the Four Great Courts in May 1820, the dissent of this country from a precautionary interference in the internal affairs of the Peninsula, especially as there was no ground for asserting that the Spanish revolution endangered the tranquillity of Europe. Mr. Canning went further, and his first instruction to the Duke of Wellington, who was then at Paris on his way to Verona, was couched in the following terms:—

‘If there be any determined project to interfere by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are His Majesty's Government of the uselessness and danger of such interference—so objectionable does it appear to them in principle as well as utterly impracticable in execution, that, when the necessity arises, or (I would rather say) when the opportunity offers, I am to instruct Your Grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, His Majesty will not be a party. Sept. 27. 1822.’

The conflict between these opposite opinions was carried on at Verona, and the policy of this country was defended with great firmness and ability by the Duke of Wellington against the demands of France and the instigation of the Northern Courts. It was not till the termination of the Congress in December that the march of events became more rapid and the rival policy of the war party in France and the peace party in England openly opposed. M. de Chateaubriand reached Paris from Verona on the 18th December 1822. The train which he had already laid was ready to explode. The moderation of M. de Villèle was overcome. M. de Montmorency resigned, and on the 29th December the diplomatist, who had already in a subordinate position been the most active promoter of the Spanish war, was gazetted in the ‘*Moniteur*’ as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Canning appears, however, not to have at once penetrated the real effect of this change, and to have attributed to M. de Montmorency the warlike language which was really inspired at Verona by M. de Chateaubriand. ‘What,’ said he to M. de Marcellus, ‘M. de Villèle, whom the Duke has just



‘found to be entirely opposed to the system of hostilities, wins the day, and M. de Montmorency, who, at Paris as well as Verona, was for an immediate march, quits the Cabinet. If his resignation is a pledge of peace, he will not be regretted here. *But I do not understand the attitude M. de Chateaubriand will assume in all this.*’ ‘He will explain it himself,’ replied Marcellus; ‘but be well assured beforehand that France will relax none of her measures, and that she will adopt the most effectual arrangements to put down anarchy and the revolution in Spain.’ The private correspondence between the two Ministers, already published in the ‘Congress of Verona,’ demonstrates how entirely Mr. Canning had misconceived the real views and intentions of his opponent. The instructions contained in M. de Chateaubriand’s private note to Marcellus of the 27th January distinctly show what was passing at the Tuileries.

‘Say that we wish for peace, but that we are preparing for war: that we do not refuse the good offices of England to bring about this peace; but that the first condition must be that the King (of Spain) shall be at liberty to modify the monstrous constitution of the Cortes. Go on to talk of peace; we wish for it, but with security and honour, and we prefer war to the state of uncertainty and revolutionary peril in which we find ourselves. To-morrow I will send you the King’s speech. *It is very warlike*, though not entirely shutting the door against peace.’ (P. 125.)

On the morrow the speech arrived, and M. de Marcellus was instructed to communicate it to the British Minister.

‘He read it eagerly, but when he came to the paragraph, which he read aloud, “That Ferdinand should *be free to give to his subjects* the institutions they can only receive from him, and which, by securing their tranquillity, will dissipate the natural apprehensions of France, and that from that moment hostilities will cease,”—“What a principle,” said Mr. Canning, “and what an abuse! Is that your deliberate opinion? You are going beyond the rigour of absolute monarchy, as it has so long existed in Spain, for even there the Cortes had by their remonstrances the right of extorting concessions from the Crown; but you require that Ferdinand should model or replace institutions by his own will and pleasure. Are you making a crusade for a political theory? Do you want to propagate your Charter as Mahomet did the Koran? I know what is meant by war for conquest, which does not last—war for a change of succession, which has cost us so dear—war for commercial interests, which is the most rational of all. But war to modify the power of two Chambers, or to extend the prerogative of the Crown, passes my comprehension. The doctrine of constitutions emanating from the throne is odious to us. The British Constitution is the result of a long series of victories gained

by the people over their sovereigns. Have you forgotten that kings ought not to give institutions, but institutions alone to make kings?"

This argument was certainly a strange one to address to the Minister of Louis XVIII. who had recovered his throne seven years before, with the assistance of England and upon the principle of legitimacy, and who had solemnized his restoration by granting the Charter. Accordingly, M. de Marcellus retorted,—

‘Perfectly true of England since her *terrible* [?] revolution—but in Spain, governed by an ancient and traditional dynasty, will you not allow that things may pass as in France? Let me remind you, on my side, that we owe our Charter to Louis XVIII. “Dreadful maxim,” continued the Minister, without listening to me: “a king *free*! Is there any king who deserves to be a free king, in the precise sense of the term? No sovereign is free but a despot or a usurper, the curses of the world—terrible comets which glare and set in blood. Our Constitution leaves the Crown an apparent right of choosing its Ministers—but can it exercise this privilege? Look at our history. Do you think the first Georges were free to reject the Cabinets imposed on them, especially the Walpole Administration? Could George III., with his limited and almost always extinguished faculties, make a choice? No, happily for England, he could not. And George IV.—do you think (here his voice became emphatic, and he pressed my arm)—do you think I should be his Minister, if he were *free* to choose? Can he forget that I have constantly declined to share in the excesses of his youth, and that I have constantly opposed his favourites and his tastes? He hates me for my resistance, for my political attitude, and, above all, for my knowledge of his married life. Yet he was *not free* to exclude me from the Cabinet.

“Well, then,” added Mr. Canning, calming himself, as if exhausted by his own energy, “you are going to march into Spain?” Then, tapping me on the shoulder, “You think, young man, that this war will be short. I think otherwise. I, who am on the brink of old age. In 1793—I am old enough to go back to that time—Mr. Pitt, with ‘The patriot’s heart, the prophet’s mind,’ (and he recited with emphasis this verse of his earlier days)—Mr. Pitt told me that a certain war, declared against a great nation then in a revolution, would be short also—yet this war outlived Mr. Pitt.” (P. 17.)

We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of M. de Marcellus’s intentions, but we cannot persuade ourselves that these reminiscences are not overcoloured. Nor can we attach the same degree of credit to that part of this volume which consists of recollections written thirty years after the events and conversations to which they relate, as we do to the correspondence bearing the date of the period. This distinction must be borne in mind if this book be ever regarded as materials for history. The con

versations appear to consist of fragments of Canning's public speeches dressed up with more or less verisimilitude — the letters may be considered as more accurate pictures of the events of the day. In the instance we have just quoted, the absurdity of a confidential conversation of this kind between a Minister and a French *chargé d'affaires* of twenty-four upon the repugnance then subsisting between that Minister and the King,—the historical inaccuracy of the statement that George II. and George III. did not in great measure choose their own Ministers — and the total want of penetration into the real question at issue between France and Spain, are almost incredible in a man occupying the position then filled by Mr. Canning. But, at the same time, we find in the contemporary private letters annexed to these reminiscences, abundant evidence of a strange absence of judgment, temper, and moderation. Mr. Canning continued to argue the Spanish question upon the principles which Lord Somers might have applied to the House of Stuart, or Lord Chatham to the Family Compact; such arguments produced their effect in the House of Commons, but they could only strengthen the opposite conviction in the mind of a French Minister. On one occasion Mr. Canning said,—

‘ “ Since Ferdinand, like James II., resists the will of the nation, let us apply the English method to Spain. What will be the consequence? Ferdinand's expulsion.” And then he added, as if carried away by a passion he could not master—“ Harken to me well. This example may extend to yourselves.” And, speaking loud, his glittering eyes fixed on mine,—“ You are not ignorant that a departure from the principle of legitimacy, almost similar to our own, *is meditated and plotted in France at this moment.* You know the progress it has made in the party of the opposition calling itself moderate. *The head to be crowned is there.*”

‘ These terrible words, spoken in 1823, struck me to the heart like an insult. I cannot express the indignation I felt at them. Meanwhile the Minister, embarrassed and dejected, paced up and down while I vented my indignation.’ (P. 20.)

And well he might; for, however curious and prophetic this speech has in the sequel turned out to be, it was as offensive a diplomatic communication as could be made to the envoy of a reigning and allied Sovereign, without even the apology of a rational object in making it. On the contrary, the very argument used by the French Court in favour of the Spanish intervention was the peril of revolutionary contagion, and Mr. Canning is here represented to have strengthened the case he was combating by this extraordinary allusion to the Duke of Orleans. M. de Marcellus informs his readers that he textually reported this conversation in his regular despatch. His despatch was even cir-

culated to the principal embassies; but he was told not to report any more such observations in future. We are curious to learn whether any trace of such a statement is to be found in the records of his regular official correspondence.

As a contrast to this scene we are tempted to extract another in which Mr. Canning's versatile and theatrical character is exhibited in another shape; and, in spite of some suspicion of a heightened tint of sentimentality, we are inclined to think the sketch is in the main true.

'I found the Minister, one day, alone and pensive in the grounds of his little park at Gloucester Lodge. Walking over the smooth English grass, with a book in his hand, under the budding trees — "A truce," said he, "to politics to-day! I am weary of them. Let us read some Virgil. In my little domain, like the old man of Galesus, *cui pauca relictis jugera ruris erant*, I was looking over the Georgics. I was here — can anything be more touching than these verses —

"*'Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta  
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent.'*"

'Having spoken these verses, the Minister dropped his arm, as if overcome by thought.

'*"It must all end, then, in this 'little dust!' What have I gained by so many battles? Many enemies, a thousand calumnies. Sometimes restrained by the timidity or the simplicity of my colleagues — sometimes thwarted by the want of sense among my partisans — always embarrassed by the displeasure of the King, I can execute nothing — I can attempt nothing of that which an inward and solemn voice seems to dictate.\* I said the other day, in my sorrow — I am like a bird which, instead of soaring to the cliffs and precipices, flies over the fens and skims the ground. I am wasted by internal controversies, and I shall die in a fit of dejection like my predecessor and unfortunate adversary, Lord Castlereagh. How often have I not been tempted to fly, from society and from power, to the literature*

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\* By a singular coincidence, on the same evening, a few hours later, Mr. Brougham described the position of the Minister in a passage which may be remembered as a masterpiece of invective, yet not dissimilar from the terms he had himself employed. He described the Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the moment 'when he had to decide whether he should go to India to honourable exile, or take office in England and not submit to his sentence of transportation, but be condemned to hard labour in his own country, *doomed to the disquiet of a divided council — sitting with his enemies and pitied by his friends — with his hands chained and tied down on all those lines of operation which his own sentiments and wishes would have led him to adopt.*' The fierce chief of the opposition little knew how deeply the lines he was tracing were already graven on the Minister's heart.

which was the food of my boyhood, the only refuge which is impenetrable to the delusions of fate. Literature is more than a consolation to me—it is my hope and my refuge—it is, moreover, the freemasonry of liberal minds. Would it not have been better for M. de Chateaubriand and for me if we had never raised to our lips this poisoned cup of power which overpowers us with giddiness? Literature would have brought us together, without reserve and without bitterness . . .” Then Mr. Canning, raising his eyes and his bald forehead to Heaven, repeated, with that harmonious voice which was one of his great charms, the lines of Hamlet—

“Oh, God! oh, God!  
How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable  
Seem to me all the uses of this world!”

“Yet,” he added, “still that desire of fame, which cannot at my age be called ambition, drives me back to public affairs and influences me. Human fame—mockery! The ancients made her a goddess—a woman to be more seductive—and she is dressed in all the attractions of patriotism. At this moment, when I should so much like to dream with Virgil, I must go to encounter Brougham at the House of Commons. Come with me; I know he is going to attack me directly, but I will not yield an inch. I will take you to Westminster.”

‘We started, and, as we crossed the crowd at the door of the House, Mr. Canning smiled, and said to me, “In the critical state of our relations with France and Spain, what will all these spectators and even my own colleagues think of our long conference and of our open intimacy? They will send off couriers—the funds will rise—and yet we have discussed nothing to-day but a few literary subjects and quoted a few melancholy verses.”’ (P. 27.)

The termination of this Brompton eclogue was indeed a strange and abrupt one. The debate began with more than ordinary warmth. It was the night when Mr. Brougham accused Mr. Canning of tergiversation on the Catholic Question. The Minister, whose overwrought nerves had sought relief in the Georgics that morning, exclaimed in a voice of thunder ‘It is false;’ and Mr. Banks moved that both the orators should be taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms. Louis XVIII., who was amused with the incident, directed M. de Chateaubriand to inquire whether ‘Mr. Banks’ was a son of Sir Joseph Banks, ‘le grand navigateur,’ whom he had known in London. Marcellus replied, with infinite self-possession, ‘M. Banks is not the son of the great naturalist, Captain Cook’s companion, whom the king knew in London, but he is his near relation, and perhaps even his nephew.’ Nor does the *ex-chargé d’affaires* appear even now to have discovered the absurdity of his blunder.

We have been led, however, somewhat to anticipate on the

course of events. Parliament opened on the 4th of February, five days after the French Chambers; but the King's Speech only repeated the declaration that the Government would not be a party to proceedings which might be deemed an interference in the internal affairs of Spain, without holding out much hope of averting the calamity of war between France and that country. In the debate on the Address, Mr. Brougham delivered one of the most splendid and intemperate orations of his whole parliamentary career, against the policy of 'The Three Gentlemen of Verona,' as he called the Holy Alliance. But it was not till the 14th April that the official correspondence was laid upon the table, with full explanations of the course pursued in these transactions by the British Government. In the course of the powerful and comprehensive speech of Mr. Canning, he expressed exactly the same opinion on 'the extraordinary speech with which the French Ministers opened the Chambers,' that M. de Marcellus records; and he even went so far as to declare that there was 'not a man in the House who thought with more *disgust and abhorrence* than he did of the construction to which 'the words of that speech were liable.' It is satisfactory to find, in looking back to the terms applied thirty years ago to the policy of Foreign States, and to our relations with them, that, although we may want the fervid eloquence of a Canning or a Brougham, our discussions have gained very considerably in temper, discretion, and forbearance.

M. de Chateaubriand, who had dictated the French King's Speech, was intoxicated with the stimulus he had applied to the military passions of France. 'We cannot,' said he to Marcellus, 'keep our army of observation on the frontier without exposing it to corruption. We cannot withdraw it without dishonouring the white cockade and disgusting our troops.' The Duke of Wellington smiled gravely on the arrival of the French King's Speech, and said to Marcellus, 'You must confess some of your people in Paris are very unreasonable.' 'No doubt,' retorted 'the *chargé d'affaires*; but they are in a minority, which is more than can be said at Madrid or in London.' The effect of the speech in England was violent. The English funds fell, whilst those of France rose; the Press thundered, and the 'Times' repeated the arguments of Mr. Canning. The Foreign Minister seemed to hesitate as to the length to which public opinion would drive him, for the time was already past when Mr. Canning could or would resist it. M. de Marcellus remained, however, unshaken by these demonstrations; and, with considerable firmness and penetration, he continued to assure his Government, that the worst they had to fear from England was an

angry neutrality. About this time he described Mr. Canning's position in the following severe but not inaccurate terms:—

‘Let us not be mistaken as to Mr. Canning. He still vibrates between those monarchical opinions which have been the basis of his fame, and that popular favour which is now his surest road to power: but as he lends his ear more willingly to the popular voice, and spreads his sail to the breeze, it may be seen beforehand to which side he will lean. A disciple of Pitt, and hitherto a Tory, he will become a half-Whig, and adopt democratic principles if those principles prevail. He is instinctively out of humour with the aristocracy and even the high opposition; he is feared rather than beloved by the King; but the people is with him. The people, struck by his talents, has placed him where he is; and the people will keep him there, if he obeys the people.’ (P. 180.)

Some months later, when M. de Chateaubriand had taken up an absurd notion that the Marquis of Hastings, who had just returned from India, was likely to supersede Mr. Canning as Foreign Minister, or, at least, to be sent as ambassador to Paris, Marcellus announced with the same good sense,—

‘Do not imagine that Mr. Canning is approaching the close of his ministerial career. I have seen how he reached power, what obstacles he has thrown aside, what antipathies he has overcome, and I have not to reproach myself with having for one instant deceived my Court by the illusion or the hope of his approaching fall. George IV. boasted a little when he said that he would drive out his Ministers if they said he was mad. He would wish to forget for the moment that English kings have no will of their own, and Mr. Canning in office is a proof of it.’ (P. 348.)

The impression produced on the French Government by Mr. Canning's intemperate speech of the 14th April, and by the open avowal of his hopes for the triumph of the Spanish Cortes, was one of extreme irritation at the expressions used, mingled with the assurance that, in spite of this torrent of invective, France had nothing else to fear from the displeasure of England. M. de Chateaubriand still preserved in public a decorous attitude, and spoke with more temper than Mr. Canning had shown; but his private notes display the coarsest and most vulgar resentment; thus, for instance, on the 26th April, he writes,—

‘The neutrality of England is established beyond a doubt, as I expected. But don't trust the wiles of Mr. Canning. He is stirring the coals there, and trying to stir them here, underhand. As for myself, I shall never recriminate with the English. Even on Thursday, I shall answer them politely. But their cowardly insults have given me the measure of the capacity and honour of these men, and I have done with them.’ (P. 216.)

To this tirade Marcellus replies with excellent taste to his irritated Chief: —

‘I see well enough here that temper and passion are bad counselors. It is time to end these recriminations. They ought not to alter our system in Paris, they will not upset Mr. Canning in London. These altercations of the tribune and the cabinet will not certainly prevail over the noble characters of two superior men; but they may leave some clouds on the most elevated and well-constituted minds.’ (P. 217.)

The position of the French *chargé d'affaires* in London at this time was curious and perplexing. He had received orders from Paris to suspend the intimacy of his communications with Mr. Canning, in consequence of the violent language of the British Government; but he continued to dance with Miss Canning, and even to give balls, at which that accomplished young lady, who is still, under another name, one of the most distinguished ornaments of London society, was evidently the most welcome guest. Indeed, M. de Marcellus would have us believe that there was something beyond diplomacy in his early predilection for Mr. Canning's family, and that on one occasion the English Secretary of State himself said to him, ‘*Allez danser, mon gendre,*’ whilst the rival Minister in France promised his faithful agent a good embassy for his wedding present. We do not wish to dispute the accuracy of M. de Marcellus's juvenile recollections; and he appears unconscious of the fatuity with which he dwelt at the time on these sentimental episodes in his official career. But we must be permitted to question exceedingly whether Mr. Canning would or could have permitted himself, in the relative position of the two parties, a joke of so questionable a point upon his own daughter. In spite of his success at Almack's, and of the playful style in which Mr. Canning himself treated the *bouderie* of his young antagonist, M. de Marcellus had to hold his ground against the all but unanimous expression of English popular feeling. When the Duke of St. Lorenzo arrived in London, having been compelled by the rupture of the two Courts to withdraw from his post of Spanish Ambassador in Paris, he was received with popular acclamation, whilst the mob threw dirt and broke windows at the French Embassy in Portland Place. The parish of Marylebone offered to pay the damage; but this parochial indemnity was declined by the aggrieved diplomatist, who seems perfectly unconscious that it was offered him as the legal compensation for a breach of the peace.

But, in the higher spheres of political and social life, the course of these events was regarded with very different senti-



ments. The Tory aristocracy were favourable to the policy of the Holy Alliance. The Duke of Wellington, though he had steadily opposed the projects contemplated at Verona, always foresaw and predicted the success of the French expedition in Spain, and more than once encouraged the *chargé d'affaires* to disregard the clamour around him, and to urge his Court to advance resolutely to the great object of its policy. '*J'ai vu M. Crocker,*' writes the *chargé d'affaires*, '*il est excellent.*' Lord Westmoreland spoke out, and exhorted the French Ministers to smother this time the Jacobin party. 'Let them not mind the clatter of the Opposition, which is only the old Imperial furniture that Louis XVIII. has repaired and regilt, but which will crack if he leans on it. Every one of these bawlers, who want now to prevent you from entering Spain, were as quiet as mutes fifteen years ago, when a traitorous aggression set fire to the Peninsula. Write what I say to M. de Chateaubriand.'

The 'bawlers,' here alluded to by the Lord Privy Seal in Lord Liverpool's Cabinet, were probably no other than Manuel and General Foy; for this remark was made at the very time of the scandalous expulsion of the former of these orators from the Chamber of Deputies. M. de Chateaubriand, whose constitutional ardour was ere long to be displayed in a different manner, when it had to revenge his own fall from power, talked of that outrage on the privileges of the Chamber as 'a scene that every one here (in Paris) has laughed at.' And a day or two later, 'You see the humbug of our Liberals! They are ashamed of themselves, for on this motion of Manuel they could not raise four Savoyards to rebellion.' He suppressed the fact that *sixty-two* of the most distinguished members of the Chamber of Deputies had signed an indignant protest against it. Even in the high Tory circles of London, not a voice was raised to palliate that outrage, which so forcibly recalled one of the most ominous passages in British history — the seizure of the four members by Charles I. The presentiment, that a Government supported by so violent a majority would perish by violence, became general; and M. de Marcellus was again driven to his last expedient of giving a ball. It was honoured, he informs his Government, by the presence of all the Ministers, and even of the Lord Mayor. The rank and beauty of the Court of George IV. came to dance at the bachelor diplomatist's, and Count d'Orsay shone conspicuous amongst a constellation of dandies. Louis XVIII. was amused by the happy audacity of his young envoy, and Chateaubriand laughed his fill at the '*insulares,*' who were set hopping to stop their mouths. These

pleasant passages occurred, however, before the speech of Mr. Canning had opened a wider breach between the two Governments.

But although the Parliamentary debate of the 14th of April had inflamed the wound, there was one man in the kingdom who took the earliest opportunity to mark the difference of opinion he entertained — and that was George IV. At the levee on the 21st of April, the King expressed to M. de Marcellus, in terms which we do not find quoted in this volume, his favourable sentiments on the Spanish campaign. The ‘Times’ newspaper some days afterwards commented on this incident with great violence, hinting that, if the King had really expressed his cordial wishes for the success of the French army, he must be in a state which neither the gout nor any physical malady could account for; — in short, that he was insane. M. de Marcellus seized the opportunity with promptitude and dexterity to write an energetic letter to Mr. Canning, and to repudiate in the strongest terms the offensive insinuation of the ‘Times.’ This protest was laid before the King, who was pleased by it, and said (though *not* to Mr. Canning) —

“I never addressed to M. de Marcellus the language imputed to me; but such good wishes for the cause of France are certainly at the bottom of my heart, and I owed nothing less to the French *chargé d'affaires*. Whilst he is struggling against the malice and the conspirators of all countries, pardoned but not cured, and the Duke of St. Lorenzo is carried in triumph by the populace, I certainly am the last to forsake him! My Ministers have expressed in Parliament their wishes against France, with which we are at peace. That is not an honest neutrality; and as I have suffered by this conduct which Europe may consider inconsistent with my political principles, I have endeavoured to restore the balance, by paying to M. de Marcellus those attentions which others have confined to the agents of the Cortes of Spain.” Such were the King’s words — repeated to me,’ says our author, ‘by the “*cœur discret*” which received them. You may rely upon it.’

The ‘*cœur discret*’ was no doubt one of the clandestine ornaments of the Court of that beloved sovereign, — but before such an authority we suspend our investigations. Nor can we determine whether reports of this nature are not to be classed with those exercises of the imagination which were found to amuse Louis XVIII. Another passage in M. de Marcellus’ reminiscences on this subject is, however, still more extraordinary: —

‘The King (George IV.) gave a ball, at which I was disposed to dance the more gaily as my friends and brothers were fighting gal-

lantly in Spain,—that is the rule of diplomacy. At this ball Mr. Canning came up to me. Politicians, who have been talking in the morning, have always something to add in the evening. I was led aside by the Minister into the recess of a window far from the drawing room (I confess to my great regret), when George IV. perceived us, and approaching us, said,—

“Well, my dear Marcellus, things have changed their aspect since we met. You are triumphant in Spain, and I am enchanted at it. But they say King Ferdinand has taken back as his Ministers at Cadiz the very men who deposed him at Seville,—that is a weakness I shall never imitate, though they have tried to make me out to be mad, as you know better than any one. But as I said just now to Lord Liverpool, ‘If my Ministers declared me to be mad, I might recover my senses, but they would not recover their places.’”

“Mr. Canning already looked out of countenance, when the King turned to him and said, “What were you saying there, Canning, to the young representative of France?” “Sire,” said the Minister, “I was boasting to him of the excellence of Representative Government, and explaining to him, at the same time, the ‘forced labour’ of the House of Commons, which is its result. M. de Marcellus is a listener here, not being old enough to become an orator at home.”

“I know it,” rejoined the King; “and you have had very painful things to listen to. I sincerely pitied you for all you have had to hear and to endure. If your lips had not been closed, you would have had plenty to say in reply.” “Sire,” said I, “the sailor forgets the storm when calm returns.” “So much the better,” said the King: “but don’t be dazzled with our system of government which they boast so much of. It has its advantages, but it has its evils. I have never forgotten what a King, who was also a man of wit, said to me of it. ‘Your English Government,’ he declared, ‘is only fit to protect adventurers, and intimidate honest men.’ What do you say to that, Canning?” And as the Minister faltered and hesitated to reply, the King continued, “At any rate, for the welfare of mankind, we ought not to wish any other people to have our institutions. What does pretty well for us, would be worthless elsewhere. Every soil does not produce the same fruits and the same minerals; and it is the same with nations. Remember this, Marcellus: it is my unalterable conviction.” Upon this George IV. turned on his heel, with a look and a searching smile at me. Mr. Canning had some difficulty to keep his temper. At last he said, “Representative Government has one other advantage which His Majesty has forgotten: it enables Ministers to listen in silence to the taunts of a sovereign who has no other means to vent his resentment.” (P. 41.)

If this story had been related by an ordinary traveller at a foreign Court, we should have set it down for a clumsy and impudent invention. This picture of George IV., stalking away from the ball-room at Carlton House at a time when he could not walk without difficulty, and following about his guests in order to insult his Principal Secretary of State, to

'repudiate the policy of his Government, and to traduce the institutions of his country,—is too burlesque to be credited. But when we remember the position which M. de Marcellus filled in this country, the favours he received from the King, the regard shown him by Mr. Canning, and the toleration of English society for his vanity and presumption, the publication of such 'reminiscences' becomes an offence of greater magnitude, and we are compelled to place the good breeding and good sense of M. de Marcellus on the same level as his veracity. As we find in another passage of this Correspondence that he thought it incumbent on him to report for the information of His Most Christian Majesty's Government the fact that a sudden rise had just taken place in the price of wives at Smithfield market, from ten to twenty-two shillings a head, we are tempted to class his recollections of Carlton House and of Smithfield under the same head.

Even at this distance of time it is surprising that one of the survivors in these transactions should volunteer to disclose the impertinent levity and bad faith with which they were conducted, for M. de Chateaubriand, under whose orders he served, fares no better in these papers than M. de Marcellus himself. The two following examples of his political morality require no comment. The Spanish war had gone on successfully, for the Cortes could oppose no effectual resistance. But the object of the campaign was almost as remote as ever, because the King of Spain was still in the hands of the Liberal party, and some apprehensions were expressed that he might be shipped off to the Canary Islands. At this stage of the war, M. de Chateaubriand wrote the following despatch to his *chargé d'affaires* in London:—

'It cannot be dissembled, that nothing is ended as long as we have not got the King. How to get him? That is the difficulty; and England might have great influence upon it. My opinion is that the King can only be got by a *coup monté* at Seville or Cadiz. *Could not you find in London some of those enterprising fellows, so common in that country, who would carry him off for one or two millions?* Think about it. C.'

So much for the chivalrous defender of the sacred persons of Bourbon Kings, supported by constitutional government.

Again, in May, 1823, a Conference of the great Powers took place in London, on the subject of the Slave Trade, which had been brought before the Congress of Verona by the Duke of Wellington, and on which M. de Chateaubriand had written one of his most celebrated state papers. M. de Marcellus

supplies us with the secret instructions he received on this subject.

‘Paris, May 12, 1823.

‘This is what you will have to do with reference to this conference on the Slave Trade. You will be present at it, once: you will talk very philanthropically; but you will show that in the present state of things and of politics in Europe and America, it is difficult to arrive at any general measure. You will avoid as much as possible any further conferences, and the matter will drop. (’

In the same spirit Marcellus replies, that Mr. Canning wanted this ‘*semblant de conférence*’ for a motion announced by Mr. Buxton in the House of Commons.

So much for the philanthropist and the compassionate author of ‘Atala’ and the ‘Martyrs;’ whose tears were ever ready to flow for imaginary sorrows, or for his own personal wrongs.

We have already quoted more than enough to show in how odious a spirit these transactions were conducted by the French Government, and to what a degree they bore the stamp of the vanity and presumption of their principal authors. But it is impossible, on the other hand, to award to Mr. Canning the praise of foresight or judgment; for we seek in vain for traces of these qualities either in this volume, or in the authentic despatches of the British Secretary of State at this period. In condemning the principle of the French intervention in Spain, he undoubtedly had with him the immense majority of this nation and of Parliament. But his vehement antipathy to the measure deceived him as to the facility with which it might be executed, and the results it might produce to the Bourbon Monarchy. He buoyed himself up with hopes of an heroic resistance on the part of the Spanish constitutionalists to a well-appointed French army; and even calculated on the disaffection of the Duc d’Angoulême’s forces when arrayed against the liberal cause. The Duke of Wellington, who knew the Spaniards and the French army infinitely better than Mr. Canning, scouted these objections, though he too had condemned the principle of the intervention. The result was, the unresisted advance of the French troops from the Bidassoa to Seville, and a success equal to M. de Chateaubriand’s fondest expectations, purchased with scarcely the loss of a company of infantry. Mr. Canning had entirely failed to estimate the fact, that in the Southern countries of Europe, the lower orders of the people and the masses of the rural population are sometimes as well-disposed to support absolute government as liberal institutions; and that the love of freedom has possessed itself of a class, but not of the nation.

The French intervention of 1823 in Spain produced several results which might be considered favourable to the principles then contended for in France by the Government of the Restoration. It flattered the army, which displayed consummate discipline, and took the field, for the first time since the Revolution, under the white cockade. It satisfied the Royalist majority in the Chamber of Deputies, which seldom found King Louis XVIII. as royalist as itself; and it established close and confidential relations between France and the three great Continental Powers, leaving this country entirely isolated in Europe. 'I knew how 'it would end,' said the Duke of Wellington to M. de Marcellus. 'They have followed their notions of resentment; and 'what is the result? Everything is done without us, or in 'spite of us. We are separated from the Continent. *Penitus 'toto divisos orbe;*' for even the old Duke quoted Latin on the occasion. 'Well, we deserved to be left out; for our part in all 'this has not been what it ought to have been.' The Duke spoke truly, not because Mr. Canning had professed a different principle to France, but because he had asserted it with pique, and carried it to the length of resentment.

' "They say," said Mr. Canning, the other day, "that I have been mistaken on this affair of Spain. It is better to be mistaken once than twice, and better to be mistaken twice than to confess oneself mistaken at all."

'In these enigmatical subtleties the great interests of nations are lost. Mr. Canning persists in considering the triumph of France as his defeat, and everything which may lessen our success is a relief to his bitterness.' (P. 359.)

Yet, in writing these lines just before he had quitted London, on the arrival of Prince Polignac as ambassador, M. de Marcellus pointed out the possibility of healing even these wounds, by skillful concessions to the vanity of the great English Minister. To this overture Chateaubriand replied, in a tone implying that he was not the man to undertake that task, and that all confidential relations between himself and Mr. Canning were at an end for ever —

'I do not believe in the fall of Mr. Canning, and I think, with you, that he must be flattered to be brought over: but wounded *amour-propre* never repents, never returns, never forgives, when it is not controlled in the mind by lofty sentiments, and a generous inclination to make sacrifices. Mr. Canning has nothing of this. He is a man of talent, of learning, and of wit, but he has nothing about him great or sincere, and his ambition will always prevail over his principles.' (P. 361.)

These are harsh words, and they convey the judgment of an

embittered antagonist, though a successful one. They were pronounced by a Minister intoxicated with the triumph of his policy and convinced of the stability of his power. Who would have said, when they were written, that in a few weeks from that time this brilliant statesman would be overthrown by his colleague M. de Villèle, and suddenly abandoned by the Court to the ignominy of a peremptory dismissal? M. de Chateaubriand himself was to give the world a memorable example of that 'wounded *amour propre* which never repents and never 'forgives,' and the discarded Minister of the Restoration became its most formidable assailant. More fortunate than his rival, Mr. Canning retained power long enough to efface, by the increasing lustre of his career, the recollections of his failure on the Spanish question, until he, too, perished under the fierce and systematic hostility of his former colleagues, who, even in Lord Liverpool's Cabinet, had not concealed their dissent from many of his opinions. We can place no implicit reliance on the fidelity of M. de Marcellus's narrative, for he has evidently embellished his youthful reminiscences, and exaggerated the importance of the part he played. It is unfortunate that, with so strong a desire to show off M. de Chateaubriand, Mr. Canning, and himself, he should leave on our minds so low an impression of the wisdom, the dignity, and the good faith of the personages who figure most conspicuously in these curious pages.

- ART. IX. — 1. *An Act for granting Duties on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices.* 5 & 6 Vict. c. 35. Passed the 22nd June, 1842.
2. *A Treatise on the Principles and Practical Influence of Taxation and the Funding System.* By J. R. McCULLOCH, Esq. 2nd edition: 1842.
3. *Principles of Political Economy.* By JOHN STUART MILL. 1848.
4. *Remarks on some Popular Objections to the present Income Tax.* By JOHN MACPIERSON MACLEOD. 1849.
5. *Property and Income Tax. Schedule A. and Schedule D.* By J. G. MAITLAND, M.A., F.R.S. 2nd edition: 1853.
6. *First Report from the Select Committee on the Income and Property Tax.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 17th May, 1852.
7. *Second Report from the Select Committee on the Income and Property Tax.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 22nd June, 1852.

8. *Property and Income Tax: the Present State of the Question.* By J. G. MAITLAND, M.A., F.R.S. 1853.
9. *A Just Income Tax, how possible, being a Review of the Evidence reported by the Income Tax Committee, and an Inquiry into the True Principle of Taxation.* By G. W. HEMMING of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1842.

IT would be an ungrateful neglect of our prime national right of self-taxation, if we allowed any impost, however just in its origin and purpose, beneficial in its operation, equal in its incidence, and easy in its collection or administration, to pass through any long interval unchallenged. Even if a perfect tax, such as its impugnors generally require that the Income Tax shall be—and some of them pretend to make it,—should ever be devised, it is still to be feared that it must be unpleasant to the majority of those who would have to pay it, and that its operation upon individuals and upon whole classes of persons would differ for better and for worse, not because of its own inequalities, but because of the different circumstances in which the payers found or placed themselves. A difference for the worse in any man's condition, however it arises, is at its first perception instinctively a cause of complaint; and a cause of complaint multiplied in many identical or similar cases, looks so like a common grievance that it is sure to find sympathy, to make itself a cause so long as writers and speakers, and even the majority of readers and hearers, have keener sensibilities and more lively sympathies for partial cases of apparent and eloquent suffering, than for the quiet, orderly, and diffused enjoyment of any universal benefit.

Nor is clamorous complaint, nor over ready sympathy and advocacy, altogether useless. Even while they represent no real or remediable evil, the discussion they excite awakens attention to the order of things, to practical but unobtrusive benefits, and fruitful principles likely to be forgotten when not discussed, but which when once again appreciated may obtain new force and extension.

The agitation against the Income Tax has been intense and widely spread: it has been conducted with great spirit, with zealous pertinacity, with professional, technical, and scientific aids, reinforced by eminent popular talents with daily eloquence, and, above all, it has its nucleus in the most stirring, active, and perhaps on the whole, the most influential portion of our population,—the trading, the higher industrial, and the professional classes. It has succeeded too so far as to obtain from the late Chancellor of the Exchequer a concession of the principle of



the demand most urgently pressed, 'to gratify,' as he most inappropriately said, 'the working millions,' who are in no way affected by this part of the tax or its remission; and this promised surrender was joyfully proclaimed by the chief advocates of the change as 'a final recognition of all the principles contended for, which once introduced will render subsequent modifications 'easy;' and Mr. Cobden has congratulated Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues on being the first 'to deal in principle, if not going 'to the full extent, fairly with the Income Tax.'

And it is now said, that convictions so strong as theirs, and so disseminated and thus reinforced, must soon prevail; it is common now to treat these convictions as already triumphant, to claim for them the credit of being alone the admitted dictates of 'common sense,' and to characterise the reasonings and the calculations offered in defence of the tax as it is, as refinements and sophistries finally rejected and condemned by the plain sense of the whole people; 'in spite' as Mr. Cobden has it, 'of 'all that mathematicians and philosophers may say.'

Doubtless, what the whole people requires, in matters of taxation, must be done, if it be within the powers or within the reach of the devices of a Chancellor of the Exchequer — and, as in other services, what one man will not attempt another will be found to do. Still this shout of triumph may be premature. The victory is not yet definitely won; on the contrary, there are clear evidences that the defenders of the Income Tax have, by the very attacks on it, become more fully aware of the nature, grounds, and perils of the contest, have acquired a firmer conviction of the soundness and the advantages of their own position — have now ascertained exactly the exhibited strength and weakness of their assailants, know to a certainty their false appearances, their really vulnerable points, the generally unsound positions of their antagonists, and therefore are neither without heart, or hope, or good omens of a favourable issue.

It is unquestionably a most weighty matter that is in debate. We raise by the Income Tax nearly six millions sterling, or rather more than one-tenth part of the whole public Income of the United Kingdom; a sum, which if abandoned, it would certainly be impossible to replace without the extension of present taxes, or the reimposition of old taxes, more objectionable, even on the very grounds on which the Income Tax is impugned, than the Income Tax itself, and condemned by the convictions of the country, and by all the results of experience for mischievous action, wholly impossible to the Income Tax.

By means of this tax, an annual deficit of more than 2,000,000*l*.

sterling was at once replaced by a permanent and satisfactory surplus, and by this we have been since enabled with very little ultimate loss to the revenue, to remove an annual amount of customs and excise duties, exceeding the whole of the Income Tax, and very pernicious in their effects on the condition of the greater portion of the community. It still retains its efficiency, and remains available for gradual advances, from time to time, in the same prosperous course. Effectual for its intended purposes thus far, it becomes a question whether by maintaining it we shall preserve the benefit already secured, or by increasing its amount, we shall extend and accelerate our progress in these approved directions; and the determination of this question must wholly depend on our decision of the pending dispute — whether the Income Tax itself is sufficiently just in its principle and equal and fair in its incidence, to be still retained as a source of public income.

It is true that in terms the opposition is limited to particular portions of the operation of the tax, and chiefly to the effect of Schedule D., and it may appear at first sight to require no more than a partial abandonment, such as Mr. Disraeli promised, of the revenues obtained under that schedule, the whole of which is less than one-third, less than two-sevenths, of the whole proceeds of the tax. But on a nearer view of the question raised, the objections urged to the operation of Schedule D. apply, if applicable at all, with equal force, and nearly to an equal extent to all the other schedules. If, therefore, these objections are valid, their success as against Schedule D. does not stop there: but will justly raise and support the demand for the like treatment of all the other schedules. If it should further appear that the objections being just in their principle, are incapable of practical application to Schedule D. itself, and still more to the other schedules, there would appear to remain no final alternative but to abandon the tax altogether.

The inconvenience, the mischief resulting from such an event, would doubtless be considerable; but there is no reason to fear that they would throw us back into the condition in which the country was in 1842, that we should again resort to the pernicious taxes abolished by the help of the Income Tax, or be under the necessity of submitting to the evils of a deficit. We should perhaps find a way — in our present improved condition, and with our decisive experience of the effects of a more enlightened system of finance — to do without the Income Tax, and yet avoid the worst of the mischievous imposts that have been abolished; but, at the best, the inconvenience and the danger would be so great, as not to be incurred without a great

necessity and a clear conviction that justice, as well as the pleasure and clamour of the complainants, requires the sacrifice.

A discussion raised on interests so various as those of the whole manufacturing, trading, and professional classes, affected by Schedule D., illustrated from so many points of view as are presented by all these interests, multiplied by the personal relations of all who participate in them,—a discussion so long continued, and carried on so largely by disputants, having every variety of general and professional education and training, drawing their arguments and evidences from such multifarious sources, has necessarily involved a great range of topics, and called in the aid of all the related doctrines, dogmas, and sciences. The simple results of arithmetical proportion; the more refined results of algebraical analysis; the doctrines of probabilities, applied to the results of experience of the value of life, and the duration of health, strength, ability, and industrial and professional productiveness: the fundamental principles and the practical requirements of policy, political economy, expediency, justice, morality, are the commonest topics of this debate, and are applied to an incalculable variety of actual and hypothetical, and impossible cases presented by the experience, the ingenuity, or the imagination of the disputants. Little of all this great and heterogeneous accumulation of material can be usefully available, even if space and patience were unlimited. It is of the utmost importance, now that some decision appears to be impending, and time presses, to eliminate all foreign and unessential matters out of the discussion, and to relieve the controversy of all that may for the present be safely cast aside.

The general state of the question is this:—The practical benefit already derived from the tax, in equalising our public income to our expenditure, and so facilitating all the financial changes since 1842, is rarely denied and not at all contested by those who are now most urgent for a change. The more abstract objections against all direct taxes, on the ground of their unpopularity, and the objection to the Income Tax more particularly, that it is a war tax, or a tax only to be resorted to under the most pressing necessities, is only occasionally referred to, and then only as a make-weight to an argument felt to be otherwise too light. It may be safely assumed that if the tax can be justified in its details against the more special objections brought against it, it will so far gain in popular acceptance; and if it can be made to be more clearly understood that bad finance is nearly or quite as mischievous as war itself, and good finance, a

first necessity of national prosperity, the tax will stand its ground securely against all objections coming under the above heads.

Furthermore, as those who now appear as the opponents of the tax ground their complaints on the distinction between permanent income, and temporary, and precarious incomes—contending, not that permanent income should be relieved, but that it should be taxed at a proportionably higher rate than the others—that it, as well as the others, should be capitalised, and taxed on the capitalised value—it is clear that they concede the general principle of taxing capital; in other words, they contend for the propriety of taxing property and income, and only dispute about the comparative rate at which income temporary and precarious and income permanent or property, should respectively contribute. It is true that there are some men of extreme views amongst the complainants, who would exempt all industrial or professional, in short all earnings, and only tax what they designate as ‘realised property;’ but these are so few as scarcely to require to be counted in; and their argument, such as it is, will be disposed of incidentally. It may thus be practically assumed that the tax is not impugned, in so far as it is supposed to be a tax on property or realised capital, or on what, in this controversy, is designated as ‘capitalised income.’

We are thus brought practically to this one point of debate. Property being allowed to be taxable, how is mere income to be taxed? Is all income, as it becomes income, to be taxed on its full amount, or is it, in any case, to be taxed at less than its full amount as it accrues, or is it ever to be entirely exempted?

This is the gist of the question raised in exclusive favour, as it is commonly supposed, of the contributors under Schedule D.; and to this question, in its more general elements, and in such of its leading details as are of importance in determining the whole practical possibility of the retention of the tax, the following remarks shall be confined.

In 1842, when the revenue was in a state of depression, from which the imposition of fresh taxes had failed to raise it, the *Act for granting duties on profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices*, was passed. It was passed as a temporary measure, to continue in force from April, 1842, till April, 1845. Its purpose, as announced by Sir Robert Peel, was ‘to lay the foundation for a juster principle of taxation,’ and to facilitate such important and beneficial alterations in the Customs and Excise as have since in fact been made. The Act has been continued from time to time—its policy carried out till

the present time. The first, and most urgent object, the placing the revenue on a safe footing, appears to have been well realised, the revenue, after all the great reductions of other taxes, having risen from 52,315,433*l.*, in 1841, to 53,210,071*l.*, in 1853, when the excess of income over expenditure was 2,417,550*l.*; and these facts serve to show to how great an extent the condition of the people has been improved, and trade and industry been relieved, by aid of this tax.

This Act, in its scheme, was not a new experiment, being modelled upon the Act of 1806, itself the result of successive efforts of legislation, founded on experience of the working of different Acts from the year 1798, when the Income Tax was first imposed, under the administration of Mr. Pitt. From 1804 till 1816, when the Income Tax ceased, there was continual experience of the operation of the measure, and several subsidiary Acts were passed. During all this period the tax was regarded as a war tax; in the latter years of its existence, it was the object of great agitation and disgust, and the occasion of incessant declamation; and it expired amidst the unanimous rejoicings of the country, and especially of the commercial classes. The House of Commons signalled its proceedings on the occasion more by its enthusiasm than by calm judgment or decorum.

However, the results of the experience of all this interval from 1798 to 1816, seem to have been industriously applied in framing the details of the Act of 1842, which chiefly differs from the law in force in 1816, in the general rate of the tax, which from 1805 till 1816 was 10 per cent., instead of the present 7*d.* in the pound; and in the fact, that exemptions were not generally allowed in respect of lands, tenements, dividends, or interest money, and were allowed in respect of profits of trade, only when these profits fell short of 50*l.* a year; whereas the Act of 1842 exempts all incomes, of whatever nature, under 150*l.* a year.

It is of some importance in the history of the discussions on this measure, to observe the effect of popular language on the reasoning, the expectations, and the efforts of those who are subject to its influence. We have seen that the Act is entitled ‘an Act for Granting Duties on Profits arising from property, ‘professions, trades, and offices;’ and its contents from the first word to the last exactly correspond with the title, in proposing to grant the duties only in respect of ‘profits,’ or ‘annual ‘value.’ In no instance is any purpose indicated of laying the duties on any thing else but the annual revenue, in other words, on the *Annual Income*, whether derived from property, occupa-

tion, trade, profession, or office. In no instance is there an indication of an intent to lay the duty on '*Property*' as such; that is, as the source of annual income, or, as an aggregate of a prospective succession of annual or other incomes. In no sense then is the tax, in fact or in purpose, a tax on property; and the names commonly given to it of '*the property tax*,' or '*the property and income tax*' are complete misnomers, implying an entire perversion of the intention with which it was imposed. Nevertheless, the popular misnomer has, in not a few instances, led most intelligent men, acute reasoners from their premises, into the assumption that the tax is a property tax; and they have consistently urged its legitimate and necessary operation as an '*Income tax*' against it, as inconsistent with its supposed pretension to be a '*Property Tax*.\*' It may, or it may not be, right that a tax should be laid upon '*property*' as such, and that is a question presently to be discussed; but inasmuch as such a tax is quite a different thing from a tax on incomes, it is manifestly unfair to impute it as a defect in an '*income tax*,' that it does not operate as '*property tax*.'

About 350,000 contributors know practically, and it must be known to most Englishmen, that the Act of 1842 grants a duty on all incomes of 150*l.* a year, and upwards. The class of incomes so charged, and the amounts of charge, are distinguished by the description contained in the schedules A., B., C., D., and E.

Schedule A. defines the duty in respect of the '*property*' in lands, tenements, and hereditaments or heritages as the sum of '*7*d.* for every 20*s.* of the annual value thereof*.' This may be called the Landlord's schedule, whom we may sometimes in future individualise as '*A.*' by the designation of his schedule.

Schedule B. defines the duty in respect of the '*occupation*' of the same lands, tenements, hereditaments, and heritages. In England, the duty is fixed as '*the sum of 3½*d.* for every 20*s.* of annual value*;' in Scotland, as 2½*d.* for every 20*s.* This we may call the Tenants' schedule; and we may hereafter call the

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\* *E. g.* Mr. J. H. Williams, Second Report of the Committee, Question 3292. 'The tax seems to be mostly at present an *income tax*. If it is to be a *property tax*, the inequality of the tax as levied on variable incomes is very large indeed, and the injustice very manifest. Persons with terminable incomes are charged at the same rate as though the incomes were perpetual, which is a manifest injustice.' The evidence reported by the Committee abounds in similar misconceptions of the purpose of the tax, and inferences from the same groundless assumption.

tenant 'B. ;' and this tenant is more particularly a farmer or tenant of land, who is assumed by the Act to make an annual profit on the land equivalent in England to one half, and in Scotland to one third of the rent he pays. Where this assumption is correct, he will pay 7*d.* in the pound on his annual income like all the other contributors. When he makes less, he is enabled to appeal, and to get his charge reduced to 7*d.* in the pound; when he makes more, he has the benefit of the false assumption. This schedule, though in terms it includes tenants of dwelling houses, shops, and buildings of all classes, in effect rarely includes any of this class; for they commonly derive their incomes from sources described in the other schedules, and so are included in the operation of the other schedules.

Schedule C. fixes the duty 'upon all profits' arising from annuities, dividends, and shares of annuities, payable out of any public revenue, at 7*d.*, without any deduction, for every 20*s.* of the annual amount thereof. This may be called the Fundholders' schedule; and we may hereafter individualise the fundholder as 'C.'

Schedule D. is complementary to all the others. It lays a like rate of 7*d.* in the pound 'upon the annual profits or gains arising 'or accruing from any kind of property whatever; and from 'any profession, trade, employment, or vocation.' This then includes all classes of shareholders. It includes also the classes of persons differing widely from shareholders in the respect of the sources and character of their 'profits and gains;' namely, all who derive them from professions, trades, private employments, or vocations. We may individualise these heterogeneous classes as 'D. ;' but shall probably be obliged to distinguish each class on occasion.

Finally, Schedule E. is a little misplaced, and somewhat ill expressed, which, however, matters little, as the people subjected to it have no means of escaping from their obligations through any ambiguity. It lays the same duty of 7*d.* for every 20*s.* of the annual amount of every public office, or employment of profit, and upon every annuity, pension, or stipend payable by the Queen out of the public revenue. This may be considered the public officers', employés', and pensioners' schedule; and we may hereafter indicate all these persons by the designation 'E.'

Soon after the passing of this Act, and more particularly at each period appointed for its renewal, the complaints of various classes of contributors suffering or imagining grievances from the tax were urged, but with very different degrees of vigour, importunity, and plausibility.

Schedule A., which probably numbers 250,000 contributors\* who pay about one half of the entire tax (2,760,000*l.* in 1851), with no opportunity allowed to them to evade the tax, which is levied, without consulting them, from their tenants, being intercepted by the collector as a part of their rent due from the tenants, and with more than one real and admitted grievance, and entitled to urge with nearly equal effect every grievance alleged by any other schedule, has been very acquiescent. It is preeminently its own representative in Parliament, where the stable landed interest is predominant, and yet it has made no complaints, raised no outcry, and has scarcely offered a resistance to the encroachments which the success of Schedule D. has promised to make upon it. Perhaps its attention has been absorbed by the struggle for Protection which has seemed for the time to affect it more nearly; but at least, for once in our history, the inheritors of the land have been silent and passive while their interest has been not only discussed, but brought, even by their most professing friends, into imminent jeopardy.

As of Schedule A., the lord of the land, so of B. its tenant, who bears, indeed, but a small portion of the aggregate burden, less than one sixteenth, or 314,000*l.* in 1851, he, as might be expected, has followed as his landlord has led, and been inert when he was inert. In this case, too, though the tenant has not the substantial ground of complaint that his landlord has in the imposition of the tax, it will be found that, if the claims made by D. are good for D., they are equally good for B. But the latter is perhaps the slower man to see his opportunities, and although a good patron of sophistries, is rarely the first or even an early

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\* The numbers of the contributors given here and elsewhere are conjectural. The estimate is grounded on the Parliamentary paper, No. 27. sess. 1851, which shows that 194,900 persons were assessed under Schedules D. and E. From the way the tax is levied it is not possible to ascertain the number of persons really contributing under the other schedules. Now as out of the 194,900 persons contributing to these two schedules, 57,985 drew a portion of the incomes which made them liable from other sources, it may be assumed that not above 150,000 persons are really taxed under these schedules. As the contribution of D. in the same year was 1,618,195*l.*, and E. 331,000*l.*, it is probably near to the truth to estimate the number of persons contributing as in the same proportion, which would give to D. about 115,000 contributors, and to E. about 35,000, and an average contribution of 13*l.* each. For the other schedules the estimate is made on the assumption that the contributors respectively pay in the same proportions to these two schedules.—See McCulloch on Taxation, p. 138., whose estimate is, however, somewhat different.



propounder of them. Except, then, a slight murmur in 1849, when times were hard on farmers, and their general impressions were gloomy, B. in his character of an occupier of land has let the debate take its course without offering to interfere in it.

In this controversy, Schedule C. is professedly ranged on both of the opposed sides. As 'a permanent annuitant,' in which character he pays 730,000*l.* a year to the tax, or one eighth of the whole, he is ranged with the landlord, and is the passive object of attack; and although fundholders have written, as a class, they have done little to provoke, avoid, or repulse the assault on their interests. But their yoke-fellow under this schedule, the owner of terminable annuities, who pays annually about 35,315*l.*, or a 160th part of the aggregate tax, is the very incarnation of the enemies of the permanent annuitant as he is of Schedules A. and B. His is the model case for which D. abandons his own,—his the case by which D. proposes his willingness to have his own claims tried; and for some time past, indeed, his is the only case which has been made (doubtless only as the most telling example) the standard and representative of the objections to the Income Tax; and the body of actuaries, and a large portion of the officers of Insurance Companies, have adopted this as their favourite grievance, and elected to take their issue upon it.

But Schedule D. is legion. He is, indeed, a large contributor, paying above 1,618,000*l.* a-year, or about two sevenths of the whole tax, and he numbers about 150,000 fellow contributors. All trades, all professions, all vocations, all speculators, all projectors,—in particular, all who profit by writing or talking, by the stimulation and advocacy of other men's interests, passions, prejudices, are found here. It would have been strange if Schedule D. had not spoken, had not written, both well and ill,—had not been busy with its own case, and still more busy with the cases of the other schedules. And it is no disparagement to D. that he is his own and everybody else's advocate; for it must in justice be admitted that he has more various, dispersed, and divided interests of his own,—more points of contact with all mankind in trade, commerce, at the bar, at the sick bed, in prosperity, in trouble, at home, abroad, in things decaying, prospering, emerging, in realities and in figments,—has a more various, catholic, disinterested opinion,—is, in short, the inventor, the investigator, the thinker, the adviser, the protector of and for all mankind, whether in the right or in the wrong. And accordingly it is to be observed, that some of the most careful, philosophical, wise, and truthful contributions made to this controversy by writers, witnesses, and public

speakers, have come from men whose liabilities and personal interests are most involved in Schedule D., but whose convictions are opposed to the claims which others have urged for its special benefit.

Of Schedule E., the State's officers and pensioners, who contribute about 330,000*l.* a-year, or nearly an eighteenth of the whole tax, and are probably about 35,000 persons, no more need be said at present than that it has made no distinguishable claim for itself; but has let the controversy take its course as determined by the interests of all the other classes;—dignified passengers in the State ship, condescending neither to command nor steer it.

The supposed peculiar grievance of Schedule D. having been for six years incessantly urged upon the attention of the public in and out of Parliament, the House of Commons, on the 8th of May, 1851, on the motion of Mr. Hume, ordered 'that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the present mode of assessing and collecting the Income and Property Tax, and to consider whether any other system of levying the same, so as to render the tax more equitable, can be adopted.'

It will be observed, and it was regarded at the time as indicative of a foregone conclusion, that the terms in which the Committee was appointed appear to imply that a system of levying the tax may be found which might render the tax more equitable.

The Committee met on the 16th of June, 1851, elected Mr. Hume into the chair, and under his presidency—the duties of which he performed with his wonted regularity and perseverance—it met regularly twice a week during that session, till the state of business of the House required the termination of their labours, and they reported to the House the evidence they had taken, which constituted their First Report. On the 11th of February, 1852, the Committee was reappointed, and proceeded as steadily as before to take evidence, which was reported in their Second Report on the 22nd of June, 1852. Mr. Hume, and also Mr. Sotherton and Colonel Romilly, members of the Committee, respectively submitted drafts of reports and resolutions for the consideration of the Committee. Mr. Hume's proposed report fully recognised the benefits already derived, and still derivable, from the tax; but he adopted every complaint, brought from whatever quarter, against its operation and incidence, and admitted almost all the remedies proposed by the witnesses who appeared before the Committee, and concluded by recommending an entire revision of our present

system of taxation, and its replacement by 'an equal tax on the realised and industrial property of the United Kingdom.' Mr. Sotherton's draft resolution declared it impossible to discover a rate of taxation which would produce a strictly equitable result, and recommended that we should deal with the Income Tax in some manner, not of mathematical accuracy, but in an ordinary and moral sense. He declared that it was 'repugnant to public feeling to impose the same rate of tax upon incomes derived from permanent realised property, enjoyed without exertion or risk, and incomes derived from trades, professions, and salaries, which are subject to both.' He concluded by recommending some such rate as would be 'an approximation to an exact proportion,' and that Schedule D. should be put in the relation to the other schedules of 3 to 4, 'so that incomes under that schedule should be assessed at three-fourths of the amount levied upon all other kinds of income.' Colonel Romilly's resolution only justified the Committee for not attempting to report any conclusion, without an inquiry into the whole system of taxation, and recommended the simple reporting of the evidence taken. Mr. Disraeli carried a motion to the effect, that the importance of the subject, the pressure of business, and the prospect of an early prorogation, made it impossible at that time to do justice to so complicated a subject, and that the Committee should report only their evidence taken, and their proceedings, to the House.

Mr. Hume has since complained,—though he was prepared in 1852 with a report for the adoption of the Committee on the whole subject,—that the Committee has not been again appointed. Mr. Disraeli, who served on the Committee, and took a leading part in its later proceedings, appears to have made up his mind, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, sufficiently to announce, as an article of his financial statement, on the 6th of December last, his adoption of 'the distinction between realised and precarious incomes,' and his recommendation that 'the rate on Schedules A. and C. should be, as before, 7*d.* in the pound, and on B., D., and F. 5½*d.*'

Such are some of the outward and visible signs of the effects of the discussion. A decided effect has been produced by it on public opinion, and on public men, in favour of Schedule D. But although it has thus far had a favourable progress, it is not to be conceded to Mr. Hume that the reappointment of the Committee would throw new light on the controversy. The Committee had before it the most able representatives of each interest; for the explanation of the history, details, and modes of

assessment and levy, the most experienced, intelligent, and responsible officers of the department of Inland Revenue; for the exposition of alleged grievances, the most distinguished writers and statista, and a long array of most eminent actuaries, who generally, and as to the actuaries uniformly, advocated the reduction of the charge on temporary and precarious incomes; for the exposition of particular hardships affecting land, agents of standing and reputation; and, finally, for the exposition of the general, economical, political and moral requirements in such a law, some of the most eminent thinkers and calculators of the time,—Mr. Warburton, who has given a calm, enlightened, and scientific consideration to the subject from the time of the reimposition of the tax; Mr. J. Stuart Mill, one of the most accomplished thinkers on the subject, and not less remarkable as a witness under examination before the Committee; and Mr. Babbage, who combines, in a more conspicuous manner than any other, the qualifications of a mathematician of a high order, with those of a moral and economical investigator. With such witnesses before them, subjected some of them to a second and third examination—at intervals more or less considerable—by a Committee exemplary for its assiduity, and the steadiness and keenness with which it pursued its investigation, and comprehending the talents and parliamentary and official experience of Mr. Hume, the indefatigable chairman, Sir Charles Wood, Mr. Thomas Baring, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Henley, Mr. Horsman, Mr. James Wilson, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Sotherton, and other distinguished members of the House,—engaged, with intervals that may have served to infuse more reflection into the inquiry, from the 19th of June, 1851 till the 22nd of June, 1852; it is, *à priori*, not very probable that anything was left to be discovered by testimony on a question so theoretical before a Committee sitting again at so short an interval. And, as a matter of experience, it will be found that few, if any, new facts or new views with relation to the tax came to light by means of the Committee. Nothing was developed before the Committee that had not been as clearly expounded before. The real effect of the inquiry by the Committee has been to diffuse the knowledge of the terms of the controversy, not to discover or modify them.

But we may safely consider ourselves, by the help of the Committee, in possession of authentic materials necessary for discussion of the grounds on which a change in the incidence of the Income Tax is now required. It is now proposed to examine them.

The question, as we have already limited it, has two very distinguishable aspects;—one of such a broad moral and political bearing, as to involve considerations affecting the whole subject of the relations of the State to its subjects, and their reciprocal obligations to one another and to the State;—the other confined within much more precise and narrow limits, and involving only the question of arranging the incidence of the tax, with arithmetical equality, upon the persons and the funds which shall be decided to be liable to it. One is a question of the broadest political principle—the other is one merely of fiscal adjustment.

When the question is raised, as it is both implicitly and explicitly by all who discuss this subject, whether it is just that poor men's means should be subjected to the tax in a proportion as high as that of rich men\*, that men with temporary and precarious means should contribute, while they have such means, at an equal rate, as if they were permanent and certain†, the question is one of political justice, and we cannot dispose of it without determining the moral grounds of our whole obligation to pay taxes, or make contributions of any kind of service to the State. When the equal liability of all men to contribute is conceded, and the question is raised,—what is the measure of this equality as regards different funds or sources of contribution, as, for instance, in the cases of a contribution from rent and of a contribution from wages‡, the question is narrowed to a discussion of the nature and the relative contributing power of these sources as constituting the ability of the taxpayer. We may divide the discussion into the two corresponding parts, and take up in the course of the discussion the incidental questions which constitute the practical details.

First, then, as to the equal or unequal liability of all subjects to contribute according to their means to the requirements of the State.

It will not be disputed, that in every community of men we owe the security of all our enjoyments to the protection which the law provides for them, nay, that we owe our individual existence and preservation in a capacity to enjoy our subsistence

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\* Mr. J. S. Mill, *Principles*, vol. ii. p. 352. Mr. Hume's draft Report, vol. ii. p. xxiii. Mr. Hemmings' pamphlet, p. 21.

† M. J. S. Mill, *ib.*, and in his evidence before the Committee, 5223—5234. 5244., &c. Mr. Hume's Draft Report, p. xxv. And the Actuaries' evidence, *passim*.

‡ The Actuaries' evidence, *ib. passim*.

to this same protection ; without which, possession, cultivation, the very rearing of considerable numbers of men, is impossible. It is not property alone, or the body of the person, and its corporal liberty, that is protected,—it is every relation of life, matrimony, family, society,—it is training, education, moral development and enjoyment, reputation, honour, religion,—all that man values, and that may be disturbed by violence and lawlessness, or nipped in its germ or development by the apprehension of danger, that is secured by the institution and maintenance of political Government. When, therefore, it is only acknowledged that Government protects person and property, it is too narrow an admission, and neglects the account of the whole of that great body of law—that great and never-ceasing operation of the legislative, legal, executive, and defensive institutions by which all those other interests are protected, the enjoyment of which is as dear and as necessary to our well-being as the safety of the body itself, which a lawless savage may effectually secure, who can never secure or even imagine some of these others.

Property, then, is not all that we owe to the State, all that law and government secures to us. Is its possession then, by any coincidence, a true measure of those other advantages\*? Manifestly not ; inasmuch as every man has his person, and more or less, all the other interests to be protected, and which are in effect protected, though he may have no property to protect, and may by possibility be incapable of having property. A man with no property, is nevertheless a charge, and often the most considerable, charge on the institutions of his country,—a pauper, or any other destitute person, on whom the State equally, or more than equally, expends its resources. In such cases it is obvious that the property of the individual is no measure of the entire protection he receives, of the burden he imposes on the commonwealth. Nor is it less apparent in the rich man's case, that his property is no true measure of the protection he receives ; for, in the first place, the smaller any property is, the more minute the parcels, the more it is subject to aggression, encroachment, violence, abstraction, the more the property is a temptation to numerous aggressors, the more is even the person

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\* Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, book v. c. ii., says, ‘ the subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of Government as nearly as possible in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State.’ This is the apparent base of the operations of all who attack and all who defend the Income Tax. See the Evidence of Mr. Babbage, 5148—5155., &c. And Mr. Farr's evidence, extracted *infra*.

itself of the owner endangered; while, on the other hand, the larger the mass of wealth, the more is it self-defended, the less is it subject to unlawful damage or depredation. Mr. Rothschild may circulate in perfect security, at any distance from his property,—a huxter or pedlar is scarcely secure while his is under his own eyes; the Duke of Devonshire's lands, or the Marquess of Westminster's ground-rents, hardly once a month require the aid of a policeman, or once in a generation the intervention of a judge or magistrate, while the allottee's plot, or the cottar's hut, or the higgler's lodging is in incessant need of the active protection of the strong arm. The quantity of an individual's property, then, is not a true measure of the expenditure of the resources of Government even in the mere protection of property. But still less is it a true measure of the whole protection afforded to the individual; for his other occasions for the protection of the law by no means increase with the increase of his property. The owner of 20,000*l.* a year has not a thousand times as many bodies, members, healths, liberties, reputations, homes, families, associations, political rights, or of any other interests (but the mere property) as the recipient of 20*l.* a year. If all the other occasions of individual protection were multiplied as individual wealth increased, we should, in some cases, find half the constabulary and magistracy of a county, a whole regiment of the line, three or four ships of war, an entire judge of the higher tribunals, two days of every session of parliament, and every other apparatus and appliance of law and Government in a similar proportion, occupied permanently about the legal protection of one single great proprietor's person. That property then is a true measure, or in any near degree a measure of the protection afforded to individuals by the State, cannot be maintained with any appearance of plausibility so long as the State protects anything else besides property.

To any one, then, who will consider, ever so cursorily, the most common and simple course of administration of the law and of Government, it will be apparent that the ordinary and current expenses of Government are not caused by or incurred for the rich in the same proportion as the poor. But it may be objected that, although great properties do not receive a protection from the ordinary administration of Government so costly in proportion as small properties do, still that all property owing its origin and security entirely to the law, every owner of property has a protection proportionate to the amount of his property,—the owner of a great property a proportionately great protection, the owner of a small one a proportionately small protection. This is, however, to confound a part with the whole; and pre-

cisely the part which is least related to the matter in hand. In questions of property, as of all other rights, there are two very distinguishable parts: one, the definition, or declaration, or ratification, of the right or title; and this is commonly to be found done to our hands, generations ago, by positive legislation or popular custom; the cost of which, if any, was long since defrayed, and could not be made an occasion for present expenditure, or contribution towards it. A man holds his property by descent, bequest, or purchase, the whole process, incidents and effects of which modes of acquisition were imported into our law a thousand years ago. The law which defines his right or title is exactly the same, — the same form of words, the same form of custom, — whether his property is 100 shillings or 100,000 pounds; and has, if it has cost anything in its enunciation, cost just as much when it defines the one as when it defines the other, — the poor man's, as the rich man's, right and title. Its retention as law, through this year, or the next, or for ever, as it is no positive act, costs nothing. What it is that involves the cost is, not the maintenance of the right or title, but the maintenance of the administrative force which is to protect the enjoyment of the objects of that right or title, — to deter, ward off, or redress aggression, not on that title, but on the enjoyment, whether that aggression threatens from within or from without. This is the part of Government — this the operation of law, which necessitates expenditure, and the imposition of taxes. The other part, our common or class rights, is patent to every man in the customs to which he is born, in the statute book, his personal titles in his deeds and assurances, for the ascertainment of which, irrespectively of the redress sought from administration, if he pays at all, he pays his adviser's fees. The existence of the right or title, then, does not constitute an occasion for contribution of taxes; it is the administrative protection of that right or title that does constitute such an occasion; and we have seen that the amount of an individual's property is not a true measure of the administrative protection which the State has to provide for him.

If, then, the rich man pays for Government the same number of shillings for every pound sterling of his accrued income, and the poor man in the same proportion, the rich man pays higher in proportion for the protection of his property than the poor man.

Moreover, as regards all the other interests of men which Government protects, inasmuch as the richest man has but one person's portion of such interests, and no man has less, if the rich man pays according to all his income, the poor man only according to his, and the destitute man nothing at all, it is clear



that the rich man pays for the protection of the interests of as many other poorer men as altogether pay a contribution equal to his own. In other words, the man who, on 1000*l.* pays as much as ten men having 100*l.* each, contributes, not only at a disproportionate rate for the protection of his property, but supplies the ten other men with all other protections at his sole cost.

And this is the demonstrable consequence whenever any men contribute in a multiplied proportion as compared with others, and do not obtain a beneficial return multiplied in the same proportion. It appears to follow that a taxation for all the common purposes of Government levied in proportion to wealth, operates unfairly, in an exoneration of all the less wealthy contributors from their estimated share of the common burdens of Government; and that the proportion of this unequal exoneration increases as the contributors are poorer.

Again: if it be proposed to tax the rich, as rich, for the purposes of Government, at any higher rate than the poor, or, what is the same thing, to exempt the poor, or lighten their portion of the burdens of Government, it is not as a measure of simple 'justice' that this can be recommended, whatever other reasons for it there may be of necessity or expediency.

And it is not an evasion of their just responsibilities when the comparatively rich refuse to submit to a higher rate of taxation for the common purposes of Government than the comparatively poor.

We can now proceed to another stage of the discussion; namely, the question of the contribution that each man may be required to make towards the maintenance of the efficiency of the State.

It is comparatively a very recent fact in history, that the contribution of the subject has been made in money taxes alone. In England, where this modern system is most completely carried out, we have still a recent experience of impressment and of statute labour; but, with the exception of the compulsory service on juries, or as special constables, or of a few offices which a man may be compelled against his will to serve, we have no longer a trace left of the system, universal two or three hundred years ago, in England as elsewhere, of calling on each man, in his own person, to contribute his time, his labour, his counsel, his person, — nay, his life, in keeping order, in apprehending offenders, in maintaining communications, in repelling enemies, and the like. The inconvenience of the old arrangement is manifest enough now. It effected its purposes with the least possible efficiency, and at the greatest pos-

sible cost; and this conviction and impatience of the oppression of such services had, as we all know, a mighty influence in bringing about the greatest of modern revolutions; though that has been but partially successful, inasmuch as it has still left the military conscription and many onerous local services.

But inconvenient and inefficient as personal service is, it is, when it is not carried out with partiality to particular classes of men, the obvious, natural, and, in certain circumstances, the just course. Government being but the accumulation of the common force, guided by the common counsel of the community,—what, where nothing but men's force, men's counsel, men's conduct, could serve for the common protection, could be more fair than that every man who required the protection should give his share of strength, counsel, and co-operation? The obvious defect of the system was, that the weak, the sick, the aged, the simple, escaped the contribution, and that the service often fell with undue heaviness on those who could least afford to give it.

But poverty or his other necessities did not excuse a man who had vigour and capacity otherwise sufficient. The rule was, of which we have some examples still in force, that he who could not serve in person should serve in purse, and *vice versâ*.

By the modern substitution of money taxes for personal services, although the rich are sensibly benefited, the most poor and the comparatively poor are far the greatest gainers. By apportioning taxation to expenditure, or to their ability, as measured by the possession of property, and still more by the modern plan of actually disqualifying for service those who do not possess a given amount of property, the poorest of all escape from their contribution altogether, or cast it on their employers or customers, or, at the worst, only bear a burden measured by their pecuniary means; the most favourable measure to the poorest men,—by its elasticity extending when it measures the rich man's contributions, and shortening when it measures the poor man's.

That the poor have been such gainers cannot be disputed. But still the original or the substituted burdens may be unjust in their nature. Is it, then, just that every man, poor or rich, should contribute in proportion to his ability, as measured by his possessions?

The practical answer was very early given: as, for instance, in the English Poor Law of the 43rd of Elizabeth, which requires all the taxpayers to contribute 'according to their ability,' and the rule was systematised two hundred years later, and enun-

ciated by Adam Smith in one of his four maxims or principles of taxation in these well-known words:—‘The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation.’\*

These are practical or dogmatic authorities, of which the *primâ facie* reasons are apparent enough. The only difficulty attends their application; and in the present controversy the dispute is as to the nature and measure of the ‘ability’ itself, by reference to which it is required that the taxation shall be proportional.

Thus, if ‘ability’ means, as some will have it, all that a man has the power to dispose of, even on his own subsistence, then he would be, as he now is to some of our indirect, or even to some of our direct taxes, taxable even in respect of what are called the necessities of life. If, again, ‘ability’ only means what he can dispose of, after providing for his subsistence†, then he would be taxable in a very different proportion; and a great many men, having no superfluity, would not be taxable at all, and as a practical consequence all taxes direct, or indirect, really operating on necessities should be abandoned. If, again, ‘ability’ is still more restricted, so as to mean that which remains after he has provided for himself and a family, and not only for his and their present, but also for their prospective wants in his old age, and their probable necessities‡, we get into a still more restricted range of liability, a still more extensive immunity from taxation such as the world has never yet seen in a civilised country, and realisable only under a system of exclusively direct taxation. And, again, if ‘ability’ should be held to be measured, not by a man’s present means only, but by his prospective means, and this not only possessory, but in reversion or expectancy§, we obtain a measure of ability as different from those that precede as is the difference between those who take opposite sides in the present controversy,—those who contend for the justice of an Income Tax, and those

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\* Wealth of Nations, book v. chap. ii.

† J. S. Mill. Principles of Political Economy, p. 350. Evidence, (5247—5260.).

‡ *Ibid.*

§ See the evidence of the whole of the actuaries in the second Report of the Committee.

who, on the opposite side, contend for the justice of a Property Tax.

All these difficulties as to the rule of contribution according to 'ability,' are directly raised in this controversy, and to settle the dispute they must be solved. For it is a great mistake, very prevalent in this discussion, to suppose that a concession favourable to the present complainants will diminish the amount of complaint. In taxation for purposes predetermined, and requiring a given amount to be raised, we can grant no exemption to one class but by increasing the burdens of another; what we remit to poor men we must charge on the rich; the exemption we grant to this man to enable him to provide for his wife and family we must charge on that bachelor or spinster or childless man or woman; and whatever favourable conclusion we come to in favour of this contributor, it must be equally unfavourable in another direction in disfavour of that. To still a clamour from one class of men by any other than a thoroughly just settlement, is to create an equal and a more just cause of complaint in another; the operation is hopeless and endless, till the difficulty is solved by a just decision on intelligible grounds.

We may at once narrow the question for modern purposes by excluding from the notion of taxable 'ability' all those advantages, all those objects of enjoyment, which have not an exchangeable value, which are not estimable immediately in a money value. Thus his strength, his talents, his happy circumstances, elements of ability in a more general sense, are no longer in question, as objects or means of fiscal contribution, now that pecuniary taxation is the sole resource of the State, and the render of services in kind is obsolete.

We may conveniently and safely narrow the question still further, as regards this controversy, by stating the extreme limits of what is contended for by the one party and by the other. The extreme of the one pretension is, that only so much of a man's means are justly taxable to the purposes of the State as accrues contemporaneously with the State's expenditure,—that is the yearly income of the taxpayer arising within the year, and the whole of this income. This is the extreme claim of those who advocate an Income Tax. The extreme pretension on the other side is, that not only this income accruing contemporaneously, but the present value of all a man's accumulated possessions, profitable or not, and of all his present title to future accretions, shall be the object of each current year's taxation. This is the extreme view of those who advocate a Property Tax. The difference is very wide, and consists effectually in this, that the extreme view of the maintainers of the Income Tax would

impose all the tax of the year on all the income of the year, in one unvaried proportion or per-centage: while the view of the advocates of a Property Tax is, to exempt all income from liability, to reduce its rate of present taxation in proportion as its probable duration beyond the year is less than a perpetuity; that is, in a proportion diminishing, not arithmetically, but geometrically, as the prospective term of enjoyment is less than a perpetuity.

This branch of the question may be conveniently discussed by being divided into three parts, and by considering taxable 'ability' as consisting, first, of disposable means accruing contemporaneously with the tax, or *Income*; secondly, of disposable means accrued previously to the period of taxation, and producing no contemporaneously accruing income, or *Unproductive Capital*; and, thirdly, of the title to, or expectation of, disposable means to accrue subsequently to the period of taxation — the heterogeneous subject-matter which some propose to tax by a Property Tax.

Of all these, it must be observed that their distinctions have reference only to time; they are all income in different tenses, accrued, accruing, to accrue.

To take our view of the present continuing operation first — of accruing income: —

As a basis of taxation, it must be admitted, that all income is the result of somebody's productive labour; and that in this productive labour the law, the State, is a fellow-labourer, or co-operator; it gives to every part of the productive operation its security, and the security of its enjoyment or reward, without which it could not be conducted, and would not even be undertaken. 'The labourer himself, the materials on which he works, if any; the productive result, its conversion in the market into the form desired by the owner, say into money; all this takes place by and under the protection of the law, which if wanting at any stage would prevent the effect. The law itself is but the public force, only operative by man's exertions, by the acts of its ministers — living men, who must subsist, must be maintained as other men on the produce of somebody's labour. As we have abandoned the practice of obtaining this force by compulsory service, in which the servant subsisted himself, we have to provide by taxation not only for material but also for the subsistence of the public servants. Their own labour, as agents of the law, is not employed in producing directly the objects necessary for subsistence; it is engaged in protecting the rest of the community in that

operation; and their claim is just to a participation in that result which could not have existed without them. Government, on this account, is but a more comprehensive watchman or peace-keeper, the claim of whom to the produce of the field and of the labour spent on it, both of which he has guarded, is as valid as that of the other labourers in the field. This claim of law and government, as co-operating in production, being generally admitted, and not openly questioned in this controversy, may be considered as established in general terms. But is there any exception to this? any part of the operation, any portion of the result, to which it does not fully and equally apply? There was, in such a given case, great labour for a small reward\*; still the law bore its part by protecting that misplaced labour and that small reward. The reward was by good fortune unusually great; still that good fortune was realised, was appropriated, was secured in every particle of the result by the aid of the law. There was great skill, great courage, great risk†; still that skill, that courage, was only productive, and that risk was lessened by the co-operation of the law. But there were tools, there was seed, there was 'capital' used, necessarily used, in the process‡; still it matters not: whatever those tools, that seed, that 'capital,' contributed to produce, equally required and had the co-operative protection of the law; and in all conceivable cases of the lawful appropriation of the results of labour, the same claim of government, as a co-operator in producing that result, and legalising and securing its appropriation, applies with equal force. •

With equal force? The producer is poor, is feeble, has a wife and family to provide for, has to provide for himself and them in future years of his and their life, will not live long to enjoy the produce.§ Is his share of the produce to be no larger on these accounts, than if he were rich, strong, and without family, or with a family well-established in life? •

It must be re-asserted that, whatever is the condition or prospects of the producer, the share of the law is not altered in co-operating, in creating, appropriating, and securing the produce. It is not as matter of right, of justice, that he could claim, on these accounts, from his fellow producers, a greater share to himself, and reduce their share of the produce resulting from their joint labours: — he could only ask it in an appeal to their benevolence. There is no difference as regards the law as

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\* Mr. J. S. Mill, *ubi suprâ*.

† Second Report (3586.).

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.* (3494.) *et seqq.*, 3508. 3331. 3805. 3314.

a co-operator and others: for he who requires the law to forego its share where it is justly due, or any part of it, requires all other contributors to the maintenance of the law to contribute more than their share; if the married men are to be exempted in order that they may provide for their wives, then bachelors and spinsters must be overtaxed for the pleasures of marriage to other people; if people are to be exempted in order that they may provide for their children, then childless men and women must bear the burden of children which others have begotten. Humanity, generosity, policy may, and in practice always do, in extreme cases, make the concession; but it cannot be wrung as a right from simple justice.

But does not the necessitous condition of the producer (*necessitas non habet legem*) exonerate him from the claim of the law to its share? \* The question assumes that the law is not itself the very first necessary even of the most necessitous man. He needs the law, in order to supply, in ever so insufficient a degree, his necessities; he needs it, even, that he may be in existence in any crowded community.

The law is not a luxury, — a superfluity to be provided only after more urgent wants are satisfied. It is the prime, absolute necessary itself for obtaining all the other most absolute necessities. In producing or lawfully acquiring even a necessary of life, the same principle of division amongst co-operators applies as in producing or acquiring luxuries and superfluities: each man's share is as his part in the enterprise. Has the law a share in enabling a man to appropriate a whole loaf, and not a proportionate share in enabling him to appropriate a half or a quarter of a loaf? Has it a claim when it enables a man to obtain and enjoy the superfluity — Tokay or velvet; and no claim when it enables him to obtain and enjoy his black bread and a blanket? The answer is, that the law is, if there be degrees in a case so absolute, more necessary, and proportionally more beneficial in its co-operation in the production of the other first necessities of life, than in any of the less indispensable commodities, and of the luxuries and superfluities. It is not, then, as regards necessities, that the law loses its just claim to its share in their production.

If, now, it be proposed, as is done in the present Income Tax, and as all benevolent and prudent men concur in doing, that the more opulent men should forego their claim, or some part of it, to equal contribution from the most necessitous, and take upon themselves this burden, — it is not because the neces-

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\* Mr. J. S. Mill, *ubi supra*. Second Report (5247—5260.).

sitous are not justly liable to the claim, but that it is unkind and imprudent, and perhaps impracticable, to enforce it. Accordingly, although in direct taxation where the perception of the charges upon the poorest men would be impossible, or, even if possible, too costly and harassing to be prudently enforced, they are always exonerated, yet indirect taxation upon the necessities of life charges the most indigent men. If any just objection in principle applies to an equal taxation of the poorest, the most destitute of men, it is not the Income Tax that is involved—for that exempts them, but it is the whole of the indirect taxes on necessities which must be condemned by it.

But there are moral claims on a man—such as the duty of maintaining his wife and children, and of providing for their future.\* Do these make no difference in the claim of the law to a participation in the fruits of his labour? Manifestly none. These moral claims on him can have no higher character, as against the law, than his own claim. His share in the process of production is the same whether he has such claims on him or not. All obligations, moral or legal, that he incurs are claims on him, not on those who co-operate with him as fellow-labourers, or otherwise, as his fellow-subjects do by means of their common law. It is he, not other men, who is to discharge his family duties, his social obligations. If he takes a wife, and begets children, it is an act of his own, which, however much it adds to his own personal responsibilities, cannot dispense him from other men's just claims upon him. It is his concern to see that he has the means to satisfy such obligations, and to add to his exertions, if necessary, in order to do so: or, if this be not possible, then to abstain from the voluntary acts by which such obligations are incurred. By the mere act of imprudently gratifying himself, he cannot relieve himself from his otherwise just contribution, or cast his burden on others: and any immunity given by him for such purposes, is a disguised pauperism by which the law is provided for him by the common alms of bachelors and spinsters. So far from claiming this as a right, the right is altered in the opposite direction; for, by becoming a head of a family, he has increased his obligations towards the law, by adding to the number of feeble people for whom he requires and has its protection, and for which additional protection he, of all men, is in the first degree justly responsible.

But does not such a moral obligation exist in the case of an indigent father or mother, whom a son certainly has not, by his own act, burdened himself with? Again, No. The obligation

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\* J. S. Mill, *ubi supra*.



only exists where the son is already able to provide for himself, and the possession of this ability implies the aid of the law in its existence and conservation, and his primary obligation to compensate its share in the production of that ability.

And as to the duty of providing for their future welfare, — it is of no higher nature than the duty of providing for their present subsistence. The strict obligation is his, not his fellow-subjects. He is bound to increase his exertions to augment his income (of which always the law is to have its share) for these objects. It is laudable in him to save what he can for the purpose. But if, as many do, with the sanction of the high authority of Mr. John Mill, it be proposed for this purpose to exempt him from any part of his equal share of contribution to the law, and so necessarily to throw so much upon other men, it is demonstrably, *pro tanto*, a contribution by other men to provide for his family, — alms, pauper head-money, again, in the very specious disguise of an encouragement to his thrift and providence.

Thus far as to 'Income,' or the accruing ability, and its liability to taxation, of which it may be further observed, that all these considerations apply equally, whether this 'ability' arises from mere personal exertions.—such as labour, the exercise of an art or profession, or from the use of capital, or in any conceivable way in which the law co-operates to give security to the process and to the appropriation of the proceeds: and again, that the share of contribution should be equal—that is to say, in the same simple arithmetical proportion as the produce — results in all cases from this, that in all parts of the process, in all parts of the result, the operation of the law is equally effective; in other words, there are no discernible or assignable differences that would justify the imposing more or less than a proportional burden on any distinguishable part.

And this is the result: — that whether other kinds of 'ability' exist or not, whether they be taxable or not, at least income or the accruing ability is justly taxable in its whole extent, equally to the maintenance of the law while it so accrues.

We come now to consider of the second of these kinds of disposable means—those, namely, which have accrued previously to the period of taxation, and which produce no contemporaneously accruing means, or 'unproductive property.'\*

For the present purpose we will assume that an income tax,

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\* Second Report. See the evidence of the witnesses indicated in the Table of Contents under the title 'Unproductive Capital.'

such as we have before considered as a just tax on accruing means, has existed for an indefinite time, an assumption which every year that passes brings nearer to a practical truth, — not that it was instituted in 1842 ; for, as to ‘unproductive property’ realised before that date in England or Scotland, some of the following remarks would require modification.

Whatever a man can have, out of his own person, must have been acquired by him at some time or other. There was a time when it was an accruing property to him ; and at that time he would have been, according to the foregoing view, justly taxable upon the whole of its value.\*

The tax was paid for (amongst other things) the security of the acquisition, security in its enjoyment. No other purpose of government exists but security of enjoyment of our various interests ; and when property is specifically in question, and we pay in respect of it, it is the security of its enjoyment in any of its enjoyable ways we pay for, and not for any other thing than the security of its enjoyment.

Having paid his tax — say half the value, or 10s. on his acquired 20s. — he is in just possession of the remaining 10s. to enjoy, to dispose of as he pleases. He chooses still to possess it — that is his selected mode of enjoyment ; and he may do so, for the law which authorised his acquisition authorised his possession, which is only the corporal realisation of his titular acquisition ; and the law which took half of it for securing him in its acquisition implicitly secured him in its possession. It is his to do as he pleases with, so that he does no harm to another. He is not compelled to consume it if he conceives his enjoyment to be greater in preserving it. He is not to be restrained from consuming it if he conceives that his enjoyment is greatest that way. He is not to be prevented from wasting it, throwing it into the sea or the fire if he so pleases, if that is the mode of enjoyment he prefers ; for being made his property by law, all these being acts of property, are determinable at his pleasure ; and the law has no claim on him for any of these, having already had its claim discharged for making it and securing it as his property. To have taxed it as accruing property or as income, and to tax it as remaining the same property, is to tax it twice over for the same thing.

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\* Mr. Hemmings’ pamphlet, which advocates the imposition of a tax equivalent to the Income Tax on all acquisitions, — by inheritance, bequest, gift, or other gainful processes, — to be paid when the acquisition operates as an accruing means, is deserving of an attentive consideration, for which space is wanting here.

Nor is the case changed if he barter his copper so acquired for silver, his silver for gold—it is no new acquisition (unless a profit is made in the transaction, which takes it out of the category of unproductive property.)—it is the same ability exactly that was taxed in its first appearance as income. If his enjoyment of his acquisition is in gloating over it as gold, in contemplating it as a means of future enjoyment or of power, it is still the enjoyment he prefers, and an exercise of proprietary right, secured to him in the security of the property itself.

Nor if he barter it for a picture, a statue, a cabinet of coins, for elegant furniture, however durable it may be, is he less using his just right only of enjoyment, than if he had bartered it for a sight of a dissolving view, or dissipated it in a debauch, or in tar barrels and fireworks, for a *feu de joie*. All these liberties of disposition are implied in the recognition of the acquisition of the property when it was first made as income.

In fine, unproductive property is no ability different from what the income was when it accrued, and was retained instead of consumed. And if it were justly taxed once in that process, it would be double taxation ever to tax it again, because the owner elected a more lengthened enjoyment, rather than a more fleeting enjoyment of his acquisition.

And to tax it would be confiscation of the very property which, as income, the law affected to secure, or a double taxation of some other income; for, producing no new ‘ability,’ the tax on it could only be paid by giving up a part of the property itself, or paying it out of some income by the supposition already taxed once on its own account. A man hoards his gold—say 100*l.*—it is unproductive capital, which has paid Income Tax on its acquisition. Tax it now, as such unproductive capital, at what rate you will; for example, say at 50 per cent.; the first year it will be reduced to 50*l.*, the next to 25*l.*, the next to 12*l.* 10*s.*; and it must, sooner or later, be confiscated into the Exchequer, all but an insignificant and constantly decreasing residuum. It makes no difference to say that the owner may pay the tax on his hoards, his pictures, his furniture, out of his income accruing otherwise, and need not part with the unproductive property in kind; for this is, in fact, to make his income bear not only its own tax, but the tax on the unproductive property as well. In any way to tax unproductive property is not to tax ‘ability,’ but to destroy ability; and is to tax either the original income, the ‘ability,’ twice over, or the subsequent income or ‘ability’ twice over.

The first institution of an Income Tax, as indeed of every tax, produces disturbances that no device can remedy or com-

pensate for. Thus, as to unproductive property acquired in England or Scotland before 1842, the year of the re-imposition of the Income Tax, such property never had been taxed as income, and so escaped all taxation under the Income Tax; and supposing that all our taxation was raised by an Income Tax, these incomes would have been protected and not have contributed. Still they could not justly be taxed now under an Income Tax on these two accounts: first, that they would have been taxable ability some time before 1842; say, for an average, in 1832; and to tax them in 1842, would have been to take for 1842 and retroactively the resources of another time; but more particularly on this account, that before the imposition of the Income Tax, other equivalent taxes purchasing the like protections had been levied, and the owners having paid to those taxes when they made their acquisition of these unproductive objects, had in effect, or virtually, paid the Income Tax of that time.

And now we may consider the third head of taxable ability, founded on the title to or expectation of disposable means to accrue subsequently to the period of taxation—say of *incomes in expectancy*,—the subject on which it is by some proposed to lay a ‘Property Tax.’

For those who advocate a ‘Property Tax’ do not pretend to use the same language as other men. Men are generally agreed to call by the name of ‘Property’ those external objects of value which can be appropriated to a man—by operation of law, made *his own, propria*. But the advocates of a ‘Property Tax,’ admitting the liability of those persons whose ‘ability’ arises only from their personal exertions in their labour, their skill, their accomplishments, their genius, have, in order to include all incomes derived from such qualities, acquirements, and exertions, declared that these are, one and all, ‘property.’\*

We prefer, to such violence of language, to describe the revenues of individuals from such sources, simply as *income*,—*accruing*, which we have disposed of; and *in expectancy*, which, with the expectancies from productive property, rents, dividends, and the like, we have now to consider.

We have seen some of the grounds for maintaining that an ‘income tax,’ or a permanent tax on contemporaneously accruing ‘ability,’ is just, and that it is proportionably accommodated both to the benefit in ‘ability’ the subject derives from the

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\* See extracts from Mr. Farr’s evidence, *infra*.

State, and also to the action of the State itself in securing that benefit to him.

If such an income tax is to be a permanent tax on all the income that contemporaneously accrues, it must equally affect all income when it becomes income, in the hands of him to whom that income is an 'ability.' Where there is no income there is no income tax; where there is little there is little tax; where there is much there is much tax; where it varies in amount, the tax varies in amount; if it falls short of expectation, the tax falls short exactly to the same amount and at the same time—that is, when remission will be most needed; if it exceeds expectation, the tax will increase in exact proportion, just when it can be best afforded; i. e. all expectation, rational or irrational, is frustrated, the State's expectation of revenue from the tax is affected in exactly the same way.

But here chiefly arises the matter of the debate between the advocates for an 'Income Tax' and the advocates for a 'Property Tax.'

It is obvious that when it is proposed to divide between two classes of men a given burden, all that is to be imposed on the one class, is not to be imposed on the other; or, in other words, if there be any deviation from equality, what the one class is relieved from must be imposed on the other. Those who object to an equal Income Tax and propose a Property Tax instead, commonly state their view, as if they only contemplated the relief of income, the mere innocent reduction of the rate of taxation on temporary and precarious income. The indisputable effect, the real purpose, sometimes avowed, sometimes not, is to increase the burden on permanent and certain income. Now it may be found very conducive to clearness, without altering the material effect, if we assume one year's 'income' as the unit of taxation, instead of a perpetual series of years, as the actuaries do, and if we describe the differences which it is proposed to make between incomes, as additions to be made to the more permanent incomes, instead of as subtractions to be made from the less permanent.

It is said then, that a man having secured one year's income, and having no certain or probable prospect of making another, and being rated at 7*d.* in the pound on the amount, is unjustly taxed in comparison with another, who having made the same income and paid the same tax is certain or has a reasonable expectation of making the like income next year, or for a longer series of years. It is said that this certainty, or this reasonable expectation, constitutes an improved condition, a greater 'ability' to bear taxation, a greater property to be protected by the State,

and that the expectant should be taxed, not only during all the time that he receives the income at 7*d.* in the pound as the present Income Tax does, but also at a higher ratio in consideration of the expectancy or certainty, and proportionate to the number of years of prospective enjoyment.

Thus, to take the illustrations of Mr. John Hill Williams before the Committee\*:—

—A man with an annuity of 1*l.* to last 1 year, would pay one 7*d.* only, or at the rate of a little less than three per cent. on his whole income, just as he and all others liable to the Income Tax do now.†—

—A man with 1*l.* a year from a profession with an estimated prospect of a continuance of the income for 3½ years, would not, as now, pay 7*d.* in the pound in each of these 3½ years, but 3½ times 7*d.*, or 2*s.* 0½*d.* in the pound in each year, or in the time assumed 3½ times 3½ times 7*d.*; and at the end of the 3½ years will have, instead of 1*s.* 9*d.* on his 3*l.* of income received, have paid, because of his expectations, 7*s.* 1½*d.*, or instead of less than 3 per cent. on his annual ability, and on the whole of his income actually received, he will pay at the rate of more than 10 per cent.‡—

—Another man with 1*l.* a year from a profession, with an estimated prospect of a continuance of the income for 7 years, would not pay, as now, 7*d.* in the pound in each of these 7 years, but he would have to pay 7 times 7*d.*, 4*s.* 1*d.*, in the pound in each year, and at the end of the 7 years he will, instead of 4*s.* 1*d.*, as now, have paid 7 times as much, or 1*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.*, or instead of less than 3 per cent. on his annual ability, he will have paid on account of his expectations 20 per cent. on his annual ability, and on the whole of his actual receipts.§—

—Again, another man with 1*l.* a year, an annuity certain for 16 years, estimated as of a value of 12½ years, will pay, not 7*d.* a year, as now, in each of these 16 years, but 12½ times 7*d.* or

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\* Questions 3300, 3301, 3304, 3313, 3416, 3459. It is to be observed that in taking one actuary's example we only take an illustration of a 'principle' upon which the whole body of the actuaries are represented by themselves as having deliberated and agreed before they individually came up to give evidence. See Mr. Farr's remarks, 2d Report, 5021, 5026.; and Mr. Samuel Brown's earlier remarks, 3921—2. All their illustrations involve, as their principle does, exactly the same results, as do Mr. Hume's (cited in the note \*, p. 567.) so far as they do. All may be reduced to the same figures as those given in the text.

† 2d. Report, questions 3416, 3459.

‡ *Ib.* question 3313.

§ *Ib.* question 3304.

12s. 6d. in the first year, and a lesser sum each year as the annuity is reduced to 15, 14, 13 years, &c.; so that at the end of 16 years, as now, instead of 16 times 7d., or 9s. 4d., he will have paid more than 114 times 7d., or 3l. 6s. 10d., on 16l. annuity, or, instead of less than 3 per cent. on all his ability, as now, he will have paid more than 21 per cent.\*

Another man having a permanent annual income of 1l. a year from freehold land or Government funds, is considered to have a certainty equal to 33 years and 4 months; he, instead of 7d. in the pound for ever, is to pay 19s. 6d. in the pound for ever, or, instead of less than 3 per cent. on his annual ability, he is to pay at the rate of above  $97\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on his annual and total ability for ever.†

The now too happy recipients of rents and dividends in perpetuity shall, under the reformed 'Property Tax,' have hereafter, as a favour, — for it will be a fraction beyond their strict due, one sixpenny-piece, for every sovereign they now draw! A hundred pounds a year in consols, which, in their ignorant and short-sighted preference for 'perpetuity' or 'certainty' of revenue, unknowing that henceforth both these qualities are to mean 'perpetual and certain confiscation and beggary,' they may have purchased for 3333l. of hard money, shall, when the Bank has deducted the 'Property Tax,' yield them 2l. 4s. 5½d. My Lord Duke, now enjoying his 100,000l. a year in gross from 100,000 acres, shall then receive from his tenants, who have paid his 'Property Tax,' just 2,222l. 4s. 5d., out of which he may provide for his land-tax, his tithe-rent-charge, his repairs, pay his noble dowager mother her portion, and his brothers and sisters their charges. A 'Property Tax' will be a fine lesson to him in our popular doctrine of Equality.

Such a result is so startling, that it is not to be believed that any one man, still less that the whole body of the actuaries heard before the Committee, and, as they lead us to believe, their whole body absent and present, would propose and indorse any such proposition. The plan of confiscation, as here presented, seems almost too extravagant to be entertained by the wildest leveller.

Nor have the actuaries, and those who have adopted their views, ventured so to present it. They have taken a more innocent-seeming and popularity-engaging course, and have presented their plan in a mode of statement which has effectually veiled its monstrous character. They have adopted a reversed mode of statement, taking 7d. in the pound, not as a minimum

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\* 2d Report, question 3301.

† *Id.*, question 3300.

but as their maximum rate, and, having made that the rate for charging any perpetuity of the estimated value of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years, they seem to be proposing in a 'Property Tax' nothing so very hard by the landowner, freeholder, or other owner of a perpetuity, inasmuch as he is, in fact, now taxed at that same rate by the existing 'Income Tax;' and their subsequent course is smooth—is truly delightful, nothing else, indeed, but alleviation of the burden on the less fortunate men who have less 'permanent' and 'certain' interests, reducing their rates of tax for the annuity certain for 16 years from  $7d.$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  in the pound, for the income estimated as of seven years' duration from  $7d.$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  in the pound, for that estimated as of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years' from  $7d.$  to  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  in the pound, and for the annuity of 1 year from  $7d.$  one-fifth of a penny in the pound.\*

We have merely dealt with their own chosen cases, and their own estimates and figures, beginning, however, our statement with the one year's annuity as charged at the now familiar  $7d.$  in the pound, instead of the 'beautifully less' one-fifth of a penny, and have proceeded to ascertain what the charge would be on the other incomes calculated on that proportion of  $7d.$  in the pound on the annuity for one year. For this reason, too, in order to lift the disguise under which the whole proposal is covered, the mode of statement is here changed, as before mentioned, using the language—which is really the language natural and appropriate to the actuaries' plan—expressive of addition to the lowest term instead of subtraction, as they do from the highest; multiplication of the lowest term where they use division of the highest, the whole effect being mathematically iden-

\* It is, after all explanation, hard to believe that the effect of the actuaries' proposal is as rendered above, and it is therefore desirable that the very figures given by Mr. Williams in exemplification of their views should be displayed. They are here collected together, with references to the numbers of the questions in answer to which are given such of his details as he thinks fit to develop.

A. (3300.) enjoying a perpetuity estimated at 33.3 yrs.  $1000l. \times 33.3$  yrs. will pay 29l. 3s. 4d.  $\times 33.3 = 971l.$  or 2l. 18s.  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ , or less than 3 per cent.

B. (3301.) annuity of 16 yrs. estimated at  $12\frac{1}{2}$  yrs. and of course decreasing yearly,  $1000l. \times 16r$  would pay = 100l. 6s. 3d. or 12s. 5d. or  $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent., or, in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of A.'s rate.

C. (3304) professional income estimated at 7 yrs.  $1000l. \times 7$  would pay 6l. 2s. 6d.  $\times 7 = 43l.$  or 10s.  $10\frac{1}{2}d.$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., or, in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{7}$ th of A.'s rate.

C. (3313.) professional income without 'good will' estimated at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yrs.  $1000l. \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  would pay 3l. 1s. 3d.  $\times 3\frac{1}{2} = 11l.$  or, 6s.  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$  or less than  $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent., or, in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of A.'s rate.

D. (3446.) (3459.) annuity of 1 year, estimated at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yrs.  $1000l. \times 1$  would pay 17l. 6s.  $\times 1 = 17s.$  6d. or 1s. 9d. or less than  $\frac{1}{11}$  per cent., or, in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{11}$ rd of A.'s rate.



tical in the one expression and in the other, with the advantage, however, in our statement, of something like practical quantities being spoken of, and such as may aid a practical appreciation of the proposal.

The simple and effectual way to deal with all these proposals of a 'Property Tax' on 'capitalised income' is the same, — to put in their lowest rate some sum that would produce a tax worth collecting — 7*d.* or 1*s.* in the pound, instead as they do one-fifth of a penny, or some such intangible worthless amount, — and it will always appear, that 7*d.* in the pound on an income of one year's value is confiscation of the whole income and principal of a perpetuity; that a tax of 1*s.* in the pound — a tax quite on their principles within the range of probability — would require the owner of a fee simple, or of consols, to pay 33*s.* 4*d.* in tax for every 20*s.* of rent or dividend that he received.

But the actuaries may object to our mode of statement, commencing with a minimum of 7*d.* in the pound, that it is a practical exaggeration, inasmuch as, confiscating all rents, all national dividends, its effect would be to raise a much greater amount of taxation than we now require for all the present purposes of Government\*, and so would never be carried experimentally to that length.

The reply might be confined to this, that if their plan requires, in order to retain its plausibility, such theoretical atoms as one-fifth of a penny in the pound for its lowest unit, and will not endure the test of taking existing practical rates for its elements at one end of the scale as well as at the other, their plan is self-condemned. If at any assumed rate their plan involves, as a necessity to itself, at one end insensible taxation — taxation impossible from its minuteness, or, at the other end, taxation which, by its extravagance, is confiscation, it is manifest that it is wholly impracticable as a just system of taxation.

Besides, their plea in extenuation that confiscation of all permanent rents and dividends would raise more revenue than is now required, and therefore cannot be contemplated, has little in it. If all Schedule A. could, on their own principles, be taxed as 'constant and permanent' — which it could not, — and all Schedule C. — which could still less, — those two schedules, comprising all the rents and all the dividends, would by absolute confiscation yield but

A. 94,840,000

C. 26,044,000

£120,884,000 a year;

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\* See Mr. Farr's Answer, 2d. Report, 4938.

or about twice our present national income. There would surely be nothing very embarrassing in such a revenue to gentlemen who could carry a 'property tax' at all. It would be easy to the enlightened financiers who abound amongst them to find pleasant ways for spending the surplus sixty millions, if it were any thing like so much, amongst the 'oppressed' and 'ill-treated' multitude now so overcharged in Schedule D. Besides, all the present local taxes are liable to all their objections to the present Income Tax: and surely roads, drainage, local improvements, justice to the poor man, and a few obvious developments of the objects of local taxation, might very easily dispose of the residue. But, supposing that they moderately abstained, and only raised our present sixty millions, only confiscated 10s. in pound of A.'s and C.'s 'certainty,' taxing D., then, at 3d. in the pound, it would not so very much soften the confiscatory character of their 'Property Tax.'

But there is this, further, to be observed in their plan, and the figures which they have selected for its exemplification. Taking these figures, as they put them forth as intended for practical adoption, they involve a still more insidious danger. Schedules A., C., E. suffer a levy of the Income Tax in a manner from which they cannot escape, as the tax is taken out of rents, dividends, and official salaries before the income reaches its recipient; the tax is levied even more certainly than the income is received, and commonly involves no costly preliminaries or accompaniments of returns, assessments, appeals, or the like, and allows of no evasions. The tax on 'permanent and certain income' under these schedules is the most certainly and the most cheaply levied of all, and is proportionably the most productive part of the tax. Now let us imagine the effect of a 'Property Tax' levying thirty-three times as much off these schedules as off temporary and precarious incomes in Schedule D. for every fifth of a penny off D., seven pence off A., C., and E. Would this fifth of a penny in the pound much tempt the Chancellor of the Exchequer? would it when collected pay the cost of collection, returns, assessments, appeals, and all? Would 150 such sums, making altogether 2s. 6d., be worth collecting—in the manner in which it must be collected—off the recipient of an uncertain 150*l.* a year?

Would any income, even of the supposed average of all incomes exceeding 150*l.*, say of 551*l.*\*, at this rate paying a

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\* See Mr. Farr's Estimate in 2d Report, 4862.

yearly tax of 9s. 2½d. at all remunerate the cost of the operation and machinery of collection. If not — and experience (the result of which, however, we cannot now wait to display,) proves that it would not — it is evident that the tax on all such incomes below the mean income of 551*l.* a year, would and must be, on every sound principle of policy, abandoned. Here is at once an exemption of more than one half of all this kind of income in the country, now liable to the tax, besides what is now exempted as being under 150*l.* a year. Well done ye actuaries, good and faithful servants of Schedule D., you have turned your ‘eminent mathematical talent’ to rare account. But what sum, on your principles — on your own figures — would pay for its levy? Let us suppose that the present tax of 7*d.* in the pound on 150*l.* a year pays its incidental expenses with sufficient overplus to make it prudent to levy it. It raises 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* a year. What income, valued at one year’s purchase, would pay the same amount of 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*? An income of 5250*l.* So all incomes below that would be for unprofitableness practically untaxable. The result is obviously this, that this class of ‘temporary and precarious incomes’ would be wholly beyond the reach of taxation.

Thus does the plan of a ‘Property Tax’ not only confiscate ‘property,’ but exonerate ‘income.’ Such is the revolution which the actuaries develop, even in their own selected figures, in all our present views of property, by which ‘certainty’ and ‘permanency’ of income, for which hitherto all mankind have paid their full market value in purse or person, shall be made only ‘certain and permanent spoil,’ and temporariness and precariousness shall be converted into a perpetual and certain privilege of exemption.

It is not satisfactory to display thus practically a mystification, which has been put forward by some of the most eminent men in their profession, and has obtained the approval of the greater part of the press, and of a large portion of all who think, write, or talk upon the subject. It does not leave the mind in a satisfactory state, unless the generation of such a delusion is accounted for; and this must be now attempted, rapidly, as our remaining space pre-emptorily requires.

For the advocates of the Property Tax have, for these posterous results, a supposed theoretical justification, which they put forward on all occasions, and is the cloud of dust under cover of which they make and mask their charge.

It is this :—

‘Every man ought to be taxed in proportion to his means or property.’\*

His property consists not in his income alone, but in all that pro-

\* 4894. The theory is taken by preference from its latest enunciation, that by Mr. Farr, made after all the other actuaries had been heard and examined, and their views sifted and discussed for some months. This fact, and Mr. Farr’s reputation amongst them, and the acknowledged agreement (5021. 5026.) of the actuaries in these their ‘essential principles,’ enables us to present their own statement as being a *résumé* of their complete views, the expression of which will be found extended through the evidence of the whole of the actuaries in the second Report. Mr. Hume’s draft report, ib. p. xxv., states the effect of their doctrine, which he adopts more summarily, thus:—‘It appears evident to your Committee, that to be equitable, the tax should every year be levied on the value of the property, labour, and skill being the property of large classes of the country; and that each person having more than a minimum amount of income, should contribute in proportion to the share of that value in his possession. The tax would thus become in the strict sense of the word, a Property tax, and each person would be taxed in proportion to his ability; which is measured more accurately, and expressed more clearly by the value of the property in his possession under the protection of the State, than by any other standard.

‘The value of the property of each person is best determined by the sale value of his interest in real and personal estate; and by the capitalised value of his income derived from skill and industry. The quota on which he would thus be assessed, would be the nearest approximation to the price for which his estate would sell, or to the value of which he would be deprived by its loss and the loss of his industrial income.

‘Various examples of assessments of this kind have been submitted to your Committee by the several witnesses, from which the following have been selected:—

	Assessed Value.
‘ A. has 1,000 <i>l.</i> a year in Long Annuities - - -	‘ £ 6,875
‘ B. has 1,000 <i>l.</i> a year in Consols, at par - - -	‘ 33,333
‘ C. has 1,000 <i>l.</i> a year from land, worth 30 years’ purchase - - - - -	‘ 30,000
‘ D. has 1,000 <i>l.</i> a year from land during his life - -	‘ 16,667
‘ E. has the reversion of rents of 1,000 <i>l.</i> a year after the death of D. - - - - -	‘ 16,666
‘ F. has houses returning in current rents 1,000 <i>l.</i> a year - -	‘ 16,000

‘ These values serve to represent the sums for which such annuities, rents, securities, and estates, which are all designated Property, would sell; and they also express the extent of loss against which the holders are protected by the laws and institutions of the country. Your Committee repeat, that they know of no more accurate indication of the ability of the respective proprietors to pay the tax, than is furnished by the values of their respective properties.’

duces that income: 'His skill and industry alone, which enable him 'to earn an annual rent for his services, is property in the most 'essential sense of the word.'\* 'All the sources of incomes derived 'from professions are property: a *prima donna* is as much property 'as the theatre in which she sings.'†

'The revenue of a person in a year by no means expresses either 'his ability or his duty to bear the burdens of the State.'‡ 'The ability 'is most strictly expressed by the amount of property possessed by 'each individual in the State; § 'the power to produce and dispose of 'property; ¶ including *the present value* of all the income which a 'man possesses, as well as the value of all his estates and goods.'¶¶

'No more just rule can be laid down than that each person should 'contribute in proportion to the property possessed by him during the 'year;\*\*\* 'thus, while A. receives an income from an estate he holds in 'fee, and B. receives an income from property that he holds for life; 'these two parties, I conceive, ought not to be taxed equally: I 'should tax them in proportion to the present value of their incomes. 'The present value of an annuity upon a man's life varies with his 'age. I will take the age of B. at 40; the present value of the annuity at that age would be about 16½ years' purchase; therefore '1,000*l.* a year, possessed by that man, would be only worth 16,669*l.* 'while the income of A., enjoyed in perpetuity, would be worth '33,333*l.*†† A. might immediately, if he chose, convert his property 'in fee simple into a source of enjoyment by selling the property for '33,333*l.*, and getting double the life annuity he now enjoys.'‡‡ 'I 'conceive this is strictly taxing the property, because he who has 'an estate worth 1,000 a year in perpetuity, is worth 33,333*l.*; de- 'prive him of his property, and he is deprived of 33,333*l.*' §§

'Property ought to be taxed in consideration of the protection 'afforded by the State.' ||| If a man had 100*l.* a year for one year, 'it is evident that he would not have so much property under 'the protection of the State as a man with 100*l.* a year for 10, or '20, or 100 years; the first man, if deprived of the title to his prop- 'erty, would be deprived only of 100*l.*; but the other man would be 'deprived of 20 times, or 100 times 100*l.*; and, therefore, the only 'fair way of dealing with these men, is to assess them on the present 'value of their whole income.'¶¶¶ 'A man receiving 100*l.* for a year 'from a variable source, has only the amount of that year's interest 'to protect, whilst a man who receives 100*l.* a year for life ought 'to pay in proportion to the State which protects his property.' 'Let the country be invaded, as for instance this country was at the 'time of the Conquest, or as India has been; that may deprive not 'only the present possessor, but the reversioner, of the whole amount

\* 4897.

† 4898.

‡ 4892.

\*\* 4897.

†† 4914.

‡‡ 4918.

† 4928. 4912.

§ 4899.

¶ 4900.

†† 4094.

§§ 4915.

¶¶ 4919.

‘of his property.’\* ‘If the country is invaded and the property is confiscated, the man with a property returning 100*L.* for one year will lose 100*L.*, and the man with a property returning 100*L.* for every year of 10 years will lose 1000*L.*, to tax each of them at 3*L.* would be manifestly unjust.’†

‘I certainly consider that if the two parties A. and B. were taxed upon these respective terms, they would be paying in proportion to the extent of interest protected by the State: that is shown very strikingly by assuming that they are both deprived of the protection of the State, and that, consequently, both lose their property by invasion or any other cause; it is quite evident that the person in possession of the life estate would lose 16,669*L.*, and that the other would lose 33,333*L.*’‡

‘I would capitalise the income derived from landed property, and I would capitalise the income derived from variable property, according to the values of the day, and I would tax them in proportion, so much per 1000*L.*, on the value of the property or of the income.’§

‘I think in that case the tax would be a just tax, and that every person of common sense in the country would be of the same opinion.’||

‘I would value annuities, whether from trades or professions, on the same principle, but at a different rate of interest.’¶

‘I would apply the same rule to incomes dependent upon health or business; introducing the additional risk of the person dying or being disabled.’\*\*

‘I mean to include unproductive property, because I conceive all that property to be under the protection of the Government.’††

‘The income of the year (*national revenue*?) should not necessarily be paid out of the produce of the year, or out of the revenues of the year; but in any case it ought to be paid by the persons possessing that produce; not in proportion to the amount produced in that year, but in proportion to the value of their share in the produce of that year and of all future years.’‡‡

‘In the quality of perfect justice no other tax approaches a Property Tax.’§§

Such is the theory of a Property Tax expounded to us by the actuaries, who have been put forward, nothing loath, by its advocates as men the most conversant of any with the values of incomes and property, and the most competent of all men, by their mathematical and professional accomplishments, to estimate their taxable ability and liability, and therefore qualified to propound to us the true principles and to make manifest to us the arcanum of finance and justice hitherto concealed from us,

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\* 4920.

† 4905.

‡ 4909.

\*\* 4924.

†† 4937.

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† 4921.

§ 4908.

¶ 4911.

†† 4984.

§§ 5027.

because, apparently, statesmen, chancellors of the exchequer, 'philosophers and mathematicians,' have not studied the subject in life insurance offices.

Those who buy and sell commodities, or act as appraisers of their selling value,—as actuaries commonly do—of annuities, or payments for shorter or longer terms,—commonly know one thing, at least, about their commodities; that is, their value in exchange, their value for sale. They know the fair price, the cheap price, and the dear price; and, as they know this, are excellent advisers in the process of buying or selling. But it by no means follows, nor is it found in practice, that the salesman, the broker, or the appraiser, who so well knows the commercial value of an object, is equally well acquainted with the nature, the properties, the excellences, and capabilities of the commodity, as those other persons are who produce it, who develop it, who consume it, who use it, who enjoy it, who have, in fact, everything else to do with the commodity except to ascertain its selling price.

It is, however, a common delusion of self-love, and a common delusion of disinterested opinion too, that he who knows the price of a thing knows all that is essential about it. The actuaries in the present case, and no small portion of the public besides, hold the opinion that, knowing the sale price of a given yearly sum, the actuaries know exactly what the recipient of that sum ought to pay for Government. A salesman at Smithfield, a first-rate judge of the price of beef, would as reasonably pretend to fix a tariff of prices which the consumers of beef shall give for all other commodities, as that a valuer of annuities for sale or purchase should, as such, claim superior authority to decide what sums all classes of recipients or non-recipients of income shall pay to Government for preventing our being robbed, beaten, cheated, or the like.

For the value of our incomes for sale has simply nothing to do with the matter.

And we have two very 'heavy' volumes of evidence on 'the Property and Income Tax' which, so far as concerns the appraisement by actuaries of the saleable value of income (and this is the one datum that involved all the rest of the process), is as entirely and absolutely beside the question as if the evidence had all been taken in reference to the last new planet.

The 'Property' taxpayer's elements are these. 'All a man's income, present and prospective, is his property. His property is his means. If he were to lose all his property he would lose both the present and the future enjoyment of it. The State protects him from this loss. He ought to pay to the State according to its protection. Therefore he ought to pay *at*

‘*present* for both the protection of *the present* and the protection of *the future* enjoyment of his property.’

The inconsequential character of the inference is so apparent, that it is only to be accounted for on the principle that too much learning in one way causes madness in another, — too much of the practice of valuing annuities at their present saleable value, has made the actuaries forget two essential things, — that the present value of it for sale is not the income itself, nor its capabilities for taxation or for any other single purpose but for sale, and — that the present protection by Government in the current year is not all that Government provides, nor that a continuing income has to pay for.

Though it is a probable contingency, that brokers and actuaries, perhaps, naturally look on as its proper destination, that the title to property is to be sold, that the interest in a prospective income is to be assigned away; this is not the true utilitarian, moral, or economical use of such property. On the contrary, it is commonly the most lamentable fact in its history that it is to be sold or assigned away. Nor is it the sale or the sale price that makes the fund for taxation. On the contrary, it is the enjoyment — the continuity of the enjoyment and use — that makes the benefit, the continuing means, the continuing ‘ability’ to be taxed.

The principles of public and of private economy are in every respect the same. What is ruinous in domestic husbandry has never been found to be profitable or just in statesmanship. What a good man, a wise man, has to do, is to retain his property or his income, to enjoy it in moderation, and improve it prudently. It is a rule, too, of economy, both domestic and national, that the wants of the day should, as far as possible, be satisfied by provision made beforehand, and not by a consumption by anticipation of next year’s means, and still less by anticipation of the whole means of a man’s whole life. He who acts on any other plan in his expenditure than the first is a spend-thrift, and will soon have the profligate’s experience of what his property is worth to sell. Indeed, his first step would be the sale. For if any man should regulate his expenditure for other things by the rule recommended for the Property Tax — if, say an actuary, having three years of expectancy of a professional income, should think of carrying out in his domestic arrangements the rule of expenditure which he has laid down for his and all people’s expenditure in the article of Government, namely, that he should pay his expenses, ‘not out of the produce of the year, or out of the revenues of the year, but in proportion to the value of his share in the produce of



‘that year, and of all future years,’\* and should accordingly pay for house rent every year  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times as much as a single year’s income would justify, for bread, butcher’s meat, clothing, service, and all his other requirements, in the same proportion; it is very clear that he would simply be a beggar at the end of the first year for the next two years and a half,—that is, for all the rest of the time during which by the hypothesis he is to have any income. If a proprietor of consols, an owner of land, or aught else, being impressed with his friend the actuary’s admiration of the ‘perfect justice’ of the Property Tax, should adopt also his view of the rule of public economy, and carry it out into practice in his domestic economy, he would, if he had a life interest, make himself in the first year destitute for life, which is long enough; or, if he was owner of the perpetuity, he would clearly expend the value of his property for ever, in this one year.

Unfortunately there are some spendthrift lords of the land and permanent annuitants, and there may be possibly a fast actuary, who in practice, and quite unconscious of the ‘perfect justice’ of their conduct, do expend some of the ‘produce of future years’ in the enjoyments of this. But even these, whom men call prodigals, and actuaries no doubt call doers of perfect justice, would scarcely allow their bakers to charge say one loaf to-day as thirty-three loaves to the landlord, and as three-and-a-half loaves to the actuary, and they would be likely to insist on paying for one loaf as one loaf, just as other men desire to do with Government,—pay for one year’s protection as the protection of one year.

Why the rule of expenditure, which would be madness in any man in his domestic economy, is to be imposed on him as to his public economy, is now to be seen.

Is the Government then an exception; is this one of the commodities or muniments of man’s life or property that ought to be provided for by any other than the realised means of the time? or is the expectation or certainty of next year’s produce or income a present ‘means’ for the provision of Government? Should a field be protected by law this year by the expenditure of the anticipated value of next year’s, or the next hundred years’ crops—should a lawyer or a *prima donna*’s protection this year be paid for by expenditure of his or her salary expected next year, or the next three years and a half, or throughout

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\* Mr. Farr’s statement of the actuaries’ principle. Second Report (4937.).

whatever is the term of years estimated as that of their probable receipt of professional income? If so, what is it that would make such expenditure the height of folly in all other cases, 'justice' and 'common sense,' when exercised for Government?

Government is, as the advocates of a Property Tax incessantly tell us, the protector of all a man's property—of every man's property. It is true, and they might also add, of all a man's other interests; but that further fact would not serve the purpose of making it appear that property, and all property, and property alone, is to pay the cost of Government, and to be the test and measure of liability to taxation. However, let it stand that Government is the protector of property, — and that property ought to contribute proportionally.

Then what is THE PROPORTION? Here is the very simple question which these persons, so mathematical as they are, persist in overlooking or misrepresenting. A proportion has at least four terms. In this case the simple terms always are: — As property is to protection, so is one month's income to one month's protection, or one year's income to one year's protection, and so on.

Property, or any other interest, can but be protected according to its nature. Government can only do what mortal men can do: it can only protect what is in being, while itself is in being. Property may be transient or permanent, it may be perishable property, or property in durable metals or precious stones, or an indestructible field.

And government, the law, and its administration,—is that an abstraction, or is it a practical arrangement of which we know the nature and action? Government is simply a practical arrangement, which we daily carry on by personal agencies, modifying it at our will, now making it more, now less efficient, now adding hands and making it more costly and perhaps not more efficient,—now withdrawing them and making it cheaper, and it may be better or worse. It is a personal machinery, the cost of which we can regulate at pleasure, having as much or as little of it and its operation, its 'protection,' as the holders of the purse strings choose. Its cost, the whole object of taxation, can be and indeed always is ascertained for every year, and if we please to be so curiously speculative, we have but to work a few sums in division, by divisors of 12, or 52, or 365, to know its cost in every month, and every week, and every day, nay every hour, minute, or second.

What then is Government, but a regimented complement of men, doing certain prescribed work, or work 'discretionary

within certain limits, from hour to hour, from day to day, from year to year? The cost of it is the cost of doing this same work in the same hours, days, and years. And taxation, whether levied incessantly as Customs, and Excise, and some other duties are, or periodically, as others are, is but the contribution, more compulsory it is true than voluntary, more unpleasant as all paying is than the receipt of the purchased benefit, but necessary to pay this cost.

And as to income and property, what can Government do but from time to time protect such as is at the time actually *in esse*. If I have perishable fruit, that will rot by to-morrow, I and no other man, and no government can protect me in its enjoyment, but by giving me present protection while it exists capable of being destroyed or abstracted. An immemorial common law, a stringent statute of Edward III., a decision last year of Her Majesty's Bench, will do nothing for me, unless at this instant there is the constable, the judge, the sheriff, and, if need be, the last resource the military force, the things that cost money and necessitate taxation, ready and available to me here and now. And if I have a field, what will protect it? Not my title assuredly, though it be by gift direct from the nation itself, Blenheim or Strathfieldsaye. My title, my right, the allowance of my right, now or for next year or to all eternity, costs the nation nothing. And it avails me nothing if the State does not all the time that my title ensures keep up that really costly arrangement of constables, judges, sheriffs, and the rest, necessary for my protection whenever I am threatened or attacked. This, but not my title, will cost money just as long as the force is kept up. This expense must be incurred so long as I want the protection, and I may justly be called on to pay for it by the day, the month, or the year, as I want it, as it is in fact provided, and as it is in fact paid for.

Government is not titles, is not rights, it is not the enunciation, promulgation, definition of their nature, limitations, or incidents. Government does not give these titles. Government is the corporal, human, eating, drinking, dressing, locomotive, active, consuming, costly, force of living men, in various ranks and orders of service, who each and every day stand in readiness to protect the enjoyment of the objects of these rights, of these titles, as it finds them already defined,—to deter and repel aggression threatened or made upon them, to redress injury to them, and to execute justice on the aggressors.

But, say the advocates of the 'property tax,' a permanent yearly income has a value greater than an income for one year, as 33·3 to 1,—is saleable at a price in that proportion, and this

price, this value, which a man may obtain when he pleases, which is a means he may avail himself of when he chooses,—this value, this property, the State protects, and he ought to pay accordingly 33·3 times the tax he would pay on an income of only one year's duration.

True again, but with this qualification. The State protects it, but not all this year. The State, as we see it this year, will, we expect, be much the same next year; and we, calling similar things by the same common name, call the state of this year and the state of next year, and of the year and years after that for ever, by the same name—for it has a principle of continuity in it, as lesser bodies politic have. And we expect that what the human instruments employed in Government last year, did last year, that what they and their successors this year do this year, they and their successors next year and the next year again, as far forward as we care to speculate, will do for as long a period as we concern ourselves about. And if these instruments of Government act next year they will be provided for by the 'ways and means,' and if they do not, we will do our best to cut off their supplies there and then.

Now, having the expectation that Government will in future operate as it has done hitherto—proved by experience to be in the main a reasonable expectation: we may act upon it accordingly—we should be absurd if we did not. Therefore, we accumulate, we improve, we earn, we purchase permanent goods, and estates, not with any notion that we are to have all the protection we require to the whole of our acquisitions from the Government of the current year. We know that we shall want the protection every year, one year as much as another; and unless we were assured that we should have its protection next year and thenceforward, we should have a very different estimation of such acquisitions.

In fact it is the continuing Government that gives the continuous value: it is the trust in next year's Government that gives a value to next year's expectancy: it is a belief that there will be a Government while I live, that gives a value to an annuity for my life; it is the confidence that there will be a subsisting costly, but effective Government in the next generation that gives value to a reversion; it is the same confidence in the continuous succession of Governments in every year that gives a value to a perpetual annuity or a permanent property.

But all this expectation—all this value, resulting from it, is not due to this year's Government, to its services, rendered to me in this year, or to be rendered this year to the purchaser of my interests. If I offered for sale a *permanent title*, as to 4 per

cent. Baratarian stock, of which the dividends payable this year were already in the Bank coffers, but as to which it was known that the enemies of Barataria were on their march, who would take order that no more dividends were ever paid after this year, it is clear that I should not get a better price than 4*l.*, the year's produce, for my title to 100*l.* of permanent national Baratarian stock. Put the danger of a justitium a few years further off, my expectation is enlarged to the probable term of those few years, my stock has in this proportion a higher price; but its value will be estimated, not by what this year's Government will do for it, but by what all successive Governments will, each in their successive days and years, do for it.

So of all property. The value of the expectancy beyond the day or the year is due, not to what we expect or shall experience from the government of the day or the year, but from what we expect to experience from all the Governments that will subsist subsequently to this day or year.

Hence it is that however good a temporary Government may be—however devoted to the maintenance of right and order—it can give no assurance of permanent value, it cannot enable expectancies of property to fetch a high price, if there be not a firm confidence in its being succeeded by equally trustworthy governments.

We come then to this, that the value of expectancies is due to the subsistence of Government—of law: but that it is not to this year's Government, but to the continuous subsistence of Governments contemporaneously with the property to be protected..

And we may proceed, by way of corollary :

We owe nothing to the Government of the day for the cost of our rights and titles.

We owe to the Government of the day the protection, or its cost, of so much property, be it produce of land, wages of labour, salary of skill, reward of talent, dividend of stock, as comes into existence as disposable means (not into expectancy) in its day.

We shall act prudently to provide out of the day's accruing means for the maintenance of the Government of the day; but we shall act the spendthrift, if we provide out of next year's produce for the conveniences to be exhausted this year; we shall be still more profligate if we anticipate our whole inheritance, our whole expectation, to provide either for Government or any other continuing, equal, perpetually contemporaneous charge.

Even for expenditure in permanent improvements, and where national existence is concerned, the course adopted by all Governments of obtaining the capital by loan, and arranging for its

repayment in successive years by those who may then live and enjoy the continuing benefit, and the means wherewith to pay the cost of the advantage, is more consonant with the sound principles of domestic and public economy than any tax would be that was levied at the time of the expenditure incurred upon the temporary holders of property in proportion to any estimate of their expectations.

Our entire conclusion then is thus far coincident with that of the advocates of a property tax, that all incomes, all produce, should be taxed to the support of Government.

But we diverge immediately throughout all the rest of our way. So far from holding that a tax levied in proportion to the expectancies of future years, is 'unapproached in the quality of perfect justice,' we hold that such a tax is foolish and profligate so far as it appropriates for our present uses, in maintaining the Government of the year, the unrealised means or the value of the title to the unrealised means of future years, which will each in its turn bring with it its own burdens on all the realised means of those years; that, as such a course pursued in domestic economy as to the whole of a man's means would be immediate instantaneous ruin, it is only in degree less foolish and profligate in state economy, inasmuch as this may involve a less expenditure than the whole of the private revenues of the taxpayers.

But even if we could not thoroughly demolish the principle, still the practical effect of taxing landlords, fundholders, and other proprietors, at thirty-three times the rate of the annuitant for one year, at ten times the rates of professional men and the like, would be sufficient of itself to make us discard a proposal of a tax so manifestly insupportable in its confiscating operation on the one hand, and in its entire inefficiency and illusory character as a means of revenue on the other.

Having thus far followed the proposers of a property-tax over their high grounds of principle, policy, and justice, which they have selected for themselves, and trusting that they are entirely dislodged from all their main positions, it becomes a work of supererogation to address ourselves to the innumerable minor points which otherwise might have occupied our attention. We may pretermitt all discussions of detail as to the injustice of a property-tax on deferred incomes, reversions, on the applicability of averages as a basis of taxation, — in itself a tempting subject, however, — and countless others.

One detail would, but for want of space, be very inviting, —

the question of the justice of taxing fixed annuities for short terms at the same rate in the pound on their annual amount, as if they were perpetual annuities. It must, however, be left in the able hands of Mr. Maitland and Mr. Warburton, the force of whose demonstrations will not be lessened by any sneer at mathematicians and philosophers.

Another important subject is treated of in Mr. Hemming's pamphlet and with great force of reasoning — the justice, namely, of taxing all acquisitions where they accrue, whether on the part of exertions, or by gift, bequest, or inheritance, at the same rate as income. But for the same reason as before, the subject cannot be examined now.

One topic, however, requires with peculiar urgency a few remarks. The adhesion to any principle of taxation, by any Chancellor of the Exchequer, is a very important stage in the progress towards its realisation in practice; and Mr. Disraeli's announcement that Lord Derby's administration were 'prepared to assent to the principle of the distinguishing between permanent and precarious incomes,' has been much applauded, and relied on as a first step which will render the consummation of the plan of a property tax easy.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the part of his plan or the reduction of the farmer's contributions to the tax, by reducing by one half the tax levied under Schedule B., further than to observe that that schedule relates to all other tenants of lands, tenements, and hereditaments, of dwelling houses and of all other erections, and of all modifications and improvements of the land and the water, besides those occupied by farmers merely. So far as it was pretended that the farmers, by being charged on the amount of one half of their rent in England, or one third in Scotland, had been rated too high to the income tax, it is disproved by the fact that, having the right to appeal, if the tax exceeded the rate of 7*d.* in the pound of their actual profits, a class so tenacious of their dues as the farmers had so universally preferred not to appeal. As a plan for distinguishing between 'permanent' and 'precarious' incomes it wholly fails, inasmuch as it gives the advantage of a remission of one half of the tax equally to those farmers who farm, and all other occupiers who occupy their own fee simple lands or tenements, or under the longest leases, or under the tenancies at will to expire in the current year, — to those whose occupation is most certainly prosperous, as to those whose income is most precarious, — to those with a whole of a long life before them, as to those whose age or health, or other circumstances, will bring their occupation immediately to

an end. As in any measure a remedy for that kind of temporary and precarious existence, which is the characteristic of the profits of some other trades, some other professions and vocations, the plan wholly fails; but as a proportionate benefit to the farmer, it deserves this remark, that, intended or not, it gave the contributor in Schedule B. a greater remission than Mr. Disraeli seemed to announce, — namely, two remissions, one of one third on reducing the basis of his assessment from half to one third of the rent; and secondly, an additional quarter by reducing his rate from 7*d.* to 5½*d.* In other words, Schedule B., the farmer's schedule, was to have its scale reduced by half, while D., which does include the mass of the really precarious incomes, and E., are to have a remission only of the one quarter. However, this part of Mr. Disraeli's plan may be considered as safely interred with his other plans of the preceding six years for the especial benefit of the farmers and their landlords.

But as regards Schedule D. more especially. It is not lightly to be assumed that Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, bringing forth a plan of taxation and finance, affecting and affected by the whole detail of all these schedules, should not have read them or ascertained in some practical way what was in fact included under them.

Yet his plan of dealing with the whole of Schedule D., as inclusive of nothing but precarious income, and of giving to it indiscriminately the benefit intended to precarious incomes, seems to involve no less. For how could he have failed to perceive that in taxing profit or gain from all kinds of property whatever, whether at home or abroad, not included in the other schedules, it in the first place includes all those numerous and vast companies and associations having their head-quarters in Great Britain, and prosecuting their enormous operations in all parts of the world? To name a few that occur, at the most cursory glance, there are all the Banks established for our home business and for our colonies, and dependencies, with the Bank of England at their head, stable and profitable for a century and a half, and it is to be hoped for all time, and some 154 Joint Stock Banks, to which are to be added the private banks, some 500—older some of them, and even more profitable than the Bank of England itself, and prolific generators of noble houses. Then the Insurance Offices for lives, fire, and shipping, and what not,—some 180 of them in the London Directory alone of 1852, including the Amicable, the Equitable, and others, whose stability is as the foundation of the earth, and profitableness as assured as demonstration. Then some 45 Steam and Navigation Companies, 136 Mining Companies; 10 Companies, some enor-



mously profitable for centuries, others for generations, for the supply of water in the metropolis alone. Some 23 Gas Companies in the same Directory, none, that we have heard, making temporary or precarious gains. A vast number of others having corporate or quasi-corporate existence and perpetual succession. Territorial and dominatory companies, the East India Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the like, and for all conceivable purposes realisable by association and perpetuation, and amounting, with those before referred to, to at least 511, enumerated in the same London Directory alone. Next comes an incalculable mass of establishments more private, but in their nature constituting nearly perpetual monopolies, breweries, distilleries, boileries, ship-yards, and many others dispersed in all the great resorts of men, establishments that for generations knew no change but increase of business and progression of profit. Add to these the great traditional merchants, the almost prescriptive aristocracy of their vocation, hereditary firms doing for generations the work that makes them the masters of reigning princes, sometimes the arbiters of nations. What has all this mass of stable wealth, profit, and power to do with the 'precarious and temporary?' What has their exemption to do with the gratification of 'the working millions?' Has any gentleman of acres more assurance of the course in which his inheritance will go than these banks and companies of the course of their concerns and course of profit? What has a bank like that of Coutts, with its profits not less than 50,000*l.* a year, and without a necessity of one penny of capital, to say in favour of its exemption under Schedule D. seven farthings out of a seven-penny tax on the ground of the temporary and precarious character of their business and profits?

We have not time or space to go far into the question: but when any of these or indeed any trading concern that makes a profit to pay the tax at all, is spoken of as precarious, this simple fact is to be borne in mind—that their precariousness as a distinctive characteristic to separate D. from A. and B. and C. and E., is not only one of the unhappy kind which entitles D. to commiseration, and to remission of taxation. His condition is not merely characterised by the liability to precarious loss, it has also its prospects, and realises it still more often, of certain, as well as precarious gains. If he may more often than A. and C. lose his capital in business, or make it less, he does, in fact, nine times out of ten make a capital, or double it or treble it, which A. or C. could never do out of their profits, if they accumulated the whole of them, and put them out at compound interest, in less than twenty-four years. Are we to suppose with

Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Sotheron, that all trade, all profession, all vocation, all the mass of speculation and industry is in the mass less profitable than capital in land, and property in the national funds, by 25 per cent.? Or do we not all practically know that amongst the mass of certain and precarious gains, the precarious losses on the mass wholly disappear, and leave, instead of a profit of 3 per cent. that would take, if it were all accumulated, twenty-four years to make a new capital, a profit that averages at least 12 per cent., which would, if treated in the same manner, make another equal capital in less than six years. If precariousness is to affect *the rate* of taxation,—if, because profits may be diminished, they are to be rated at three-fourths of their actual realised amount, at 5½*d.* instead of 7*d.*, what are we to add to that *rate* when they are increased beyond the 3 per cent. of A. or C.? When they are, in fact, for a whole life 12 per cent., should we not tax them at 4 times 7*d.*,—2*s.* 4*d.* in the pound?

Be it observed, that the present tax in theory does exact justice to this precarious character of income when the precariousness does in fact operate, so far as it diminishes exactly as income actually diminishes, becomes nothing when income fails (to reach 150*l.* a year), and increases exactly as it increases. Only in practice, it is known that schedule D. administers to itself the measure of ‘justice’ it approves for itself; and, regarding the tax as a ‘sacrifice,’ as Mr. J. Stuart Mill too sympathetically calls it, D. makes his returns according to his conscience, with the natural bias to make as little of a ‘sacrifice’ as possible.

It does then appear to be a course which nothing but ignorance can palliate, to treat all the classes affected by Schedule D. as one: to assume that it is wholly one indivisible class requiring consideration for the temporary and precarious character of its gains. If there be in that schedule any persons whose circumstances correspond with this assumption, they should be distinguished by the appropriate distinctions, and relieved as they came under them. But it is unendurable that we should remit 25 per cent. to the proprietor of bank stock, or of New River Company shares, or a share in Barclay and Perkins’ Brewery, on account of the fluctuations of income that they never incur,—of losses that they only know inversely by the indirect experience of their own certain gains.

It finally remains for us to see to what this agitation for a Property Tax tends to in its effects and consequences beyond the range of the Income Tax itself. This is not a question beside our

present purpose, for it assumes a prodigious consequence in its importance, its oppressiveness, and its impolicy.

Is the Income Tax to be condemned for its action, as affecting precarious and temporary incomes?

Is a Property Tax to be substituted for it, because justice requires permanent and certain property to be assessed higher for its certainty or permanency?

If so, then clearly no one of our present taxes but must be condemned on exactly the same grounds as the Income Tax, and no device of man can invent any other tax that can stand scrutiny if the Property Tax is just; and if no tax can be found that is not condemned on the same grounds as the Income Tax, it follows that all our other taxes must be condemned, that we can maintain no other tax but the Property Tax! In other words, it is all Property Tax, or no tax at all.\*

The Income Tax is unjust, as taxing precarious profits as if they were certain, temporary profits as if they were permanent, as making no allowance for a man's misfortunes, his duty to save for his family, to save to replace his capital, to insure against ill health and disability.

If so, then what other tax, indeed, what other operation of business, is just?

Our public income, stated summarily, is derived from Customs, Excise, the Stamp Duties, and the Assessed and Land Taxes. Each of these is condemned by the same principle that condemns the present Income Tax. Conceive a pound of 5s. tea, a quart of brandy or beer, a 5s. stamp, sold with its tax graduated for all varieties of income, as 'perfect justice' requires, and is to be done by the Property Tax. Conceive the grocer and his customers,

*A.* A pound of Souchong, Pekoe-flavoured, if you please.

*Mr. Figg.* Yes, Ma'am.—What schedule, Ma'am?

*A.* Schedule A.

*Mr. F.* Duty 2s. 2d. Fee simple, life, or term?

*A.* For life.

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\* As many of the witnesses would have it, *e. g.* Mr. C. Jellicoe (4149.), and Mr. Hume—see his Draft Report, p. xxxii. 'Your Committee submit, finally, that the taxation of this country is not based on any intelligible principle; and that it becomes more and more apparent every year, especially if the Property Tax is to be a permanent tax, that the whole of the present system of taxation must be revised; that the best tax, the tax most easily levied, offering the fewest obstacles in the collection, and the least likely to encourage evasion and fraud, will be found to be an equal tax on the realised and industrial property of the United Kingdom.'

*Mr. F.* For life. Age, Madam? Don't like to say? Of course. Excuse me: you know, Madam, it is not my fault. Say 40,—16½ years' purchase,—Half duty 1s. 1d. Any children or incumbrance, Madam? None. Tea 3s., duty 1s. 1d.,—4s. 1d. if you please, Madam. Thank you, much obliged.

Conceive the practical process of taxing *Colebs*, with his 300*l.* a year consols, for his bedroom and sitting-room, at 33 times the amount of House Tax that you lay on *Mr. Macaire* with a barrack full of children and a very precarious income of 300*l.* a year valued at one year's purchase—and conceive the further operation of deducting from *Mr. Macaire's* tax of one-fifth of a penny in the pound an allowance for insurance to settle his six sons in life and to provide for his seven daughters.

Yet if something like this 'perfect justice' cannot be done with tea, which brings in an income of 5 millions and a half—nearly equal in amount to the Income Tax itself, and just three times the amount of what is raised under Schedule D., the *Jonas* for which the whole tax is troubled; if something like this cannot be done with sugar, which brings in 4 millions, with tobacco and its 4 millions—indeed with the whole customs and excise, and their 37 millions, and the bulk of the Stamp and Assessed Taxes—how are they or any of them to be maintained on principles of 'justice?' Can we pretend to sacrifice the Income Tax, because some part of Schedule D., perhaps, but not probably, paying half a million a year, is unjustly taxed on an equal rate with certain and permanent incomes, and yet pretend at the same time to retain customs and excise to the amount of 37 millions,—seventy-times the amount? Can we revolt against this rate of payment of an eleventh part of the Income Tax, and still continue to endure all we condemn in that when multiplied seventy times?

The same reasoning applies to the taxes on stamps, and on houses, and others of the assessed taxes—in short, on the whole or almost the whole of our taxes, 58 millions yearly,—100 times at least the amount of the income tax raised in the manner the advocates of a property tax complain of.

With the general taxes, all the local taxes must go too—for the vice imputed to the Income Tax, by its adversaries, is more rife in all these, than in the Income Tax itself.

In short, at least 70 millions of general and local taxation: must logically fall with the present system of taxing temporary and precarious income.

Will reformers so mathematical—so in love with 'perfect justice'—strain at this gnat and swallow that camel?

They deserve more credit for consistency than will allow us

to put such an imputation of such inconsistency upon them. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.* They never will, they never can consistently stop, till we consent to raise our 60 or 70 millions of income in the proportion of 7*d.* in the pound, on an income of one year, and of 19*s.* 5*d.* and one third of a penny in the pound on the permanent annuitant,—33 millions a year on Schedule A. instead of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ , as now—9 millions and a quarter on Schedule C., instead of three quarters of a million as now,—and then we shall nearly have arrived at the consummation of ‘A PROPERTY TAX’ founded on PRINCIPLES OF ‘PERFECT JUSTICE!’

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*Note to Art. II. in last Number.*

WE regret to find that some expressions in an Article on the Ionian Islands, in our last Number, which referred to Mr. Bowen, have been understood in a more serious light than was intended, and have been thought to reflect unduly upon that gentleman. We have, since the publication of our Article, seen copies of letters addressed to Mr. Bowen, in Nov. 1851, by Sir Henry Ward, the Lord High Commissioner, and Mr. Dushmani, the Secretary of the Commission of Public Instruction, in which they express their approbation of Mr. Bowen's conduct during the time that he filled the office of Rector of the University of Corfu. We will only add our belief that Mr. Bowen's eminent classical attainments well qualify him for the post which he now worthily fills, in one of the principal colleges of the University of Oxford.

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